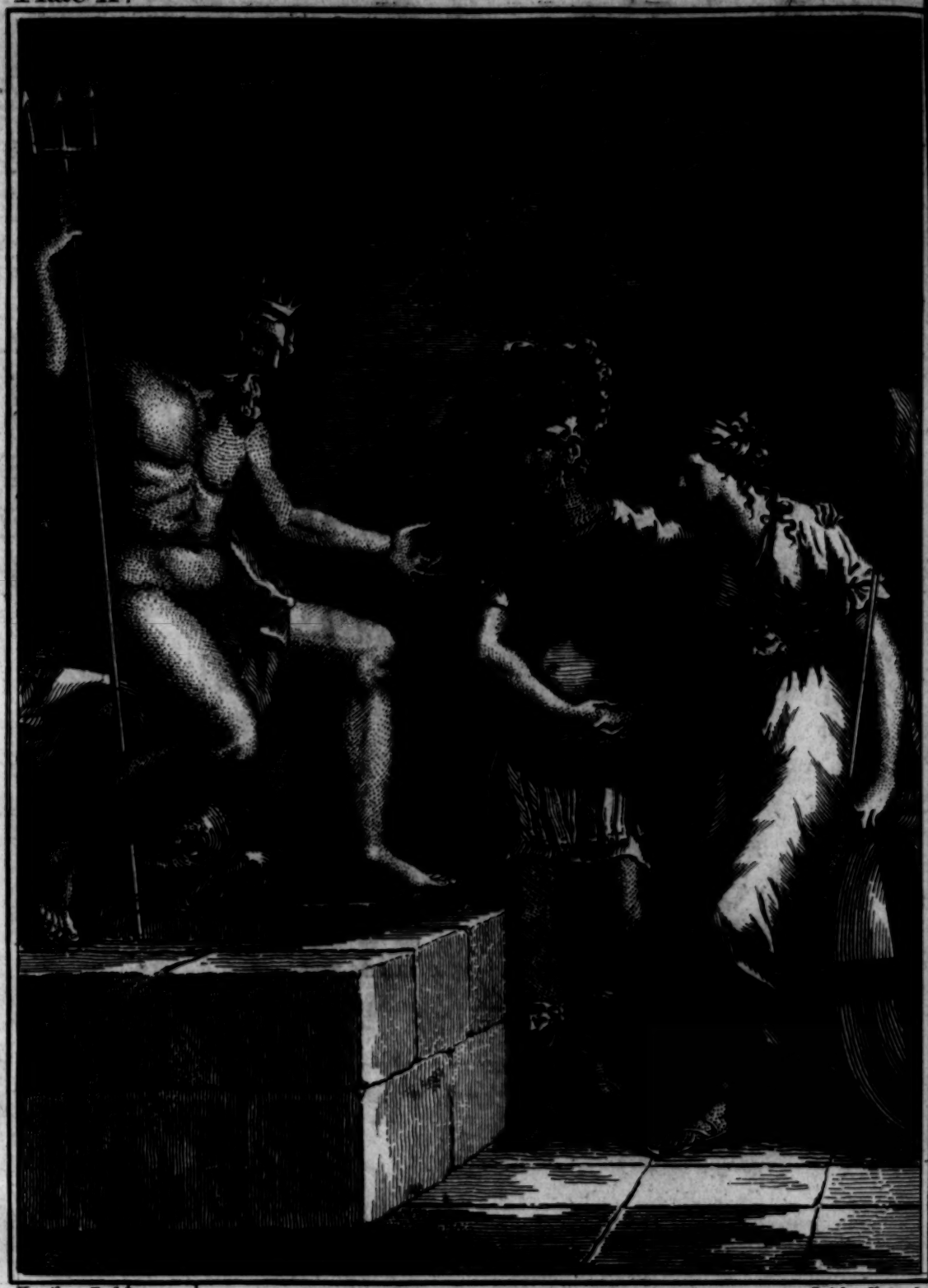
Plate II.



Hamilton Del.t *Calderall Sculp.t*

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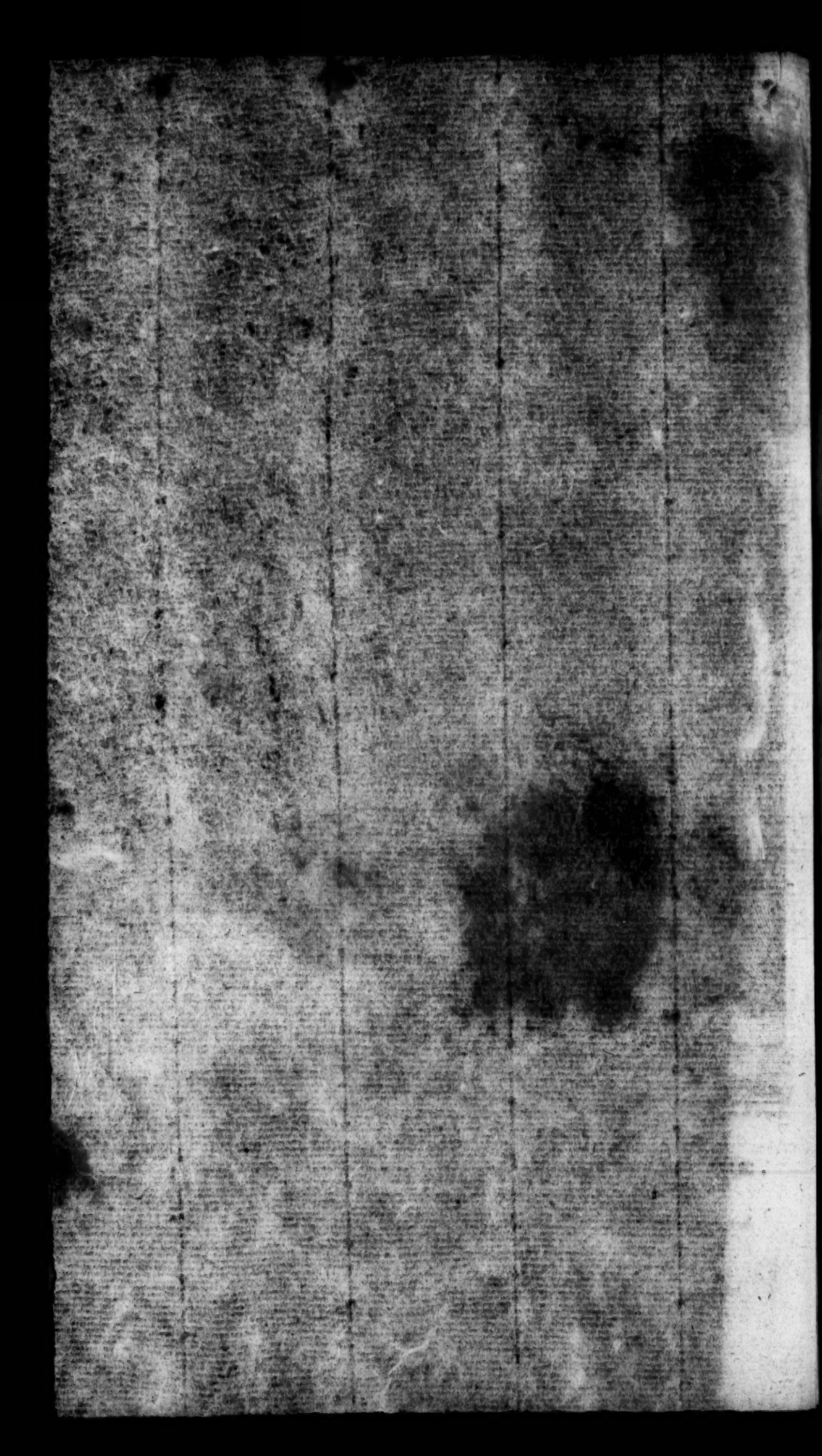
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LIVES

OF THE

BRITISH ADMIRALS:

CONTAINING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS.

BY DR. J. CAMPBELL.

WITH A CONTINUATION DOWN TO THE YEAR 1779,

INCLUDING THE

NAVAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE LATE AND PRESENT WAR, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

WRITTEN UNDER THE INSPECTION OF

DOCTOR BERKENHOUT.

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH CORRECT MAPS; AND FRONTISPIECES ENGRAVED FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS.

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NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XV.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the breaking out of the civil war, to the reſtoration of King Charles II. comprehending an account of all the ſtruggles between the king and his parliament for the command of the fleet, the revolt of part of it to the prince of Wales, the Dutch war, the diſputes with France, the war with Spain; and the memoirs of ſuch famous ſeamen as flouriſhed within this ſpace of time.

WHEN the diſputes between King Charles I. and his parliament were riſen to ſuch a height, that both parties thought the ſhorteſt and moſt effectual method of deciding them was to have recourſe to the ſword, it was natural for them to be extremely ſolicitous about the fleet, for many reaſons; and for this particularly, that whoever was maſter of that, would be conſidered as the ſupreme power by

foreign princes [a]. The earl of Northumberland was at this time lord high-admiral; the king had given him that commiſſion, to ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons, who had a confidence in him; and granted it during pleaſure only, becauſe his intention was to confer that office on his ſon the duke of York, as ſoon as he became of age [b]. Sir Robert Manſel was vice-admiral of England; a gentleman very loyal, but withal very infirm and far in years. Sir John Pennington was vice-admiral of the fleet then in the Downs, and Sir John Mennes was rear-admiral; both well affected to his Majeſty. The parliament, however, having formed a project of diſpoſſeſſing the king of his fleet, executed it ſucceſsfully; notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances ſo favourable for his Majeſty, and though he had the affections of the ſeamen, whoſe wages he had raiſed, and for whom he had always ſhewn a very particular regard, and a very high eſteem [c]. This was one of the moſt extraordinary things they did, was of the utmoſt conſequence to their affairs; and therefore we ſhall give a ſhort and impartial account of the ſteps they took to accompliſh it.

In the ſpring of the year 1641, the parliament deſired, that is, in effect directed, the earl of Northumberland to provide a ſtrong fleet for the nation's ſecurity by ſea, and appropriated a proper fund for this ſervice. They next deſired, that he would appoint the earl of Warwick admiral of that fleet, on account of his own indiſpoſition, which rendered it impoſſible for him to command in perſon [d]. The king took this ill, and inſiſted on Sir John Pennington's keeping his command; but the earl had ſo much reſpect to the parliament's recommendation, that he ordered the fleet to be delivered up to the earl of Warwick,

[a] Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 217. Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. iii. p. 477. Coke's detection, p. 152. May's hiſtory of the parliament of England, b. ii. p. 49. Sir William Dugdale's ſhort view of the late troubles in England, p. 91. [b] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. ii. p. 480. vol. v. p. 136. Lord Stafford's letters, vol. i. p. 54, 67. [c] See May's hiſt. of the parliament of England, b. ii. p. 49, 53, 91. Coke's detection, p. 152. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 125. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 478, 674, 680. [d] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 57. Sir William Dugdale's ſhort view of the late troubles in England, p. 91. May's hiſtory of the parliament, b. ii. p. 49. Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. ii. p. 442, 478.

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and granted him a commiſſion to command it, as by his own he had power to do. This was one great point gained. The parliament then would have made Captain Cartwright comptroller of the navy, vice-admiral in the room of Sir John Pennington; but he refuſing to undertake this ſervice without the king's permiſſion, his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſignify his pleaſure, that he ſhould decline it; which he did, and the parliament thereupon appointed on Batten vice-admiral, who was remarkably diſaffected towards the king; and their orders being complied with, the fleet in the ſpring 1642 fell into their hands, though the king was perſuaded in his own mind, that he could at any time recover it, which was the true reaſon of his not removing at that time, as he afterwards did, the earl of Northumberland from his high office[e].

It was not long before he had good reaſon to change his opinion; for the queen ſending his Majeſty a ſmall ſupply from Holland in the Providence, the only ſhip the king had left, the ſhips from the Downs chaſed the veſſel into the Humber, and there forced the captain to run her aſhore. Upon this the king reſolved to attempt ſeizing the fleet; and the deſign, had it been executed as well as it was laid, might very probably have taken effect; but through the miſmanagement of Sir John Pennington it miſcarried, and ſerved only to defeat the king's hopes for the future, by affording the earl of Warwick an opportunity of removing all the king's friends, which he had long wanted, and now made the utmoſt uſe of it poſſible[f].

The parliament, as they had diſcovered great care and induſtry in ſecuring, ſo they ſhewed no leſs wiſdom in the conduct of the fleet, which they always kept in good order and well paid. In 1643 Vice-admiral Batten having intelligence, that the queen intended to go by ſea from Holland into the north of England, he did his utmoſt to intercept her, though on board a Dutch man of war. This proving ineffectual, he chaſed the ſhip into Burlington-bay; and when the queen was landed, having intelligence that ſhe lodged in a houſe upon the key, he fired upon it, ſo that many of the ſhot went through her chamber,

[e] Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 218. Heath's chronicle, p. 31. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 480, 482.

[f] May's hiſtory of the parliament, book ii. p. 94, 95. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 673. Whitlocke, p. 60.

and ſhe was obliged, though very much indiſpoſed, to retire for ſhelter, or rather for ſafety, into the open fields[g]. This ſervice, which was performed in the month of February, was very grateful to the parliament, becauſe it ſhewed how much the officers of the fleet at leaſt were in their intereſt.

It was recommended to his Majeſty by thoſe who wiſhed very well to his affairs, during the time the treaty for peace was in agitation at Oxford in April 1643, to ſeize the occaſion, which then preſented itſelf, of attaching the earl of Northumberland to his ſervice by offering to appoint him once more lord high-admiral of England, from a perſuaſion that it might be attended with very happy conſequences in regard to the king's intereſt. Mr. Pierpoint, ſays the noble hiſtorian, who was of the beſt parts, rather deſired than propoſed ſuch a meaſure, and the earl himſelf proteſting in confidence to Secretary Nicholas, that he deſired only to receive ſo great an inſtance of his Majeſty's goodneſs, that he might be the better enabled to redeliver the fleet into his Majeſty's hands, which the parliament had found means to get into their poſſeſſion, and which he doubted would hardly be effected by any other expedient, at leaſt ſo ſoon. Several untoward circumſtances concurred towards preventing the king's accepting this propoſition. His Majeſty was exceedingly offended with the earl's former carriage. He had no great opinion of his power with thoſe of his own party, when he had not been able to prevail for enlarging the time for the treaty, and apprehended he might ſuffer in his honour by ſuch a conceſſion in favour of a perſon who had requited the many graces his Majeſty had hitherto beſtowed on him ſo unworthily. But what determined him was, he had promiſed the queen, at her departure for Holland, to receive no perſon into favour or truſt, who had diſobliged him, without her privity; and though that princeſs landed in England about the time that the treaty began, or rather on the 22d of February preceding it, yet ſhe did not arrive at Oxford till the 13th of July following, the day on which the parliament received that memorable defeat in the action at Roundway-down; and, for want of her preſence, this overture, that might have

[g] Clarendon's hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 143. Heath's chronicle, p. 42. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 85. Ruſhworth under the year 1643, p. 156.

been

been of the utmoſt importance to the king's cauſe, was unhappily rejected [h].

In the month of September in the ſame year they ſent their orders to the earl of Warwick to attempt the relief of Exeter, which he performed with great zeal, but with indifferent ſucceſs; for ſailing up the river, which runs by the walls of the town, in hopes of conveying ſuccour that way into the place, he found ſome works thrown up on the ſhore, which hindered him from diſturbing the beſiegers ſo much as he expected; and yet lying there too long with this view, the tide falling, he was forced to leave three of his ſhips behind him, two of which were taken, and the third burnt in his preſence [i]. He did, however, great ſervice on the coaſt of Devonſhire, ſecured Plymouth and other places, and, all the time he commanded, kept the fleet firm to the parliament [k].

So long as the Preſbyterian party were uppermoſt, all affairs relating to the navy went on ſmoothly. The earl of Warwick was entirely devoted to them, and ſo were all the officers by him appointed. Every ſummer a ſtout ſquadron was fitted out to ſerve as occaſion required, and by this means the trade of the nation was tolerably protected [l]. But in the year 1648, when the Independents came by their intrigues to prevail, things took a new turn, and it was reſolved to remove the earl of Warwick from his command notwithſtanding the ſervices he had performed, and to make Colonel Rainſborough admiral [m]. This gentleman had been bred a ſeaman, and was the ſon of a commander of diſtinction, but had for ſome time ſerved as an officer in the parliament army, and was then a colonel of foot. When this news came to the fleet in the Downs, it put the ſeamen into great confuſion,

[h] Life of Edward earl of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 150—158. See alſo his hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. iii. p. 225, 226, 290, 291. Ruſhworth's collections under the year 1643, p. 275. Heath's chronicle, p. 46, 47. [i] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 336. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 94. May's hiſtory of the parliament, book iii. p. 58, 59. Whitlocke, p. 72. [k] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 281, 336. Ruſhworth's collect. Whitlocke. [l] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 132. Ruſhworth's collections. Whitlocke. Heath. Hiſtory of Independency, p. i, ii. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. [m] Clarendon's hiſtory, vol. v. p. 122, 132. Ruſhworth's collections under the year 1648, p. 822. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 236. Heath's chronicle, p. 175. Sir Thomas Herbert's memoirs of the two laſt years of the reign of King Charles I. p. 53. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 182.

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and their officers, the earl of Warwick and Vice-admiral Batten, were ſo little pleaſed with the uſage they had met with, that, inſtead of ſoftening, they augmented their diſcontents, inſomuch that they ſeized upon Rainſborough and ſuch officers as adhered to him, ſet them on ſhore, and reſolved to ſail over to Holland, in order to take on board the duke of York, whom they called their admiral, becauſe the king's intention of making him ſo was a thing generally known [n].

Though the king was then a priſoner, and his affairs reduced to a very low ebb, yet, if this revolt of the fleet had been properly managed, it might have had very happy effects: but, as it was conducted, it is ſcarce poſſible to conceive how little advantage was drawn from an incident which promiſed ſo much. It is true the parliament, upon the firſt intimation of the growing diſaffection among the ſeamen, had directed but half the uſual proviſions to be put on board the fleet. This might have been eaſily remedied, conſidering that Kent was in arms for the king, and many of its inhabitants went on board the fleet, in order to do him all the ſervice they could [o]. The great misfortune was, that this ſtrange turn was entirely concerted by the ſeamen; ſo that, when they declared for the king, they had very few officers among them; and, as they were little inclined to uſe the advice of any who were not of their own profeſſion, there was a good deal of time loſt before they poſitively reſolved what to do, which gave the parliament an opportunity of recovering themſelves from the conſternation into which this unexpected event had thrown them; and the firſt reſolution they took was a very wiſe one, *viz.* the reſtoring the earl of Warwick to his title and command, ſending him orders to draw together a fleet as ſoon as poſſible [p].

[n] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 136, 137. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 308. Dr. Bates's elencus motuum, p. 100. Ruſhworth, p. 1131. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 316. Sir William Dugdale's hiſtory of the late troubles, p. 283. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars in England, p. 231. Bulſtrode's memoirs, p. 168. Sir John Bowring's memoirs, p. 146. [o] Carendon's hiſtory, vol. v. p. 136. Heath's chronicle, p. 176. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 231. Coke's detection, p. 185. [p] Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 237. Dugdale's ſhort view of the late troubles, p. 284. Ruſhworth, p. 1131. under the year 1648. Whitlocke, p. 308. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 102. Bates's elencus motuum, p. 102.

This

This revolted fleet (if we can properly call it ſo) which at laſt ſailed for Calais, conſiſted of ſeventeen good ſhips; and for the preſent the parliament had nothing near the ſame force to oppoſe them [q]. They left a ſhip riding before the place laſt mentioned to receive the prince of Wales, and then proceeded for Holland. Soon after both the prince and the duke came on board, with many perſons of quality who were now abroad with them in exile. Inſtead of conſidering what ſervice the fleet might beſt be employed in, thoſe who were about the princes fell into intrigues for obtaining the command, and the contending parties filling the ſeamen's heads with very different ſtories, that ſpirit of loyalty was quickly extinguiſhed, which had induced them to take this extraordinary ſtep [r].

In the midſt of theſe diſputes, admiral Batten came in with the Conſtant Warwick, one of the beſt ſhips in the parliament navy, and ſeveral ſeamen of note. The prince of Wales, upon this occaſion, took a very wiſe reſolution: he knighted Batten, and made him rear-admiral, his brother the duke of York having before made the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who was alſo a new convert from the parliament, vice-admiral [s]. As the fleet conſiſted now of about twenty ſail, it was judged proper to enter upon action, and two ſchemes were propoſed: the firſt was, to ſail to the Iſle of Wight to reſcue the king, which might certainly have been effected; the other, to enter the river of Thames, in order to awe the city of London, by interrupting their trade; and to enfeeble the parliament, by hindering their ſupplies of ſeamen from the outward-bound ſhips: which ſcheme was thought the moſt practicable, or perhaps the moſt profitable, and was therefore immediately carried into execution [t].

The ſucceſs of this enterpriſe was in the beginning very favourable; and, on their coming into the mouth of the river, the prince's fleet took abundance of rich prizes, particularly a ſhip laden with cloth bound for Rotterdam, worth forty thou-

[q] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 137, 138. Heath. Whitlocke. Davis's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 231. [r] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 138, 139. Echard. Rapin. [s] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 140. Heath, p. 176. [t] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 141. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 315. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 237. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 182.

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ſand pounds. Soon after he entered into a treaty with the city, which ended at laſt in a compoſition for his prizes[u]. The earl of Warwick in the mean while had fitted out a ſtrong fleet at Portſmouth, with which he came into the Downs, and anchored within ſight of the prince. Great endeavours were uſed on both ſides to draw over each others ſeamen, but to no great purpoſe; at laſt, the prince reſolved to engage the enemy, which he attempted, but was prevented by the ſhifting of the wind, and then, proviſions falling ſhort, it was judged expedient to ſail for the coaſt of Holland, where the fleet arrived ſafely; but thoſe who ſhould have commanded them were divided in opinion, and in ſuch confuſion among themſelves, that no new courſe could be reſolved on[w]. The earl of Warwick, who ſuſpected what would happen, and knew they could meet with no ſupplies of money to enable them to pay the fleet, followed them in their retreat, and ſent to the ſtates of Holland, requiring them to oblige certain ſhips, which had revolted from the parliament of England, to put to ſea.

The ſtates were very much embarraſſed in forming a reſolution in this critical juncture: they were unwilling to break with the parliament's admiral; but, on the other hand, it would have been a reproach to them to have ſuffered the prince of Wales to be inſulted on their coaſts, and in their harbours. In the mean time, the two parties being excited by hatred, as well as neceſſity, to fight, it was difficult to prevent it: both ſides at firſt flattered themſelves with the hopes of a victory, becauſe both ſides were perſuaded the ſhips of their antagoniſt would deſert and come over to them. The firſt ſtep the ſtates took was, to give orders to the admiralty of Rotterdam to fit out every ſhip they had, with all poſſible expedition, and to fall down the river to prevent the two fleets coming to an engagement. In the mean time, they ſent four deputies on board the two admirals, to beg of them, in the name of the ſtates, not to undertake any thing on their coaſts, and in the very ſight of

[u] Clarendon's hiſtory, vol. v. p. 156, 157. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 327. Heath's chronicle, p. 176. [w] Clarendon's hiſtory, vol. v. p. 159. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 241. Whitlocke, p. 327. Ruſhworth's collections, under the year 1648. p. 1251, 1254. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's memoirs, p. 171. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 183.

their harbours, which might affect the ſovereignty of their republic.

The prince of Wales was the moſt tractable, becauſe his ſailors, being badly paid, deſerted; and even ſome of his ſhips and officers, which had lately left the parliament to go over to him, had now left him, and took part with their old maſters again. He had only fourteen ſhips remaining, very poorly equipped, with which he retired under the cannon of Helvoet, to avoid an engagement or inſult, inſtead of offering any[x].

The earl of Warwick upon this began to talk in a higher ſtrain, inſiſting that ſuch as were on board this fleet were deſerters, and ought to be delivered up to him; but at laſt, finding that there was little good to be done, he put to ſea, and returned home; after which the fleet was put abſolutely under the command of Prince Rupert, who determined, as ſoon as he had the command, to carry on a pyratical war: and thus this extraordinary accident, which, properly managed, might have been a means of preſerving the king and kingdom, turned to no advantage to the former, and proved of infinite detriment to the latter, as it divided their naval force, and rendered precarious the trade of the nation. Theſe tranſactions happened between the latter end of July 1648, and the cloſe of the ſame year, about which time Prince Rupert left the Dutch coaſt, in order to repair to Ireland. In this ſcheme he ſucceeded happily,

[x] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 197. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 241, 242. Ruſhworth's collections, under the year 1648, p. 1268, 1274, 1278, 1294, 1297, 1307, 1319. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 139, 140. A pamphlet made its appearance about this time at London, intended no doubt to draw the earl of Warwick into ſuſpicion with thoſe of his party, entitled, A Declaration of the earl of Warwick, while that nobleman was on the coaſt of Holland with the fleet, intimating a reſolution to join the prince, in caſe the treaty at Newport in the Iſle of Wight did not take effect; who was ſo much offended with the aſperſions it contained, that he oppoſed it with a counter-declaration, dated on board the St. George in Helvoet-ſluice, Nov. 11, 1648, wherein he teſtifies all imaginable obedience to the parliament, his abhorrence of ſuch a conduct as inconſiſtent with his duty and the peace of the kingdom, and a ſolemn aſſurance of his perſevering to the laſt in ſupport of their cauſe; and which, with letters to the ſame purport, he tranſmitted forthwith to England. Ruſhworth, p. 1326.

taking many prizes in his paſſage, and arriving ſafely at laſt in the port of Kinſale [y].

The parliament, however, had now recovered their ſovereignty at ſea, where they kept ſuch ſtrong ſquadrons continually cruiſing, that it was not thought adviſeable for King Charles II. to venture his perſon on that element, in order to go to Ireland, where his preſence was neceſſary [z]. Yet the earl of Warwick, who had ſerved them ſo faithfully, and with ſuch ſucceſs, was removed from the command of the fleet, which was put into the hands of land-officers, ſuch as Blake, Deane, and Popham, who, notwithſtanding, behaved well, quickly gained the love of the ſailors, and grew in a ſhort time very knowing ſeamen themſelves [a].

As for Prince Rupert, he continued cruiſing and making prizes throughout the greateſt part of the year 1649 [b], while the war continued hot in Ireland; but things taking a new turn there, entirely in the parliament's favour, orders were given by the parliament to their admirals Blake and Popham, to block up the prince's ſquadron in the port of Kinſale, which they accordingly did, and reduced them to ſuch extremities, that his men began to deſert in great numbers; ſo that finding his caſe deſperate, the whole kingdom of Ireland in a manner ſubdued, all hopes of ſuccour loſt, and very indifferent terms to be hoped for from the conquerors; he at laſt took a deſperate reſolution of forcing a paſſage through the enemy's fleet, which he effected on the twenty-fourth of October, with the loſs, however,

[y] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 201, 205—207. Ruſhworth's collections under this year, p. 1361, 1366, 1389, 1428. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 349, 361, 374. [z] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 323, 324. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 389, 397. Heath's chronicle, p. 240. [a] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 383. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 290. The moderate intelligencer, (a paper publiſhed in thoſe times), N° 207. in which is the act at large appointing Blake, Popham, and Deane, or any two of them, to be admirals and generals of the fleet at ſea. See their inſtructions in Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. i. p. 134. [b] Heath's chronicle, p. 254, 256. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 391. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 298. The moderate intelligencer, N° 207. They complain loudly in this paper of the many prizes daily made by the prince, as well on the coaſts of Cornwall as in the Iriſh ſeas.

of

of three ſhips, and ſo ſailed away to the coaſt of France[c], where he continued to obſtruct the Engliſh trade, and to make prize of ſuch ſhips as fell in his way, acting entirely on his own head, and without aſking or receiving any directions from the king.

Prince Rupert, after he had made his eſcape, in the manner we have before related, out of the harbour of Kinſale, reſolved to ſail into the Mediterranean; but with what other view than that of carrying on his trade of privateering, does not appear[d]. When he came upon the coaſt of Spain, his fleet ſuffered exceedingly by a ſtorm, which drove five of his ſhips into the port of Carthagena, where they were ill treated by the Spaniards, who plundered two of the ſhips, and compelled many of the men to enter againſt their will into their ſervice[e]. A fleet belonging to the parliament, under the command of Blake and Popham, arrived ſoon after at St. Andero, and the former of thoſe admirals wrote from thence a letter in ſtrong terms to the king of Spain, demanding that both ſhips and men, in caſe any of Prince Rupert's were in his power, ſhould be delivered up, with threats in caſe they were refuſed. To this a very civil anſwer was given; and a ring, worth fifteen hundred pounds, was ſent to the admiral, as a token of the king of Spain's reſpect[f].

[c] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 338, 339. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 32. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 429. Heath's chronicle, p. 254. [d] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. Heath's chronicle, p. 289. Whitlocke's memorials. A brief relation of ſome affairs and tranſactions civil and military, both foreign and domeſtic, (a paper of thoſe times), N° 10. p 101, 103. N° 14. p. 152. [e] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 339. Heath, Whitlocke, and other writers. We are informed in the Mercurius politicus, (a paper of theſe times), N° 3. p. 579. among other particulars regarding Prince Rupert, that while his highneſs lay in the road of Toulon, in February 1651, ſoliciting leave to enter that port with his ſhip the Admiral, in order to procure a maſt and other neceſſary repairs, having been ſeparated from his brother in a ſtorm near Majorca, after the great defeat given to his fleet by Blake, the five captains of the veſſels mentioned in the text arrived there, againſt whom it ſeems the prince was ſo highly incenſed, as to have it in conſideration to call them to an account at a council of war, for their lives, as well for their miſconduct in that buſineſs as for their having left ſeventy of the mariners behind them, who were unwilling to ſerve the parliament; and who beſought them with the utmoſt earneſtneſs to ſuffer them to attend them to Toulon, profeſſing to aſk no more than bread and water on the journey, though the officers had a great ſum of money about them.

[f] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 339, 340.

After this, Blake followed Prince Rupert into the river of Liſbon, where, in the months of September and October, 1650, he ruined the Brazil fleet; which induced the Portugueſe to force Prince Rupert out of their port, whence he ſailed to Carthagena. Blake purſued him thither; but being obliged, for want of proviſions, to put to ſea, his highneſs eſcaped to Malaga, where he took ſeveral Engliſh ſhips. One of theſe he drove aſhore, burnt two more, and forced Prince Rupert himſelf to make his eſcape [g].

His highneſs ſoon after went to ſea again, cruiſed now on the Spaniards and Genoeſe, as well as the Engliſh [h], and having taken ſeveral rich prizes, ſailed to the Weſt-Indies, whither his brother, Prince Maurice, with a ſmall ſquadron, was gone before. In thoſe ſeas they did likewiſe a great deal of miſchief, till Prince Maurice, in the Conſtant Reformation, was caſt away [i]; and Prince Rupert, finding the few ſhips he had left ſo leaky and rotten that they were ſcarce able to keep the ſea, was glad to return to France; and arriving in the port of Nantes in the year 1652, with a man of war and three or four other ſhips, he was forced to ſell them to pay the people's wages [k]. Such was the end of about twenty-five good ſhips, well manned, which had deſerted the parliament ſervice! and the reader

[g] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 449, 463, 470, 475, 484, 485. Heath's chronicle, p. 267, 275. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 233. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 73. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. Mercurius politicus, N° 14. p. 221. See two original letters of Sir Henry Vane; one to Cromwell, then at the head-quarters in Scotland, and the other to Thomas Scott (the regicide), each dated Dec. 28, 1650, with the news of Blake's having ruined Prince Rupert's fleet, and the great terror this defeat had occaſioned in the different courts of Europe, particularly thoſe of Spain and Portugal; both of whom, in conſequence thereof, deſpatched ambaſſadors to England, to acknowledge the power of the parliament; the former, at his audience, preſenting the houſe with a complete narrative of the loſs the prince ſuſtained at Carthagena, in Nicholls's collection of ſtate-papers, p. 40, 41. See alſo Mr. Thomas Chaloner's letter in the ſame collection, p. 42. [h] Clarendon, vol. v. Heath's chronicle, p. 293. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 494. Life of Prince Rupert. [i] Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 299. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 233. Bates's elencus notuum, part ii. p. 74. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 430.

[k] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 513, 515. Heath's chronicle, p. 337. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 552. Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. i.

will

will eaſily judge how great a loſs this was to the nation, more eſpecially as it was ſoon after engaged in the Dutch war.

Admiral Blake, on his return to England, was received with great favour by the parliament, had the thanks of the houſe given him, and, in conjunction with Dean and Popham, had the ſupreme power at ſea veſted in him for the year 1651[l]. The firſt exploit that his maſters thought of, was the reduction of the iſlands of Scilly, which were ſtill held for the king by Sir John Grenville. The privateers fitted out from thence did a great deal of miſchief to trade, and therefore might well have deſerved the parliament's notice; but there was another incident which made them uneaſy at this juncture, and this was the arrival of a Dutch ſquadron there of twelve men of war, commanded by admiral Van Tromp[m]. The pretence of ſending him, was to demand ſatisfaction of the governor for about twenty prizes, which in a ſhort ſpace had been carried into his ports by his privateers: but the true deſign was, to drive a bargain with him, if poſſible, for thoſe iſlands; which might have had very bad conſequences, had it been carried into execution. Admiral Blake in the Phœnix frigate, in conjunction with Sir George Ayſcue, with a ſmall fleet, ſailed thither in the month of May, and very quickly performed what they were ſent for, the governor being glad to deliver up his charge upon honourable terms, and the admiral as willing to grant all he could reaſonably expect[n].

Blake ſailed from thence with the fleet to Jerſey, where he arrived in the month of October, and reduced it by the end of the year; as he did likewiſe Cornet-caſtle, which was the only place held out for the king in Guernſey; and thus ſecured the

[l] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 488, 489. The thanks of the parliament, with a full approbation of their ſervices, though ſucceſs had not attended them in reſpect to their conduct on the coaſt of Portugal, had been likewiſe tranſmitted to Blake and Popham, in a letter from the ſpeaker, while at ſea, dated Whitehall, July 12, 1650. Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. i. p. 155 [m] Heath's chronicle, p. 284, 288, 289. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 326. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 253. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii p. 77.

[n] The original articles, a MS. in folio of two ſheets, are ſtill preſerved in the library of the ſociety for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts.

ſovereignty

ſovereignty of the ſea, in this part of the world, for the parliament [o].

Sir George Ayſcue, after the reduction of Scilly, having ſtrengthened his fleet with ſome ſhips, ſailed into the Weſt-Indies, in order to reduce ſuch of the plantations as had declared for the king. On board his fleet ſailed colonel Allen, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who had been ſent by ſuch, in that colony and the Leeward-iſlands, as were well affected to the parliament, to demand relief. This fleet arrived in Carliſle-Bay, in Barbadoes, on the ſixteenth of October 1651, and took fourteen ſail of Dutch ſhips that were trading there.

Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, whom we before mentioned, was governor of the iſland for the king, and ſhewed ſo good an inclination to defend himſelf, that it was the ſeventeenth of December before Admiral Ayſcue thought fit to attempt landing; which at laſt he effected with ſome loſs, colonel Allen, with between thirty and forty men, being killed in the attempt. After his forces were on ſhore, the governor thought fit to capitulate, and had very fair conditions given him; for which it is thought, Admiral Ayſcue was never forgiven by his maſters at home [p]. While he lay at Barbadoes, he ſent a few ſhips under captain Dennis to reduce Virginia, which with ſome trouble he effected. Sir George likewiſe ſubdued the Leeward-iſlands; and having thus thoroughly fulfilled his commiſſion, he returned into Europe, where, as we ſhall ſee, he found the Dutch war already broke out [q].

The cauſes of this war are differently related, according to the humours and opinions of different writers [r]; the truth,

[o] Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 465. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 518, 519. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 343. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 326. [p] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 527, 531. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 385. Heath's chronicle, p. 306. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 78. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 254. [q] Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 466, 467. Davies's hiſt. of the civil wars, p. 327. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 532, 534, 536, 542. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 197. [r] Heath's chronicle, p. 285, 286, 308, 314. Dugdale's ſhort view of the late troubles, p. 402, 403. Davies's hiſt. of the civil wars, chap. 98. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 344—346, 388, 389. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 363, 364. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 75, 76. Manley's hiſt. of the rebellion, p. 256, 262. Cokes's detection, vol. ii. p. 19.

however,

however, ſeems to be, that the old commonwealth grew quickly jealous of the new one, and began to apprehend, that, whatever the reſt of the world might be, Holland was like to be no gainer by this change of government in England. The parliament, on the other ſide, was no leſs jealous of its new acquired ſovereignty, and expected, therefore, extraordinary marks of regard from all the powers with which it correſponded [s]. The murder of Dr. Doriſlaus, whom they had ſent with a public character to the ſtates, incenſed them exceedingly; nor were they better ſatisfied with the reception that St. John and the reſt of their ambaſſadors met with; and therefore had little regard to the expoſtulation of the Dutch, about their act of navigation, which was certainly a well-contrived meaſure, both for preſerving and for extending the trade of this nation. The Dutch, on the other hand, were extremely alarmed when they found the Engliſh commonwealth inſiſt on the ſovereignty of the ſea, the right of fiſhing, and licenſing to fiſh, diſpoſed to carry the point of ſaluting by the flag to the utmoſt height; and behaving ſo in all reſpects, that the ſtates were convinced they would act upon King Charles's plan, with this great advantage of raiſing money in much larger ſums, and yet with far leſs trouble than he did [t].

It was in the ſpring of the year 1652, that things came to extremities; but it was warmly diſputed then, and is not fully ſettled at this day, who were the aggreſſors. From the beſt compariſon I have been able to make of facts ſtated in all the authentic accounts on both ſides, it ſeems to me moſt probable

[s] See the propoſals made by Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, ambaſſadors for the commonwealth to the ſtates-general at the Hague, dated the 10th of May, 1651. in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 182. Nicholls's ſtate papers, p. 39—42. Letters of ſtate and other papers in Milton's proſe works, vol. ii. edit. 1753, 4to. [t] The reader, if he inclines to enter deep into the reaſons on which the Dutch war was grounded, may conſult Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 457—462. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 487, 491, 492, 495, 496. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 187, 195. who was himſelf ſecretary to the embaſſy for the parliament. Heath's chronicle, p. 314. and other writers, on one ſide, and Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 215, 216, 220, 221, 247—253. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. xiii. p. 307—315. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iii. p. 52—61. and the lives of the Dutch admirals on the other.

that

that it was the Dutch: and this for many reaſons; but particularly, becauſe they had made ſecretly great preparations for war, and had actually one hundred and fifty ſhips of force at ſea; whereas the Engliſh parliament equipped no more than the uſual ſquadron for guarding the narrow ſeas, which was under the command of Admiral Blake, and conſiſted of twenty-five ſhips only [u].

The firſt blood that was drawn in this quarrel, was occaſioned by commodore Young's firing upon a Dutch man of war, for the captain's refuſing him the honour of the flag. This was on the 14th of May 1652, and proved very honourable for our nation. Commodore Young acted with great caution, and gave the Dutch all the opportunity of avoiding a diſpute they could deſire. He ſent his boat on board the Dutchman, to perſuade him to ſtrike; but the captain anſwered plainly and honeſtly, that the ſtates had threatened to take off his head if he ſtruck: and upon this the fight began, in which the enemy was ſo roughly handled, as to be at laſt obliged to ſtrike. There were two other ſhips of war, and about twelve merchantmen, none of which interfered; and, on the other ſide, after the Dutch ſhips had taken in their flags, Commodore Young retired without making any prizes. This affair would have been much more the object of public notice, if an engagement of greater conſequence had not happened quickly after [w].

Admiral Van Tromp was at ſea with a fleet of upwards of forty ſail, to protect (as was given out) the Dutch trade. This fleet coming into the Downs on the 18th of May, they met there with a ſmall ſquadron, under the command of Major Bourne, to whom the admiral ſent word, that he was forced in by ſtreſs of weather; Bourne anſwered roundly, that the truth of this would beſt appear by the ſhortneſs of his ſtay, and immediately ſent advice of it to his admiral. The next day Van Tromp, with his fleet, bore down upon Blake in Dover road, and on his coming near him, Blake fired thrice at his flag;

[u] Heath's chronicle, p. 314, 315.

[w] This account I take from Young's letter to the parliament, dated on board the Preſident, Plymouth ſound, May 14, 1652. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 533. The perfect politician; or, a full view of the life and actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 167.

upon which the Dutch admiral returned a broad-ſide. For near four hours Blake was engaged almoſt alone, but by degrees the weather permitted his fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Towards the cloſe of the engagement, which laſted from four in the afternoon till nine at night, Bourne joined him with his eight ſhips, upon which the enemy bore away.

In this battle the victory was clearly on the ſide of the Engliſh, as the Dutch writers themſelves confeſs, there being two Dutch ſhips taken, and one diſabled; whereas the Engliſh loſt none: and yet the inequality in force was very great; for the Dutch fleet conſiſted at firſt of forty-two ſhips, and Blake's only of fifteen; and even at the end of the fight, he had no more than twenty-three. The admirals wrote each of them an account of this affair to their reſpective maſters, wherein they plainly contradict each other: but with this difference, that there is no diſproving any one fact mentioned in Blake's letter; whereas there are ſeveral falſhoods or miſtakes at leaſt in Tromp's; ſuch as, that Bourne's ſquadron conſiſted of twelve large ſhips, which could not be true. Beſides, though he inſiſts on Blake's being the aggreſſor, yet he owns, that his flag was out all the time [x]. The ſtates themſelves were ſo ſenſible of their being in the wrong, and at the ſame time ſo mortified that their fleet, notwithſtanding its ſuperiority, had been beat, that they apologized for it, and ſent over another ambaſſador, the Heer Adrian Paauw to proceed on the treaty. But the demands of the parliament were, in their opinion, too high, and ſo all thoughts of peace were diſmiſſed on both ſides, and the war was proclaimed in Holland on the 8th of July [y].

The Engliſh in the mean time, in virtue of the act of navigation, and by way of repriſal for the late damages, affronts, and hoſtilities, received from the ſtates-general and their ſubjects, took many Dutch ſhips. June 11, Blake brought in eleven merchant-ſhips with their convoy coming from Nantes. June 12, the Captains Taylor and Peacock, in two Engliſh fri-

[x] This account is copied from that printed by order of the parliament, with both admirals letters and other papers annexed, 4to, 1652. [y] Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 407. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 535. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 207, 208, 210—212.

gates, engaged two Dutch men of war, on the coaſt of Flanders, for refuſing to ſtrike; of which one was taken, and the other ſtranded [z]: and, on the 13th of the ſame month, Blake took twenty-ſix merchant-ſhips, with their convoys, homeward bound from France. July 4, vice-admiral Ayſcue, (who, in his late return from the reduction of Barbadoes, had taken ten merchant-ſhips, and four men of war), attacked the St. Ubes fleet of about forty ſail, of which near thirty were taken, burnt or ſtranded, and plundered, on the French coaſt.

After this, while the ſtates with the utmoſt diligence were getting ready a fleet of ſeventy men of war, under the command of admiral Van Tromp, Blake, with about ſixty, received orders to ſail to the north to diſturb and diſtreſs the Dutch fiſhery. Sir George Ayſcue (who, ſince the deſtruction of the St. Ubes fleet, had taken five Dutch merchant-ſhips) was left with the remainder of the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of no more than ſeven men of war in the Downs. While Blake triumphed in the north, as we ſhall ſhew in another place, Tromp with his great fleet came into the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of either ſurpriſing Ayſcue, or inſulting the coaſt. Failing of this, he ſailed northward to intercept Blake; but his ſhips being diſperſed by a ſtorm, he was diſappointed in that ſcheme alſo, and loſt five or ſix frigates, which fell into the hands of Blake, on his return towards the ſouth [a].

The people in Holland were very much diſſatisfied with the conduct of admiral Van Tromp, which is the caſe in all free countries, where a commander in chief is unſucceſsful. He acted upon this occaſion like a very wiſe man, and one who had a nice ſenſe of honour, firſt by juſtifying himſelf to the ſtates, and then in laying down his commiſſion to gratify the people. The main objection againſt him was his being no great ſeaman; and this engaged the ſtates to caſt their eyes upon de Ruyter, the ableſt man amongſt them in his profeſſion. He accepted the command, but accepted it unwillingly; for he ſaw

[z] The parliament were ſo pleaſed with the gallant behaviour of the Captains Taylor and Peacock, that they directed the ſpeaker to write them letters of thanks for their ſervices on that occaſion. [a] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 258, 259.

that

that as things then ſtood, the Engliſh were ſuperior [b]. The parliament in the mean time took care to ſtrengthen Sir George Ayſcue's fleet, ſo that it increaſed to thirty-eight ſail; of which only two were large ſhips, and the reſt frigates and fire-ſhips. With theſe he put to ſea in ſearch of the Dutch, took many rich prizes, and at laſt met with de Ruyter, who, with a fleet equal to his own, was convoying home between fifty and ſixty merchant-men. This was on the 16th of Auguſt 1652, and as our admiral was cruizing off Plymouth. It was about one in the afternoon when the fleets came in ſight. De Ruyter took twenty of the merchant ſhips into his line of battle, and was then very ready to engage. The fight began about four, when the Engliſh admiral, with nine others, charged through the Dutch fleet; and having thus got the weather-gage, attacked them again very bravely, and ſo they continued fighting till night, which parted them; the reſt of Sir George's fleet having very little to do in the action. The rear-admiral Peck loſt his leg, of which he ſoon died; and moſt of the captains who did their duty were wounded, and a fire-ſhip was loſt. On the other ſide, the Dutch were miſerably torn, ſo that many of their beſt ſhips were ſcarce able to keep the ſea. Sir George Ayſcue followed them for ſome time the next day, and then returned into Plymouth-found to refreſh his men, and repair his ſhips [c].

The Dutch gave a very partial account of this buſineſs, in which, without queſtion, the Engliſh had ſome, and might have had much greater advantage, if all their captains had behaved as they ought. This the parliament very well knew; but by a refined ſtroke of policy, choſe rather to lay the fault on a ſingle man, than endanger the obedience of the fleet, by puniſhing many; upon which principle they laid aſide that gallant and able ſeaman Sir George Ayſcue; yet ſoftly, and with a reward

[b] Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 461. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 538. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 419, 420. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 329. Manley's hiſt. of the rebellion, p. 264. [c] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 541, 542. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 265. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 175. Cokes's detection, vol. ii. p. 15. Le Clerc, tome ii. p. 322. Neuville, tome iii. liv. x. chap. x. La vie & les actions memorables du Sieur Michel de Ruyter, duc, chevalier & l'amiral general des provinces unies, Amſterdam 1677, 12mo. partie i. p. 9—12.

of three hundred pounds in money, and a penſion of three hundred pounds a-year. The true reaſon of this was, his granting ſo good terms to the Lord Willoughby, which they, however, performed very punctually [d].

The war was not long confined to the coaſts of Britain, but ſpread itſelf into almoſt every ſea; and every wind brought the news of freſh deſtruction and ſlaughter. About the latter end of the ſame month the Dutch admiral Van Galen, with eleven men of war, met and attacked the Engliſh commodore, Richard Bodley, with three men of war, a fire-ſhip, and three or four merchant-ſhips, homeward-bound from Scanderoon and Smyrna. The firſt day's fight began in the afternoon off the iſland of Elba on the coaſt of Tuſcany, and laſted till night with little advantage to either party. The Dutch hiſtorians agree, that three of their men of war being ſeparated in the night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up ſo as to have a ſhare in the ſecond engagement. On the other ſide, the Engliſh parted from their merchant-ſhips, which, being heavy and richly laden, were ordered to make the beſt of their way to the neareſt harbour.

The next morning the four remaining Engliſh being attacked by the eight Hollanders, the fight was renewed with great fury: Van Galen began a cloſe engagement with the Engliſh commodore; but being diſabled in his rigging, and having received three ſhots under water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced (as the Dutch hiſtorians acknowledge) to leave him. Another of the enemy's largeſt ſhips, renewing the attack, was likewiſe ſo well received that ſhe loſt her main-maſt: whereupon the Engliſh frigate the Phœnix, taking the opportunity, boarded the diſabled Hollander, but, being too weak, was taken after a ſharp fight of an hour, wherein moſt of her men were either killed or wounded. In the mean time the Engliſh commodore Bodley, being again boarded by two of the enemy's ſhips at once, defended himſelf ſo reſolutely, that (by the confeſſion of the Dutch writers) they were both beaten off with a dreadful ſlaughter of their men, and the loſs of both their captains: whereupon Bodley, ſeeing himſelf left by the enemy, (after having loſt about a hundred men, killed and wounded), with his three remaining

[d] Heath's chronicle, p. 323.

ſhips,

ſhips, followed the merchant-men to Porto-Longone, leaving the Hollanders to caſt up the account of the honour and profit they had gained by this encounter. The enemy loſt three of their captains in the fight, whom they afterwards buried at the laſt-mentioned place, where the Engliſh and they, being in a neutral harbour, continued very friendly together for ſome time [e].

Admiral Blake, who was now in the channel, did infinite damage to the enemy; and, ſome hoſtilities having been committed on the coaſt of Newfoundland by the French, our gallant admiral attacked a ſtrong ſquadron of their ſhips going to the relief of Dunkirk, took or deſtroyed them all, by which means this important place fell into the hands of the Spaniards [f]. The Dutch, ſeeing their trade thus ruined, and apprehenſive of ſtill worſe conſequences, fitted out another fleet under the command of de Witte, and ſent it to join de Ruyter, who was appointed to bring home a large number of merchantmen. After the junction of theſe fleets, and the ſending the ſhips they were to convoy into Holland, the admirals ſhewed a deſign of attacking the Engliſh navy, and Blake gave them a fair opportunity of executing their intention. But, when it came to the point, the Dutch fleet covered themſelves behind a ſand-bank, which, however, did not hinder Blake from engaging them on the 28th of September.

He divided his fleet into three ſquadrons; the firſt commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by vice-admiral Penn, and the third by

[e] Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 365. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 15, 16. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, part ii. book ii. p. 266. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 263. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iii. p. 65, 66. Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. i. p. 219. [f] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 463. Heath's chronicle, p. 325. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 329, 330. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 264. Memoirs de Montglat, tom. iii. p. 321, 322. Martiniere hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tome ii. p. 215. The count d'Eſtrades in his memoirs, tome i. in a letter to Cardinal Mazarine, dated Dunkirk, Feb. 5, 1652, informs his eminence, that Cromwell had made him an offer by one Fitz-James, the colonel of his guards, to furniſh fifty men of war, to join the king's army with fifteen thouſand foot, to pay two millions, and to declare war againſt Spain, if they would ſurrender Dunkirk to him rather than to the Spaniards; which propoſal the cardinal approved, as appears by his anſwer to the count, dated Poictiers, March 2, 1652, and which, as he ſays, would have been accepted, if Mr. de Chateauneuf had not oppoſed it ſo ſtrongly, as that the queen could not be induced to give her conſent.

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rear-admiral Bourne. It was about three when the engagement began, and the Engliſh quickly diſcovered their raſhneſs in attacking an enemy under ſuch diſadvantages; for the Sovereign, a new ſhip, ſtruck immediately on the ſands, and ſo did ſeveral others; but, getting off again, the Engliſh fleet ſtood aloof till de Witte came freely from his advantages to a fair engagement, which was boldly begun by Bourne, and gallantly ſeconded by the reſt of the fleet. A Dutch man of war, attempting to board the Sovereign, was ſunk by her ſide, and this by the firſt diſcharge ſhe made. Soon after a Dutch rear-admiral was taken by captain Mildmay, and two other men of war ſunk, a third blowing up before the end of the fight. De Witte was then glad to retire, and was purſued by the Engliſh fleet as long as it was light. The next day they continued the chace, till they were within twelve leagues of the Dutch ſhore, and then ſeeing the Dutch fleet entering into the Goree, Blake returned in triumph to the Downs, and thence into port, having loſt about 300 men, and having as many wounded [g]. For the reception of the latter the parliament took care to provide hoſpitals near Dover and Deal, and ſent alſo their thanks to the admiral and his officers [h].

The Dutch writers pretend they loſt no ſhips. They admit, however, that one was taken, but add, this veſſel, being afterwards deſerted, was brought ſafe into port. De Witte fairly confeſſed the loſs, and charged it firſt on the bad behaviour of no leſs than twenty of his captains, who withdrew out of the line of battle, and next on the ſtates having bad intelligence, the Engliſh fleet being more numerous, and compoſed of ſhips of greater bulk than he expected. Theſe excuſes were certainly true, and yet the people uſed their admirals ſo ill, that de Ruyter grew deſirous of throwing up his commiſſion, and de Witte fell ſick upon it. The ſtates, however, behaved with great prudence and courage, repaired and augmented their fleet to eighty ſail in ſix weeks time, and then engaged admiral Van Tromp to take the command of them, though ſome ſay, that the king of Denmark drew them into this reſolution by promiſing them a

[g] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 545, 546. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 330. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 426, 427. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 16. [h] Heath's chronicle, p. 317.

powerful

powerful ſquadron of his ſhips, provided Tromp had the command [i].

This prince had very unadviſedly engaged himſelf in a quarrel with the parliament by detaining (at the requeſt of the Dutch) a fleet of 20 Engliſh ſhips in the harbour of Copenhagen. At firſt he pretended that he did it for their ſafety, and therefore commodore Ball was ſent with a ſquadron of eighteen ſail to convoy them home, when his Daniſh Majeſty declared his reſolution to keep them, and the fear he was under for the conſequences of this ſtrange and inconſiderate ſtep, induced him to offer the Dutch his aſſiſtance. This fell out happily for them; for the Engliſh now filled their ports with Dutch prizes, while the people of Holland, ſuffering in ſo tender a point, began to loſe all patience; which forced the ſtates to hurry out Tromp with his ſhips, in order to convoy a fleet of about 300 merchantmen through the channel [k].

It being now the beginning of November, Blake, who thought the ſeaſon of action over, had detached twenty of his ſhips for the ſecurity of the Newcaſtle colliers; twelve more were ſent to Plymouth, and fifteen were retired into the river, in order to repair the damage which they had received in a ſtorm. Admiral Tromp having intelligence of this, and that Blake had with him no more than thirty-ſeven ſhips, and many of theſe but thinly manned, reſolved to attack him in the Downs, not far from the place where they had fought before [l]. On the 29th of November he preſented himſelf before the Engliſh fleet, and Blake, after holding a council of war, reſolved to engage, notwithſtanding this great inequality: but, the wind riſing, they were obliged to defer fighting till next day; and that night our fleet rode a little above Dover-road. In the morning both fleets plied weſtward, Blake having the weather-gage. About eleven the battle began with great fury; but, very unluckily for the Engliſh, half

i Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 260, 261. Le Clerk, hiſt. des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 323, 324. La vie de Ruyter, partie i. p. 15. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 16. k Whitlocke's memorials, p. 545, 546. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 330. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 174. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 429. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 266. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 289, 290. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 68. l Heath's chronicle, p. 229, 230. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 437, 438.

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of their ſmall fleet could not engage. The Triumph, in which Blake was in perſon, the Victory, and the Vanguard, bore almoſt the whole ſtreſs of the fight, having twenty Dutch men of war upon them at once; and yet they fought it out till it was dark. Late in the evening the Garland commanded by captain Batten, and the Bonaventure, captain Hookſton, clapped Van Tromp aboard, killed his ſecretary and purſer by his ſide, and had certainly taken his ſhip, if they had not been boarded by two Dutch flags, by whom, after their captains were killed, both theſe ſhips were taken. Blake, who ſaw this with indignation, puſhed ſo far to their relief, that he was very near ſharing the ſame fate, if the Vanguard and Sapphire had not ſtood by him with the utmoſt reſolution, and at laſt brought him off[m]. The Hercules was run aſhore in the retreat; and, if the night had not ſheltered them, moſt of the ſhips that were engaged muſt have been loſt; but they took the advantage of its obſcurity, and retired firſt to Dover, and then into the river.

Admiral Tromp continued a day or two in the Downs, ſailed from thence towards Calais, took part of the Barbadoes fleet, and ſome other prizes, and then ſailed to the iſle of Rhe with a broom at his top-maſt head, intimating, that he would ſweep the narrow ſeas of Engliſh ſhips[n]. There appears, however, no ſuch reaſon for boaſting as the Dutch writers ſuggeſt; their fleet had indeed many advantages; yet they bought their ſucceſs very dear, one of their beſt ſhips being blown up, and two ſhips of their admirals in a manner diſabled[o].

The parliament ſhewed their ſteadineſs by careſſing Blake after his defeat, and naming him, in conjunction with Deane and Monk, their generals at ſea for another year. In order to the more ſpeedy manning the navy, they iſſued a proclamation, offering conſiderable rewards to ſuch as entered themſelves within the ſpace of forty days; they alſo raiſed the ſailors pay from nineteen to twenty-four ſhillings a-month: and this had ſo good

[m] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 551. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 16, 17. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 330, 331. [n] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 261. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 324, 325. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 69, 70. [o] Heath's chronicle, p. 330. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 17. Echard's hiſtory of England, book iii. chap. i. p. 701.

an effect, that in ſix weeks time they had a fleet ready to put to ſea of ſixty men of war; forty under Blake in the river, and twenty more at Portſmouth. On the 11th of February both fleets joined near Beachey-head, and thence admiral Blake ſailed over-againſt Portland, where he lay croſs the channel, in order to welcome Tromp on his return. This was a kind of ſurprize on the Dutch admiral, who did not think it poſſible, after the late defeat, for the parliament to fit out in ſo ſhort a ſpace a fleet capable of facing him again. He had between two and three hundred merchant-ſhips under convoy, and was therefore much amazed, when, ſailing up the channel, he found Blake ſo ſtationed, that it was impoſſible to avoid fighting. Engliſh and Dutch authors vary pretty much as to the ſtrength of their reſpective fleets; but, by comparing both the admirals letters, I apprehend they were nearly equal, each having about ſeventy ſail [p].

The generals Blake and Deane were both on board the Triumph, and with twelve ſtout ſhips led their fleet, and fell in firſt with the Dutch on the 18th of February, 1653, about eight in the morning. They were very roughly treated before the reſt of the fleet came up, though gallantly ſeconded by Lawſon in the Fairfax, and captain Mildmay in the Vanguard. In the Triumph Blake was wounded in the thigh with a piece of iron a ſhot had driven, and the ſame piece of iron tore general Deane's coat and breeches. Captain Ball, who commanded the ſhip, was ſhot dead, and fell at Blake's feet; his ſecretary Mr. Sparrow was likewiſe killed receiving his orders: he loſt beſides theſe an hundred ſeamen, and the reſt were moſt of them wounded, and his ſhip ſo miſerably ſhattered, that it had little ſhare in the two next days fights [q].

In the Fairfax there were an hundred men killed, and the ſhip wretchedly torn; the Vanguard loſt her captain and abundance of men. The Proſperous, a ſhip of forty-four guns, was boarded by de Ruyter, and taken; but, de Ruyter's ſhip being

[p] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 464. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 331. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 439. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 17. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 298, 299. [q] Heath's chronicle, p. 335. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 551. Echard, Rapin, and other hiſtorians.

in that inſtant boarded by an Engliſh man of war, captain Veſey in the Merlin frigate entered the Proſperous, and retook her. The Aſſiſtance, vice-admiral of the blue ſquadron, was diſabled in the beginning of the fight, and brought off to Portſmouth, whether the Advice quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the ſea. Tromp, who was long engaged with Blake, loſt moſt of his officers, and had his ſhip diſabled; de Ruyter loſt his main and fore-top-maſt, and very narrowly eſcaped being taken. One Dutch man of war was blown up; ſix more were either ſunk or taken: the latter had their rigging ſo clotted with blood and brains, that it was impoſſible to look upon them but with horror[r].

Friday night was ſpent in repairing the damage, and making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a ſecond engagement. On Saturday morning the enemy was ſeen again ſeven leagues off Weymouth, whither the Engliſh plyed, and came up with them in the afternoon about three leagues to the north-weſt of the Iſle of Wight. Tromp had drawn again his fleet together, and ranged it in the form of an half-moon, incloſing the merchant-ſhips within a ſemicircle, and in that poſture he maintained a retreating fight. The Engliſh made ſeveral deſperate attacks, ſtriving to break through to the merchant-ſhips: on which occaſion de Ruyter's ſhip was again ſo roughly treated, that ſhe was towed out of the fleet. At laſt the merchantmen, finding they could be no longer protected, began to ſhift for themſelves, throwing part of their goods over board for the greater expedition. According to Blake's own letter, eight men of war and fourteen or ſixteen merchant-ſhips were taken, and the fight continued all night[s].

On Sunday morning the Dutch were near Bulloign, where the fight was renewed, but with little effect. Tromp had ſlipped away in the dark with his merchantmen to Calais-ſands, where he anchored that day with forty ſail; the wind favouring him, he thence tided it home, our fleet purſuing but ſlowly; for Blake, though he feared not Dutchmen, yet dreaded their ſhallow coaſts: however, the captains Lawſon, Marten, and Graver, took each a Dutch man of war; Penn picked up many of

[r] Heath's chronicle, p. 337. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 300. Le Clerc, tome ii. liv. 13. Neuville, tome iii. liv. x. ch. 10. [s] Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 331. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 47.

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their merchantmen. On the whole, the Dutch had the better the firſt day, loſt ground the ſecond, and were clearly beaten the third. They loſt eleven men of war, (their own accounts ſay but nine), thirty merchantmen, 1500 men killed, and as many wounded. As for the Engliſh, they loſt only the Sampſon, which captain Button, finding diſabled, ſunk of his own accord; as to their men, it is certain their loſs was little inferior to the Dutch [t].

It is remarkable, that in this fight Blake, who had been long a land-officer, made uſe of a good body of ſoldiers, and with all the ſucceſs he could wiſh: yet this is no precedent in any but ſuch a war as this was, ſince theſe troops had no time to languiſh or grow ſick, but were engaged almoſt as ſoon as they were put on board. The people contributed readily and plentifully to the relief of our wounded ſeamen, and the Dutch on their ſide complimented Tromp on his conduct, which was certainly no more than he deſerved [u].

In the mean time things went but ill in the Streights, where an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron lay together in the road of Leghorn. An action happened there which deſerves to be related, becauſe there appears as much true bravery and maritime ſkill in the Engliſh officers who had the misfortune to be beat, as ever rendered a victory conſpicuous; and it ought to be the buſineſs of an hiſtorian, to celebrate merit rather than ſucceſs.

The Engliſh ſquadron conſiſted of ſix ſhips, commanded by Commodore Appleton, of the burden and force expreſſed in the following liſt:

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
The Leopard,	52	180
Bonaventure,	44	150

[t] Heath's chronicle, p. 335. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 301. La vie de Ruyter, p. i. p. 22—30. Hollands mercurius van Het Jaar, 1653, p. 44. [u] Heath's chronicle, p. 335. The ſtates made a preſent of a gold chain to Van Tromp of the value of two thouſand guilders. Evertſon and de Ruyter were gratified with fifteen hundred guilders each, and leſſer gratuities were beſtowed on other officers. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 553.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
Sampſon,	36	90
Levant-Merchant,	28	60
Pilgrim,	30	70
Mary,	30	70

Commodore Appleton took this opportunity of lying ſo near the Dutch ſquadron, to ſend three boats manned with reſolute ſeamen, and commanded by one captain Cox, to execute a deſign upon the ſhip Phœnix, which had been taken from the Engliſh in the rencounter near Elba, and which at this time made a part of the enemy's ſquadron. This deſign was undertaken on the 26th of November 1652, and it ſucceeded ſo well, that the ſhip being boarded by the Engliſh, the Dutch were ſo ſurprized, that they made but little reſiſtance; and young Van Tromp, who commanded her, was forced to leap into the water to avoid being taken. The action was performed with ſuch expedition, that before the Dutch, who lay next her, were well apprized of what had happened, ſhe was carried away. But the great duke of Tuſcany being informed of this adventure, and judging it to be a violation of the neutrality of that port, he ordered the Engliſh either to reſtore the Phœnix, or to depart from thence. To depart was not without danger: for Van Galen, with the whole ſtrength of the enemy in thoſe ſeas, conſiſting of ſixteen men of war, a fire-ſhip, and ſeveral ſtout merchant-ſhips, (the crews of which were offered a ſhare of the booty if they would engage), lay ready before the harbour to intercept them [w].

Yet

[w] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 552. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 16. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 269. Heath's chronicle, p. 330, 331. The grand duke, by his letters of the ſeventh and ninth of December 1652, and more at large by Signior Almerie Salvetti his miniſter in England, complained loudly of the violation of his port, and of Appleton's behaviour on that occaſion, and inſiſted on a proper ſatisfaction. The parliament were ſo highly offended with the miſconduct of the commodore, that they referred the whole matter to the council of ſtate, who ſent immediate orders to Appleton, to return home by land, without the leaſt delay; wrote a moſt obliging anſwer to the grand duke, which bears date the 14th of the ſame month, and which they deſpatched on purpoſe by an expreſs, teſtifying their great concern for the accident; and an aſſurance, that ſuch a courſe ſhould be taken with the commodore

Yet they rather choſe to run all hazards, than to deliver up the ſhip. With this reſolution they deſpatched away advice to commodore Bodley, who lay at the iſland of Elba with two men of war, a fire-ſhip, and the four merchant-ſhips which were in the former engagement with Van Galen; and it was agreed between the two commodores, that Bodley with his ſmall ſquadron, (though unfit for action, partly from the loſs of men in the late fight, partly on account of the merchant-ſhips under their convoy, which were laden with fifteen hundred bales of ſilk, and other valuable goods), ſhould appear about the time fixed, within ſight of Leghorn, in order to amuſe the Dutch, and thereby, if poſſible, to draw them from before the harbour, and ſo open a paſſage for Appleton to eſcape. According to this agreement, Bodley, on the 2d of March 1653, came within ſight of the place. On the 3d, he cauſed three or four of his beſt ſailors to approach the enemy, who were ſtationed before the port: whereupon, their whole ſquadron (as was expected) ſtood to ſea, and gave them chace. This Appleton perceiving, took the opportunity to weigh and come out; but a little too ſoon: for the Dutch being aware of their deſign, immediately gave over the chace, and tacking about, fell upon Appleton's ſquadron with nine of their men of war, while the reſt obſerved Bodley.

At the firſt encounter, an unfortunate ſhot from Van Galen's ſhip ſet fire to the Bonaventure, which blew up, though not unrevenged; for at the ſame time a ſhot from that ſhip broke Van Galen's leg, of which hurt he ſoon after died. In the mean while, Appleton was attacked by two of the Hollanders at once, againſt whom he maintained a cloſe fight of four or five hours, with ſuch reſolution, that both the Dutch ſhips were at length ſo diſabled, that they ſcarce fired a ſhot; Van Galen

dore as ſhould ſufficiently manifeſt to all the world, they could no leſs brook the violation of his right, than the infringement of their own authority, which had been trampled upon in this inſtance, contrary to thoſe repeated commands to their chief officers and captains arriving in his ports, which was to carry themſelves with the moſt reſpectful obſervance poſſible. And in regard to the ſhip Phœnix, they promiſe, after hearing Appleton, and farther conference with his reſident, to pronounce ſuch a ſentence as ſhall be agreeable to juſtice and equity.

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ſeeing the reſolution of the Engliſh commodore, and going (though deſperately wounded) to the aſſiſtance of his friends, was in great danger by a fire-ſhip ſent from Bodley's ſquadron.

But another ſhip coming to the aſſiſtance of the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, they renewed the attack with greater vigour. Some Dutch writers report, that Appleton finding himſelf oppreſſed by ſuch unequal numbers, after having made all poſſible reſiſtance, ran down, and would have blown up his ſhip; but that, being hindered by his ſeamen, he was obliged to yield. The young Van Tromp attacked the Sampſon, was beaten off after a deſperate fight; but the Sampſon was ſoon after burnt by a fire-ſhip. The Levant-Merchant being encountered by one of the enemy's ſhips, beat her off, and ſtranded her. But being at laſt taken, together with the Pilgrim, (which had loſt her main and mizen-maſts in the fight), the Mary, thus left alone, made her eſcape, and joined the neareſt ſhips of Bodley's ſquadron, which put an end to the engagement [x].

Before we can regularly return to the events of the war nearer home, it is abſolutely neceſſary to take notice of the great change made in our civil government by Cromwell, who, on the 20th of April 1653, entered the Houſe of Commons, and diſſolved the parliament by force [y]. An action ſtupendous in itſelf, and which ſeems to have ſtruck too many of our own and of foreign hiſtorians with want of diſcernment.

They attribute to Cromwell, whatever was done after the murder of the king; and the Dutch hiſtorians particularly impute this war to him, and amongſt other reaſons for his diſſolving the parliament, make this to have been one, that he ſuſ-

[x] Heath's chronicle, p. 337. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 551, 553. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 306, where this writer tells us, that the body of admiral Van Galen was tranſported into Holland, buried at Amſterdam, and a magnificent monument erected to his memory, at the expence of the ſtates. [y] Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 478. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 456. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 554. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 161. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 367. Dugdale's ſhort view of the troubles, p. 405. Bulſtrode's memoirs, p. 194.

pected

pected they were inclined to peace [z]; whereas, in truth, never two governments were leſs alike, than thoſe of the parliament and the protector; the former acted upon national principles, the latter from private views. The Dutch war was the parliament's war, begun upon the old quarrel, which King Charles would have proſecuted, had he been able. It is true, that Cromwell carried on the war, but it was only till he could make ſuch a peace as ſerved his turn; and our noble hiſtorian rightly obſerves, that it was the parliament's perſiſting in carrying on this war, that compelled Cromwell to act ſooner than he would have done; from his foreſight, that if they once conquered their foreign enemies, they would not ſo eaſily be overturned at home by their own creatures [a].

It muſt be confeſſed, that the Dutch did not inſtantly receive any great benefit from this ſudden revolution; but then it muſt be conſidered, that the chief officers of the fleet concurred in this meaſure. The government of the parliament was a government of order and laws, (however they came by their authority), the government of the general, afterwards protector, was entirely military: no wonder, therefore, that both the navy and the army were pleaſed with him [b]. Some advantage, however, the enemy certainly reaped from this change in Engliſh affairs; for Van Tromp conveyed a great fleet of merchant-men of the north, (for they were now forced to try that rout rather than the channel), and though our navy followed him to the height of Aberdeen, yet it was to no purpoſe: he eſcaped them both going and coming back, which gave him an opportunity of coming into the Downs, making ſome prizes, and battering Dover-caſtle [c]. This ſcene of triumph laſted but a bare week;

[z] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 303. and the ſame error runs through all the Dutch hiſtorians. [a] Clarendon's hiſt. vol. vi. p. 464. where he proves, that Cromwell was never heartily inclined to the Dutch war, and p. 476. where he ſhews what the cauſes were which haſtened Cromwell in the execution of his project. [b] Heath's chronicle, p. 339, 340. Warwicke's memoirs, compared with Whitlocke. Cromwell received the moſt flattering addreſſes from almoſt all parts of the united kingdom for diſſolving the parliament: but none appeared more hearty in their congratulations, or profeſſed greater ſubmiſſion, than the officers of the army and navy. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 333. [c] Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487. Davies's hiſt. of the civil wars, p. 336. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 556, 557.

for

for Tromp came thither on the 26th of May, and on the laſt of that month he had intelligence, that Monk and Deane, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, were approaching[d], and that their whole fleet conſiſted of ninety-five ſail of men of war, and five fire-ſhips. The Dutch had ninety-eight men of war, and ſix fire-ſhips, and both fleets were commanded by men the moſt remarkable for courage and conduct in either nation; ſo that it was generally conceived this battle would prove deciſive.

On the 2d of June in the morning, the Engliſh fleet diſcovered the enemy, whom they immediatly attacked with great vigour. The action began about eleven o'clock, and the firſt broad-ſide from the enemy carried off the brave admiral Deane, whoſe body was almoſt cut in two by a chain-ſhot. Monk, with much preſence of mind, covered his body with his cloak[e]: and here appeared the wiſdom of having both admirals on board the ſame ſhip; for as no flag was taken in, the fleet had no notice of this accident, but the fight continued with the ſame warmth as if it had not happened. The blue ſquadron charged through the enemy, and rear-admiral Lawſon bid fair for taking de Ruyter; and after he was obliged to leave his ſhip, ſunk another of forty-two guns, commanded by captain Buller. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confuſion, and Tromp ſaw himſelf obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a ſtout ſhip, commanded by Cornelius van Velſen, blew up. This increaſed the conſternation in which they were before; and though Tromp uſed every method in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired upon ſuch ſhips as drew out of the line, yet it was to no purpoſe, but rather ſerved to increaſe their misfortune. In the night Blake arrived in the Engliſh fleet, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips, and ſo had his ſhare in the ſecond day's engagement[f].

[d] Heath's chronicle, p. 344. [e] Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 59. [f] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 557. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 466. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 34. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 337. I have likewiſe conſulted Monk's letter, printed in the proceedings of the parliament called by the authority of general Cromwell in 1653. p. 27. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 269.

Tromp did all that was conſiſtent with his honour to avoid fighting the next day; but he would not do more, ſo that the Engliſh fleet came up with them again by eight in the morning, and engaged with the utmoſt fury: the battle continued very hot for about four hours, and vice-admiral Penn boarded Tromp twice, and had taken him, if he had not been ſeaſonably relieved by de Witte and de Ruyter. At laſt the Dutch fell again into confuſion, which was ſo great, that a plain flight quickly followed; and, inſtead of truſting to their arms, they ſought ſhelter on the flat coaſt of Newport, from whence, with difficulty enough, they eſcaped to Zealand. Our writers agree, that the Dutch had ſix of their beſt ſhips ſunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; ſix of their principal captains were made priſoners, and upwards of fifteen hundred men. Among the ſhips before mentioned one was a vice, and two were rear-admirals [g]. The Dutch hiſtorians, indeed, confeſs the loſs but of eight men of war. On our ſide, admiral Deane and one captain were all the perſons of note killed: of private men there were but few, and not a ſhip was miſſing; ſo that a more ſignal victory could ſcarce be obtained, or indeed deſired. Beſides, the enemy's ſhips were now blocked up in their ports; and the ſight of a foreign fleet now at their doors had this farther bad conſequence, that it excited domeſtic tumults. We need not wonder, then, that the Dutch, whilſt in ſuch circumſtances, ſent ambaſſadors into England to negotiate a peace almoſt on any terms [h]. Theſe Crom-

[g] Heath's chronicle, p. 345. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 366. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 267. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 60, 61. See Van Tromp's letter to the ſtates in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 270. See the letters ſent by the ſtates to their miniſters at foreign courts, dated Hague June 16, 1653. In the ſame collection, p. 273. Mercurius politicus, (a paper of thoſe times), N° 158. p. 2516, 2517. Echard, p 705. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 208. Rapin, and other hiſtorians.

[h] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 308, 309. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tom. ii. liv. xiii. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tom. iii. liv. x. chap. xi. xii. La vie de Ruyter, part i. p 30. There are innumerable letters in the firſt volume of Thurloe's ſtate papers, which deſcribe the infinite uneaſineſs the ſtates and people were under at ſeeing their ports blocked up. The many tumults and other diſorders in the different towns occaſioned thereby, and the great pains taken by the Dutch miniſter in England, as appears alſo by their letters, to conclude a peace. See p. 293, 294, 295, 307, 315—318, 334, 340, 341.

well received with haughtineſs enough, talked high, and aſſumed to himſelf the credit of former victories, in which he could have little ſhare[i], but of which he very ably availed himſelf now.

The ſtates, however, were far from truſting entirely to negotiations, but, at the time they treated, laboured with the utmoſt diligence to repair their paſt loſſes, and to fit out a new fleet. This was a very difficult taſk; and, in order to effect it, they were forced to raiſe the ſeamen's wages, though their trade was at a full ſtop: they came down in perſon to their ports, and ſaw their men embarked, and advanced them wages before-hand; and promiſed them, if they would fight once again, they would never aſk them to fight more[k].

Yet all this would hardly have done, if the induſtry of de Witte, in equipping their new-built ſhips, and the care and ſkill of Van Tromp in refitting their old ones, and encouraging the ſeamen, had not contributed more than all the other methods that were taken to the ſetting out a freſh fleet, of upwards of ninety ſhips, in the latter end of July, a thing admired then, and ſcarce credible now. Theſe were victualled for five months; and the ſcheme laid down by the ſtates was this, that to force the Engliſh fleet to leave their ports, this navy of theirs ſhould come and block up ours. But firſt it was reſolved, Van Tromp ſhould ſail to the mouth of the Texel, where de Ruyter, with twenty-five ſail of ſtout ſhips, was kept in by the Engliſh fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their ſtation, and give the Dutch ſquadron thereby an opportunity of coming out[l].

On the 29th of July 1653, the Dutch fleet appeared in ſight of the Engliſh, upon which the latter did their utmoſt to engage them: but Van Tromp, having in view the releaſe of de Witte, rather than fighting, kept off; ſo that it was ſeven at night before general Monk in the Reſolution, with about thirty ſhips,

i Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487, 488. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 311. k Heath's chronicle, p. 346. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 301, 307, 325, 367. l Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 308, 312. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tom. ii. liv. xiii. p. 331. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. xii. Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 488. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 359, 364, 392.

great

great and ſmall, came up with them, and charged through their fleet. It growing dark ſoon after, there paſſed nothing more that night, Monk ſailing to the ſouth, and Van Tromp to the northward, and this not being ſuſpected by the Engliſh, he both joined de Witte's ſquadron and gained the weather-gage [m]. The next day proving very foul and windy, the ſea ran ſo high that it was impoſſible for the fleets to engage, the Engliſh particularly finding it hard enough to avoid running upon the enemy's coaſts [n].

On Sunday July 31, the weather being become favourable, both fleets engaged with terrible fury. The battle laſted at leaſt eight hours, and was the moſt hard-fought of any that had happened throughout the war. The Dutch fire-ſhips were managed with great dexterity, many of the large veſſels in the Engliſh fleet were in the utmoſt danger of periſhing by them; and the Triumph was ſo effectually fired, that moſt of her crew threw themſelves into the ſea, and yet thoſe few who ſtaid behind were ſo lucky as to put it out [o]. Lawſon engaged de Ruyter briſkly, killed and wounded above half his men, and ſo diſabled his ſhip that it was towed out of the fleet; yet the admiral did not leave the battle ſo, but returned in a galliot, and went on board another ſhip. About noon, Van Tromp was ſhot through the body with a muſket ball, as he was giving orders [p]. This miſerably diſcouraged his countrymen, ſo that by two they began to fly in great confuſion, having but one flag ſtanding amongſt them. The lighteſt frigates in the Engliſh fleet purſued them cloſely, till the Dutch admiral, perceiving they were but ſmall, and of no great ſtrength, turned his helm

[m] Heath's chronicle, p. 346, 347. Proceedings of the parliament, A. D. 1653, p. 28. Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 488. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 562. [n] Heath's chronicle, p. 347. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 337. Gumble's life of Monk. [o] Clarendon. Whitlocke. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 366. [p] Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 488, 489. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 562. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 468. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 35. Bates's elenchus motuum, part ii. p. 176. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 268. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 48. See the journal of vice-admiral de Witte of the proceedings of the fleet, written with his own hand to the ſtates, dated 11th Auguſt, 1653, N. S. in Thurloe's collection, vol. i. p. 392. Leeven Van Tromp, part iii. Vie de Ruyter, part i. p. 32, 33.

and reſolved to engage them; but ſome bigger ſhips coming in to their aſſiſtance, the Dutchman was taken [q]. It was night by that time their ſcattered fleet recovered the Texel. The Engliſh fearing their flats, rode very warily about ſix leagues off.

This was a terrible blow to the Dutch, of whom, according to Monk's letter, no leſs than thirty ſhips were loſt; but, from better intelligence, it appeared that four of theſe had eſcaped, two into a port of Zealand, and two into Hamburgh [r]. Their loſs, however, was very great: five captains were taken priſoners, and between four and five thouſand men killed, twenty-ſix ſhips of war either burnt or ſunk. On the ſide of the Engliſh there were two ſhips only, *viz.* the Oak and the Hunter frigate burnt, ſix captains killed, and upwards of five hundred ſeamen. There were alſo ſix captains wounded, and about eight hundred private men [s]. The Dutch writers diſpute many of theſe points, and ſome of them will not allow that they loſt above nine ſhips. The contrary of this, however, appears from de Witte's letter to the ſtates, wherein he owns many more; confeſſes, that he had made a very precipitate retreat, for which he aſſigns two reaſons; firſt, that the beſt of their ſhips were miſerably ſhattered, and next, that many of his officers had behaved like poltrons [t].

Some very ſingular circumſtances attended this extraordinary victory, and deſerve therefore to be mentioned. There were ſeveral merchant-men in the fleet, and Monk, finding occaſion to employ them, thought proper to ſend their captains to each other's ſhips, in order to take off their concern for their owners veſſels and cargoes; a ſcheme which anſwered his purpoſe

[q] Heath's chronicle, p. 348. [r] See Monk's letter printed in the proceedings of the parliament of this year, and which was written the very evening of the fight, *viz.* July 31, 1653. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 67, 68. [s] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 562, 564. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 338. Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 489. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. Heath's chronicle, p. 348. Echard, Kennet, Rapin, and the reſt of our hiſtorians. [t] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 313, 314. Leeven Van Tromp, p. 142. See de Witte's journal before cited, wherein he tells the ſtates, among other things, he had diſcovered, to his great vexation, that divers of the captains had retired out of the reach of the enemy's cannon, as well in this engagement as formerly; and intimates, that if they had been hanged for behaving ſo before, they had not had it in their power to have acted the ſame parts over again.

perfectly

perfectly well, no ships in the fleet behaving better [u]. He had likewise observed, that in most engagements much time and many opportunities were lost, by taking ships and sending them into harbour; and considering that still greater inconveniences must arise from their nearness to the enemy's coast, and distance from their own, he issued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they should not either give or take quarter; which, however, were not so strictly observed, but that twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the sea, while their ships were sinking [w].

General Monk himself was so active, that, in his letter to Cromwell, dated the 2d of August 1653, he takes notice, that of five Dutch flags that were flying at the beginning of the fight, he had the good fortune to bring down three, *viz.* those of Tromp, Evertson, and de Ruyter [x]; and so long he continued in the heat of the dispute, that his ship, the Resolution, was at last towed out of the line: and, indeed, most of the great vessels had been so roughly handled, that there was no continuing on the enemy's coast any longer, without danger of their sinking.

The parliament then sitting, who were of Cromwell's appointment, upon the 8th of August, 1653, ordered gold chains to be sent to the generals Blake and Monk, and likewise to vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Lawson; they sent also chains to the rest of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of August was appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving [y]; and, Monk being then in town, Cromwell, at a great feast in the city, put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time [z]. As for the states, they supported their loss with inexpressible courage and constancy; they buried Tromp very magnificently at the public expence [a], and, as soon as the return

[u] Heath's chronicle, p. 348. [w] Gumble's life of Monk, p. 62. [x] Proceedings of the parliament, p. 33. where there is an extract only; but I have seen a copy of the entire letter. [y] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 563, 564. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 338. Manley's history of the rebellion, p. 269. Parliamentary proceedings, p. 39, 45. [z] Gumble's life of Monk, p. 77. [a] Basnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 315, 316. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. xiii. Neuville histoire de Hollande, tome iii. p. 83. Various medals were struck by order of the states to perpetuate to lat-

return of the Engliſh fleet permitted, ſent de Witte with a fleet of fifty men of war and five fire-ſhips to the Sound, in order to convoy home a fleet of 300 merchantmen, there aſſembled from different quarters [b].

This he performed very happily, though the Engliſh fleet did all that was poſſible to intercept him: but the joy, which the Dutch conceived upon this occaſion, was ſoon qualified by accidents of another ſort; for an Engliſh ſquadron, falling in with a large fleet of merchantmen in the mouth of the Ulie, took moſt of them, and admiral Lawſon, ſailing to the north, deſtroyed their herring-fiſhing for that year, and either took or ſunk moſt of the frigates ſent to protect them; beſides, a great ſtorm drove twelve or thirteen of their beſt men of war from their anchors, ſo that, running on ſhore, they were loſt [c].

The negotiation carried on by the Dutch miniſters at London met at firſt with many difficulties. The terms preſcribed were in number many, and in their nature hard, inſomuch that it is ſcarce to be conceived, that the Dutch could ever have ſubmitted to them; but an accident (if indeed the effect of Cromwell's intrigues ought to be called ſo) delivered them out of their diſtreſs. The parliament on the 12th of December, 1653, took a ſudden reſolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came, *viz.* the lord-general Cromwell, who ſoon after took upon him the ſupreme magiſtracy, under the title of Protector [d]. He quickly admitted the Dutch to a treaty upon ſofter conditions, though he affected to make uſe of high terms, and to behave towards their ambaſſadors with a great deal of haughtineſs, which,

eſt poſterity the great and gallant actions of this diſtinguiſhed hero, independent of the ſumptuous monument erected to his memory in the church of Delft. They painted him after death with a laurel crown, as ſuppoſing him victorious over the Engliſh. Hymns, ſongs, elegant poems, were wrote in his praiſe by the moſt celebrated wits of thoſe times. Nothing was omitted by the Dutch nation that could teſtify the great loſs they had ſuſtained, or manifeſt the people's gratitude. Gerard Van Loon hiſt. metallique des pays bays, tome ii. p. 364. [b] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 564, 568. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 317. [c] Heath's chronicle, p. 49. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 564. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 317. [d] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 484, 485. Heath's chronicle, p. 353. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 570. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 474. Dugdale's ſhort view of the late troubles, p. 411. Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. i. p. 637.

for

for the ſake of their country's intereſt, they knew well enough how to bear.

This treaty ended in a peace, which was made the 4th of April, 1654. In this negotiation the coalition, upon which the parliament had inſiſted, was entirely dropped. No mention at all was made of our ſole right to fiſhing on our own coaſt, or any annual tribute ſecured to us for the Dutch fiſhing in our ſeas, which had been actually paid to King Charles, and was offered to the parliament; though Cromwell, becauſe his adminiſtration ſtood in need of a peace, thought fit to diſpenſe with it. He likewiſe gave up all claim to the ſearching Dutch ſhips, which the parliament had rigorouſly inſiſted on. The right of limiting the number of their ſhips of war was another of their articles that he overlooked; neither did he oblige them to grant the Engliſh a free navigation on the river Scheld[e]. But it is now time to ſee the terms to which he held them.

It was in the firſt place ſtipulated, that ſuch as could be found of the perſons concerned in the maſſacre at Amboyna ſhould be delivered up to juſtice. This was very ſpecious, and calculated to give the people a high idea of the protector's patriotiſm, who thus compelled the Dutch to make ſatisfaction for an offence, which the two former kings could never bring them to acknowledge. But, as this article was never executed, ſo we may reaſonably conclude, that the Dutch knew the protector's mind before they made him this boaſted conceſſion. They acknowledged the dominion of the Engliſh at ſea by conſenting to ſtrike the flag, ſubmitted to the act of navigation, undertook to give the Eaſt-India company ſatisfaction for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and by a private article bound themſelves never to elect any of the houſe of Orange to the dignity of ſtadtholder[f].

Thus, taking all things together, this ought rather to be conſidered as a cloſe conjunction between the new protector of England and the Louveſtein faction in Holland, than an alliance

[e] Heath's chronicle, p. 357. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 337. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 487. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 583 Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 372. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 176. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 74. Flagellum, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 147. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. and ii. [f] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi p. 489 Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tome vi. part ii. p. 74—80.

between

between the two nations: for, though it be true that ſome regard was had in this treaty to the honour and intereſt of England, yet, conſidering our ſucceſs in that war, and the ſituation things were in at the concluſion of it, there can be no reaſon to doubt, that, if the parliament, which begun the war, had ended it, they would have done it upon much better terms in reſpect both to profit and glory.

Hoſtilities between the two ſtates had not continued quite two years, and yet in that time the Engliſh took no leſs than one thouſand ſeven hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch themſelves at ſixty-two millions of guilders, or near ſix millions ſterling. On the contrary, thoſe taken by the Dutch could not amount to the fourth part either in number or value. Within that ſpace the Engliſh were victorious in no leſs than five general battles, ſome of which were of ſeveral days; whereas the Hollanders cannot juſtly boaſt of having gained one; for the action between de Ruyter and Ayſcue, in which they pretended ſome advantage, was no general fight, and the advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs is owned to have been gained over a part only of the Engliſh fleet. As ſhort as this quarrel was, it brought the Dutch to greater extremities than their fourſcore years war with Spain. The ſtates ſhewed great wiſdom in one point, *viz.* including their ally the king of Denmark in this treaty, by undertaking that either he or they ſhould make ſatisfaction for the Engliſh ſhips which had been ſeized at the beginning of the war in his port [g].

The rupture between France and England ſtill continued, our ſhips of war taking, ſinking, or burning theirs where-ever they met them, and the French privateers diſturbing our commerce as much as they were able [h]. An attempt was made by the French miniſtry to have got France, as well as Denmark, included in the peace made with the ſtates: but Cromwell would not hear of this, becauſe he knew how to make his advantage of the dif-

g Verweerd Europa, p. 122. Intereſt van Holland, p. 34. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 335. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. xiii. p. 340—348. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 87. Aitzema zaaken van ſtaat en oorl, iii deel. fol. 804—931. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 589.

h Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 504. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 583, 584, 590. Heath's chronicle, p. 356, 357.

ficulties the French then laboured under another way; in which he ſucceeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655 to ſubmit to his own terms, and to give up the intereſts of the royal family, notwithſtanding their near relation to the houſe of Bourbon. He likewiſe obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce; and without queſtion his conduct with regard to France would have deſerved commendation, if, for the ſake of ſecuring his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of cardinal Mazarine, and thereby contributed to the aggrandizing of a power which has been terrible to Europe ever ſince [i], and which he might have reduced within juſt bounds, if he had ſo pleaſed.

He did not diſcover his intentions in this reſpect all at once, but by degrees only, and as they became neceſſary. He affected to have his friendſhip earneſtly ſolicited both by France and Spain, and even declared publicly, that he would give it to the court which deſerved beſt, or, in plain terms, bid higheſt for it [j]. The firſt ſign of his reconciliation to the French, was the reſtoring the ſhips taken by Blake, with proviſions and ammunition for the garriſon of Dunkirk; and yet nothing of confidence appeared then between the cardinal and him, though it is generally ſuppoſed, that the primary as well as principal inſtigation to the Spaniſh war came from him, who gave the protector to underſtand, that the Engliſh maritime force could not be better employed than in conquering part of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, while France attacked the ſame crown in Europe; and, to purchaſe his aſſiſtance, would readily relinquiſh the royal family,

[i] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 503. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 352. See the ſpeech made by monſieur Chanut, the French ambaſſador to the ſtates, upon that occaſion, in Whitlocke's memorials, p. 515—632. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 558, 559. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 373. The whole progreſs of this treaty, and the inſuperable difficulties attending the concluding it, may be ſeen in Thurloe's collection, vol. ii. p. 159, 228, 566, 629, vol. iii. 311, 312, 313, 368, 381, 415, 696, 734. vol. iv. p. 75, 115. See a letter of the cardinal to monſieur Bourdeaux, the French ambaſſador in England, expreſſing the great joy it gave him that the treaty was at length accompliſhed, p. 120, 259. [j] See Mr. Thurloe's account of the negotiations between England, France, and Spain, from the time of Oliver Cromwell's aſſuming the government to the Reſtoration, delivered to the lord-chancellor Clarendon, in Thurloe's collections, vol. i. p. 759.

and ſo rid him from all fears of an invaſion [k]. Beſides theſe hints from abroad, the protector had ſome notices of a like nature at home, eſpecially from one Gage, a prieſt, who had been long in America, and who furniſhed him with a copious account of the wealth and weakneſs of the Spaniards there [l].

Immediately after the concluſion of the Dutch war, the protector ordered all the ſhips of his navy to be repaired, and put into good condition. He likewiſe directed many new ones to be built, ſtorehouſes, magazines, *&c.* to be filled with ammunition and proviſion; whence it was evident enough, that he intended not to be idle, though no body knew againſt whom this mighty force was to be exerted [m]. In the ſummer of the year 1654 he ordered two great fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by admiral Blake, and the other by vice-admiral Penn. Neither of theſe had any knowledge of what the other was to attempt; ſo far from it, they knew not perfectly what themſelves were to perform [n]. Their orders were to be opened at ſea, and they had no farther lights given them than were abſolutely requiſite for making the neceſſary preparations. Blake, as ſoon as all things were ready, put to ſea, and ſailed into the Streights, where his orders were to procure ſatisfaction from ſuch

[k] Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 503. Heath's chronicle, p. 365, 369. Whitlocke's memorials. See Mr. Geo. Downing's letter to ſecretary Thurloe in Thurloe's collections, vol. iii. p. 734. [l] See a curious paper entitled, Some brief and true obſervations concerning the Weſt-Indies, humbly preſented to his Highneſs Oliver, lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by Thomas Gage, in Thurloe's collections, vol. iii. p. 59. He wrote a book likewiſe, entitled, A ſurvey of the Weſt-Indies, of which the firſt edition was in folio, and there have been ſeveral in octavo; but theſe latter want a chapter, which is the moſt curious in the whole book. [m] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 577. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 621. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 493. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 346. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 212. Baſnage annales des provinces, tome i. p. 400. [n] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. iv. p. 576. Penn's ſailors mutinied at Portſmouth, ſome of them threatening to lay their grievances before the protector; their complaints were the badneſs of the proviſions, the hardſhips they ſuſtained in being ſent upon an expedition already known to all the world, and the ſtill greater difficulty they laboured under of being compelled to go whether they would or not, inſiſting to be liſted by beat of drum as in the Netherlands. The proviſions were changed, and Deſborough and Penn with ſome difficulty pacified them as to the other two articles. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. ii. p. 709. See the protector's commiſſion to Venables in Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 16.

princes

princes and ſtates as had either inſulted the government, or injured the commerce of England. But, before his departure, it had been induſtriouſly given out, that he was to intercept the duke of Guiſe, and to protect the kingdom of Naples from the French.

This had the deſired effect; it lulled the Spaniards into a falſe ſecurity, and even diſpoſed them to ſhew the admiral all poſſible civilities, who very probably had himſelf as yet no ſuſpicion of Cromwell's deſign to break with that nation. The firſt place he went to was Leghorn, where he had two accounts to make up with the grand duke: the firſt was, for his ſubjects purchaſing the prizes made by Prince Rupert; the other for the damage done by Van Galen, when Appleton was forced out of Leghorn road. Theſe demands ſurpriſed the prince on whom they were made; eſpecially when he underſtood how large a ſum was expected from him, not leſs in the whole than a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which, however, was moderated to ſixty thouſand pounds; and this ſum there is reaſon to believe was actually paid [o].

Thence he proceeded to Algiers, where he arrived the 10th of March 1655, and anchored without the mole, ſending an officer to the dey to demand ſatisfaction for the piracies that had been formerly committed on the Engliſh, and the immediate releaſe of all captives belonging to his nation. The dey anſwered very modeſtly, that as for the ſhips and ſlaves they were now the property of private perſons, from whom he could not take them with ſafety to himſelf; but that he would make it his care they ſhould be ſpeedily redeemed upon eaſy terms, and would make a treaty with him to prevent any hoſtilities being committed on the Engliſh for the future [p].

[o] Heath's chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 345. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 609. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 507. Thurloe's collections, vol. iii. p. 41, 103. Moſt of the princes of Italy were alarmed at the ſailing of this fleet. The pope was no ſooner informed of its arrival in the Mediterranean, than he gave orders for the removal of the great treaſure at Loretto, with a view of defeating any deſign the protector might have formed as to the plundering that rich monaſtery, which ſome induſtriouſly ſpread abroad (not knowing the real ſecret) was his principal aim. [p] Lord Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 580. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 349. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 205. Manley's hiſt. of the rebellion, p. 273. Vie de Cromwell, tome ii. p. 348, 349.

The admiral left the port upon this, and ſailed to Tunis, where he ſent the like meſſage on ſhore; but received a very ſhort anſwer, *viz.* "Here are our caſtles of Guletta and Porto Ferino: "you may do your worſt; we do not fear you." Blake entered the bay of Porto Ferino, and came within muſket-ſhot of the caſtle and line, upon both which he played ſo warmly, that they were ſoon in a defenceleſs condition. There were then nine ſhips in the road, which the admiral reſolved to burn; and with this view ordered every captain to man his long-boat with choice men, and directed theſe to enter the harbour, and fire the ſhips of Tunis, while he and his fleet covered them from the caſtle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The ſeamen in their boats boldly aſſaulted the corſairs, and burnt all their ſhips, with the loſs of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action ſpread the terror of his name through Africa and Aſia, which had long been formidable in Europe [q]. From Tunis he ſailed to Tripoly, and concluded a peace with that government. Thence he returned to Tunis, and threatening to do farther execution, the inhabitants implored his mercy from their works, and begged him to grant them a peace, which he did on terms mortifying to them, glorious for him, and profitable for his country [r].

The other fleet being alſo in readineſs, and compoſed of about thirty ſhips of war, and a convenient number of tranſports, the protector reſolved it ſhould ſail in the month of December 1654. Admiral Penn had the chief command, and under him were vice-admiral Goodſon and rear-admiral Blagge. The commander of the land-forces was colonel Venables, an old officer, who, as well as the admiral, was ſecretly in the king's intereſt, and intended to have laid hold of this opportunity to reſtore him. The troops conſiſted of about five thouſand men, amongſt whom many were royaliſts, and the reſt ſo little ſatisfied with the pro-

[q] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 627. Heath's chronicle, p. 374, 375. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 377. See admiral Blake's letter to Mr. ſecretary Thurloe, dated aboard the George in Calary bay, the 17th of April, 1655, in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iii. p. 390. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 220. [r] Echard, Kennet, Rapin, and other Engliſh hiſtorians. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iii. p. 405, 527. See the protector's letter to Blake, dated June 13, 1655, commending his courage and conduct, p. 547.

tector's

tector's adminiſtration, that one great end of this expedition was to be rid of them [s].

Venables had deſired of Cromwell, that great care might be taken in furniſhing arms and ammunition; that his forces might be properly choſen, and that himſelf might not be fettered by his inſtructions. In all theſe he ſoon found himſelf diſappointed: his proviſion was not only ſhort, but very bad in its kind; arms and ammunition were very ſparingly ſupplied, and in a manner fitter for ſhew than ſervice; his troops were either raw or invalids; and by his inſtructions he was tied up from doing any thing without the conſent of others [t]. Before he could acquire any certain knowledge of theſe particulars, he was hurried on board at Portſmouth, whence he immediately ſailed for Barbadoes [u].

The fleet arrived in Carliſle bay on the 29th of January 1655, and were very joyfully received by all the inhabitants of the iſland of Barbadoes, where they ſtaid ſome time, in order to recruit and make the neceſſary preparations for their intended deſcent on the iſland of Hiſpaniola. We have been long taught blindly to admire the wiſdom and conduct of Cromwell in his enterprizes, but certainly this was the worſt managed that ever our nation undertook. General Venables found himſelf deficient in all ſorts of neceſſaries; and, which was worſe, found admiral Penn very little inclined to afford him even the aſſiſtance that was in his power. He expoſtulated with him to no purpoſe, which made the wretchedneſs of his and their condition ſo apparent, that one of their fellow-commiſſioners ſaid plainly, "He doubted they were betrayed." It was, however, too late to look back; and, beſides, abundance of volunteers reſorted to Barbadoes from all our plantations, in order to ſhare the riches that were to be taken from the Spaniards; ſo that Venables ſaw

[s] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 576. Heath's chronicle, p. 365. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185. [t] The only juſt and genuine account of this expedition is to be found in Burchet's naval hiſtory, which was drawn up at the time, from the examination of Penn, Venables, and the ſuperior officers in that expedition. [u] Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185.

himſelf

himſelf under a neceſſity of proceeding, notwithſtanding he was thoroughly ſatisfied they were in no condition to proceed [w].

From Barbadoes the fleet ſailed on the laſt of March to St. Chriſtopher's, where they met with another ſupply of volunteers; ſo that when they embarked for Hiſpaniola, Venables had under his command the greateſt body of European troops that had ever been ſeen in that part of the world, his army conſiſting of very near ten thouſand men. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that they were in the worſt temper in the world for making conqueſts. Moſt of them, when they left England, did it with a view to make their fortunes; but now the commiſſioners (of whom Venables indeed was one, but of a different opinion from all the reſt) told them, that every penny of their plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a fortnight's pay by way of equivalent. This had like to have thrown them into a general mutiny, and it was with much ado that the officers pacified them with a promiſe of ſix weeks pay, which the commiſſioners, however, would not be brought to confirm; and in this ſituation things were, when they embarked for Hiſpaniola [x].

They arrived before the city of St. Domingo, and general Venables propoſed, that they ſhould ſail directly into the harbour, which, however, was not agreed to by the ſea-officers, who propoſed landing at the river Hine; for which purpoſe, part of the ſquadron was detached under the command of vice-admiral Goodſon, who, when at ſea, declared he had no pilots to conduct the ſhips into the mouth of the river, and therefore the troops were compelled to land at the weſt point, from whence they had forty miles to march through a thick woody

[w] Heath's chronicle, p. 365. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 349. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 346. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 494. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 270. See Mr. Edward Winſlow's letter to ſecretary Thurloe, dated Barbadoes, March 16, 1654. This gentleman, as ſome ſay, was intended to have been governor of one of the iſlands, if death had not interpoſed. The poſt he filled appears clearly in his letter. Gage, the prieſt, the principal promoter of this buſineſs, died likewiſe. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iii. p. 249. [x] Heath's chronicle, p. 369. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 209. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 51. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 214, 215. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 271.

country,

country, without any guide; inſomuch, that numbers of men and horſes, through fatigue, extremity of heat, and want of water, were deſtroyed.

After four days march, the army came to the place where they might have been at firſt put on ſhore; but by that time the enemy had drawn together the whole force of the iſland, and had recovered from their firſt ſurprize. Colonel Buller, who had landed with his regiment near Hine river, and had orders to remain there till the army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of Cox the guide, to march away; and, for want of this guide, the general and his forces marched ten or twelve miles out of their road. Exaſperated with theſe diſappointments, and the hardſhips they had undergone, the regiment of ſeamen, under the command of admiral Goodſon, mutinied firſt, and then the land-troops; ſo that the general had much ado to prevail on them to ford the river. At length colonel Buller and Cox the guide joined them, and promiſed to conduct them to a place where they might be ſupplied with water; but the colonel taking the liberty of ſtraggling for the ſake of pillage, the Spaniards attacked him, and in one of theſe ſkirmiſhes Cox, their only guide, was killed; yet the Spaniards were at laſt repulſed, and purſued within cannon-ſhot of the town [y].

In this diſtreſſed condition, a council of war was called, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved to march to the harbour in the beſt manner they could, which with much difficulty they effected. There they ſtaid three or four days, to furniſh themſelves with proviſions, and other neceſſaries, and then with a ſingle mortar-piece, marched into the iſland again, to reduce the fort. The vanguard was commanded by adjutant-general Jackſon, who as ſoon as he was attacked by the Spaniards, ran away, and his troops after him. The paſſage through the woods being very narrow, they preſſed on the general's regiment, who in vain endeavoured to ſtop them with their pikes. They likewiſe diſordered major-general Haines's

[y] Heath's chronicle, p. 370. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 347. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 271, 272. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 215, 216. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 392.

regiment,

regiment, which gave the enemy, who followed very eagerly, and afforded no quarter, great advantage; ſo that the major-general, and the braveſt of the officers, who, like Engliſhmen, preferred death before flight, ended their days here. At laſt, general Venables and vice-admiral Goodſon, at the head of their regiments, forced the run-aways into the wood, obliged the enemy to retire, and kept their own ground, notwithſtanding the fire from the fort was very warm [z].

By this time the forces were ſo much fatigued and diſcouraged, that they could not be brought to play the mortar. The general, though reduced to a very low condition, cauſed himſelf to be led from place to place, to encourage them; till fainting at laſt, he was forced to leave the care of the attack to major-general Forteſcue, who did what he could to revive their ſpirits, but to very little purpoſe.

Soon after it was reſolved in a council of war, that ſince the enemy had fortified all the paſſes, and the whole army was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of water, they ſhould march to a place where they were informed a ſupply of that, and other neceſſaries, had been put aſhore from the ſhips. In this march the ſoldiers followed their officers, till they found themſelves in danger, and then left them; inſomuch that the commiſſioners owned, by a letter wrote to the governor of Barbadoes, that, had not the enemy been as fearful as their own men, they might in a few days have deſtroyed the whole army; and withal, they let him know, that the troops who had occaſioned the greateſt diſorder, were thoſe of Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's; inſomuch that they, the ſaid commiſſioners, who were Penn, Winſlow, and Buller, had reſolved to leave the place, and try what could be done againſt the iſland of Jamaica. Such was the end of this expedition, after having been on ſhore from

[z] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 627. Heath's chronicle, p. 371. Davies's hiſt. of the rebellion, p. 348. Manley's hiſt. of the rebellion, p. 272. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 217. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 495, 496. See colonel Daniel's relation of their defeat. See alſo a letter from Venables and Buller, to the protector, in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iii. p. 504—508, 509—511.

the fourteenth of April to the firſt of May, when this reſolution of ſailing to Jamaica was taken [a].

The army was accordingly in a little time embarked; but the ſick and wounded men were left on the bare decks for eight and forty hours, without either meat, drink, or dreſſing, inſomuch that worms bred in their ſores: and even while they were on ſhore, the proviſions ſent to them were not watered, but candied with ſalt, notwithſtanding they had not water ſufficient to quench their thirſt. Nay, after their misfortunes on ſhore, Venables averred, that Penn gave rear-admiral Blagge orders not to furniſh them with any more proviſions, of what kind ſoever; ſo that they eat up all the dogs, aſſes, and horſes in the camp, and ſome of them ſuch things as were in themſelves poiſonous, of which about forty died. Before the forces were embarked, adjutant-general Jackſon was tried at a court-martial, and not only ſentenced to be caſhiered, and his ſword broken over his head, but to do the duty of a ſwabber, in keeping clean the hoſpital-ſhip; a puniſhment ſuitable to his notorious cowardice [b].

The deſcent on Jamaica was better managed than that on Hiſpaniola; for immediately on their landing, which was on the third of May, General Venables iſſued his orders, that if any man ſhould be found attempting to run away, the next man to him ſhould put him to death; which, if he failed to do, he ſhould be liable to a court-martial [c]. The next day they attacked a fort, which they carried, and were then preparing to ſtorm the town of St. Jago, but this the Spaniſh inhabitants prevented, by a timely treaty; yet, before the general would liſten to any propoſitions of peace, he inſiſted, that a certain

[a] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 627. Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 579. Bates's elenchus motuum, part ii. p. 209. Heath's chronicle, p. 372. Davies's hiſt. of the civil wars, p. 348. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, 376. Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 394. There are various relations of this unlucky buſineſs in Mr. ſecretary Thurloe's collections: we ſhall point out a few, for the caſe of the inquiſitive reader. It appears, from a peruſal of the different papers, that from the diſcord and animoſities which ſubſiſted through the whole expedition among the principal perſons concerned therein, it was impoſſible any ſucceſs ſhould have attended it, vol. iii. p. 565, 646, 650, 689, 754.

[b] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 394.

[c] Heath's chronicle, p. 372. Burchet, p. 394.

quantity of proviſions ſhould be ſent them daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his ſoldiers ſtrength and ſpirits; and in a ſhort time their negotiations ended in a complete ſurrender of the iſland to the Engliſh, as appears by the articles, which the reader may find at large in ſeveral of our hiſtorians [d].

General Venables finding himſelf in a very weak condition, deſired the conſent of the commiſſioners to open their ultimate inſtructions, to which, after mature deliberation, they yielded. In theſe he found he had power, in caſe of neceſſity, to reſign his command, which he did accordingly to general Forteſcue; upon this, admiral Penn followed his example, and delivered up his charge to vice-admiral Goodſon, with whom he left a ſtout ſquadron of ſhips, and with the reſt of the fleet returned to England. In their paſſage home, they fell in with the Spaniſh plate-fleet, in the gulf of Florida, but without attacking it; whether through want of will, or of inſtructions, at this diſtance, it is hard to determine [e].

Immediately after the arrival of Penn and Venables, which was in the month of September 1655, they were both committed cloſe priſoners to the Tower, to ſatisfy the clamours of the people, who then (as it often happens) laid the greateſt blame on him who leaſt deſerved it [f]. All that the protector inſiſted

[d] Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 579. Heath's chronicle, p. 372. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 209. Manley's hiſt. of the rebellion, p. 272. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 394. who reduces the articles of the capitulation to four. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iii. p. 565, 649, 674, 682, 753, 755. See general Penn's account to Oliver's council, of his voyage to the Weſt-Indies, given the 12th of September 1655, in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iv. p. 28. [e] Heath's chronicle, p. 376 Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 395. See the commiſſion to Forteſcue, appointing him commander in chief of the forces, ſigned by Penn. See the like to Goodſon; together with a long paper of inſtructions, appointing him admiral of the fleet. See Penn's letter to the protector, on his arrival at Spithead, in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iii. p. 752. [f] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 580. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 629, 630. Davies's hiſt. of the civil wars, p. 348. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 219. Ludlow, in his memoirs, vol. ii. p. 496. ſays, Penn was committed to the Tower, and Venables confined to his lodging, his diſtemper excuſing him from a ſtricter impriſonment. See ſecretary Thurloe's letter to Henry Cromwell, dated the 25th of September, 1655, in the fourth volume of his ſtate papers, p. 55.

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on was, that they ſhould confeſs their faults, in leaving their reſpective charges; and he promiſed to releaſe them upon their ſubmiſſion. This Penn quickly did, and was accordingly diſcharged; but Venables abſolutely refuſed it, always inſiſting that he had committed no fault, ſince, in caſe of inability to execute his duty, his inſtructions permitted him to reſign his command [g].

His memory has been very hardly treated, I think with little reaſon; for as to what is ſaid of his ſuffering the Spaniards to carry off their effects from the city of St. Jago to the mountains, and thereby defrauding the ſoldiers of their plunder, it appears to be a groſs calumny, for ſeveral reaſons [h]. For firſt, admitting the fact to be true, that they did carry off their effects, this could prove no loſs to the ſoldiers, but quite the contrary; ſince, if they had now fallen into their hands, the commiſſioners would have ſeized them for the protector's uſe, in purſuance of the order before-mentioned. Next, the general could do nothing in this reſpect, without the conſent of the other commiſſioners; and laſtly, it appears by the moſt authentic account we have of this affair, that the officers and ſoldiers were ſo far from being diſſatisfied with his conduct, that they relied upon him to repreſent their grievances at home, and to procure redreſs; which he did, as far as was in his power [i].

The reaſon of his being firſt aſperſed was, a perſuaſion that he was a confident and creature of Cromwell's; which is ſo far from being true, that the very contrary is certain. The protector hated, and was jealous of him, and conferred on him this command merely to get him out of his way [k]. The truth is, the fault lay in the protector's ſcheme, which was not either

[g] See general Penn's letter to ſecretary Thurloe, expreſſing his ardent deſire for leave to come to London, to render the protector an account of his proceedings in the Weſt-Indies, dated Swiftſure, Spithead, September 3, 1655. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iv. p. 6, 117, 177. Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 395. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 629. [h] Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 306. [i] See general Venables's letter to the protector, dated aboard the Marſton-moor, in Portſmouth road, Sept. 9, 1655, in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iv. p. 21. See his letter to ſecretary Thurloe, p. 22. All theſe facts the reader will find in the copious account of this voyage in Burchet. [k] Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 576. Heath's chronicle, p. 365. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 184, 185.

more or leſs, than to have raiſed a large ſupply for his own empty coffers from this expedition. This induced him to tie the commiſſioners down, to hinder the ſoldiers from keeping their plunder, upon pain of death; and their inſiſting upon this, had like to have been the ruin of the whole undertaking [l]. The reader muſt diſcern the juſtice of theſe remarks, from the facts before laid down, which are indiſputable; and, as to ſpeak truth freely, and give men's characters impartially, ought to be the ſtudy of an hiſtorian, I hope this will juſtify me for inſiſting ſo long on this head.

Admiral Blake's fleet continued all this time in the Mediterranean, and was now in the road to Cadiz, where he received the greateſt civilities from the Spaniards, and lived on the beſt terms imaginable with them; for, till the blow was ſtruck at Jamaica, Cromwell, to the beſt of his power, carefully concealed his deſign to make war upon them. When this was known, the Spaniards declared immediately againſt him, and ſeized the effects of all the Engliſh merchants in their dominions, to an immenſe value; an incident which ſeems not to have been ſufficiently conſidered, by thoſe who cry up the protector's conduct ſo highly [m]. This war, as we have before ob-

[l] The reader will find theſe facts fully proved in the various places we have referred him to, in the third and fourth volumes of ſecretary Thurloe's ſtate papers. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 391. [m] Heath's chronicle, p. 366, 374, 377. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 609, 629. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 52. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iv. p. 19, 20, 21, 24, 55, 79. See the petition and remonſtrance of the Engliſh merchants to the protector. The Spaniards are reported to have ſeized fourſcore ſail of ſhips, and money, and effects, to the value of a million ſterling. We are told by Ludlow, in his memoirs, vol. ii. p. 494. that the Spaniſh ambaſſador, Don Alonzo de Cardenas, then reſiding in England, having received intelligence that the fleet under Penn and Venables was certainly gone to the Weſt-Indies, and that the ſtorm was like to fall upon ſome of his maſter's territories, made application to Cromwell, to know whether he had any juſt ground of complaint againſt the king his maſter; and if ſo, that he was ready to give him all poſſible ſatisfaction. Cromwell demanded a liberty to trade to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the inquiſition. To which the ambaſſador replied, that his maſter had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once. That the goods of the Engliſh merchants in Spain were ſeized for want of timely notice to withdraw their effects; and that major Walters, and others concerned with him, loſt thirty thouſand pounds, that were due to them from his Catholic majeſty, for the tranſportation of Iriſh ſoldiers into the Spaniſh ſervice.

ſerved,

ſerved, was, at the bottom, undertaken for his own advantage, from a proſpect of ſupplying his coffers with money, without putting him under the neceſſity of calling parliaments [n]. It is true, that in public declarations, he talked much of his regard to trade, and his concern for the freedom of navigation; and no doubt he was ſincere in this, ſo far as it was conſiſtent with his own power, and not a jot beyond it, otherwiſe he would have conſidered the profits of our national trade with Spain, which were at that time very great, the French having never interfered, and the Dutch being utterly diſliked by the Spaniards. At leaſt he ſhould have taken care, by ſome timely hint, to enable ſo great a body as the merchants trading to Spain then were, to have withdrawn their effects; and the neglect of this was not the effect of any inattention, a thing impoſſible while Thurloe had the management of his affairs, but the pure conſequence of public intereſt claſhing with his private views; and therefore, throughout the whole tranſaction, he appears to have been a great politician, but no patriot. I ſay nothing as to his breach of the law of nations, in attacking the Spaniards, without any previous declaration; becauſe, in the firſt place, this was not very inconſiſtent with the principles on which his government was founded; and next, the Spaniards had broke through all rules of true policy, as well as decorum, in acknowledging and courting him as they did; and therefore felt no more than the juſt effects of their own refinements.

When nothing farther was to be obtained by concealing his intentions, the protector ſent Mr. Montague with a ſmall ſquadron of men of war into the Mediterranean, to join Blake, and to carry him freſh inſtructions; the principal of which was to block up the port of Cadiz, in which there was a fleet of forty ſail, intended to ſecure the flota: and, at the ſame time the ſailing of this fleet was prevented, the Engliſh were to uſe their utmoſt diligence to hinder the flota from coming in, without ſharing in the riches that were on board [o]. Blake and

[n] Bates's hiſtory of the troubles in England, part ii. p. 206. [o] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 586. Heath's chronicle, p. 381. Davies's hiſt. of the civil wars, p. 351. Manley's hiſt. of the rebellion, p. 274. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iv. p. 100, 107, 117, 443, 531, &c.

Montague

Montague executed their orders with equal ſkill and induſtry, taking care to obtain a ſupply of freſh proviſions and water, as often as they had occaſion, from the Portugal coaſt. Thither for that purpoſe they had ſailed with the greateſt part of the fleet, when the ſquadron from the Indies approached Cadiz. Rear-admiral Stayner, with ſeven frigates, plied to and fro, till theſe eight large ſhips were in view, which he preſently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his veſſels, becauſe they lay very low in the water, for fiſhermen. This gave him an opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, though the weather hindered four of his frigates from acting. Yet with the Speaker, the Bridgwater, and the Plymouth, he did his buſineſs; and, after an obſtinate engagement, ſunk two, run two more a-ground, and took two of the Spaniſh veſſels, ſo that two only eſcaped [p].

In one of thoſe that were deſtroyed was the marquis of Badajox, of the family of Lopez, who had been governor of Peru for the king of Spain, and periſhed miſerably, with the marchioneſs his wife, and their daughter; the eldeſt ſon and his brother were ſaved, and brought ſafe to the generals with this prize, wherein were two millions of pieces of eight; and as much there was in one of them that was ſunk. The admiral who carried the flag, (for concealing the richeſt ſhip), with the Portugal prize, recovered the ſhore. Soon after, general Montague, with the young marquis of Badajox, and part of the fleet to eſcort the ſilver, returned into England, delivered the bullion into the mint; and, upon his earneſt interpoſition, the young marquis was ſet at liberty [q]. For this a thankſgiving, with

[p] Clarendon, ubi ſupra. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 332. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 560. Bates's elencus motuum, part iii. page 112. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, page 383. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 275. Captain Richard Stayner's relation of this action, in a letter addreſſed to the generals of the fleet. The letters of the generals Blake and Montague to the protector; and that of the laſt mentioned admiral to ſecretary Thurloe.

[q] In the letters before referred to, the deplorable fate of this illuſtrious family is painted in very moving terms; and the reader, perhaps, will not be diſpleaſed to learn from them ſome particulars. The marchioneſs and her eldeſt daughter, a young lady of fifteen years of age, who was to have eſpouſed the ſon of the duke of Medina-Celi, ſeeing the veſſel in flames, were ſo terrified that

with a narrative to be read thereon, was appointed by the parliament, who iſſued their declaration of war againſt Spain[r].

The protector took a great deal of care of his new conqueſt, Jamaica; and within a very ſhort time after the return of Penn and Venables, ſent a conſiderable ſupply thither, and a ſquadron of men of war. Theſe troops were commanded by colonel Humfreys, but major Sedgwick went with him, and had a commiſſion to be governor of the iſland[s]. When they came thither, they found things in a much better poſture than they expected. Colonel Doily, to whom Forteſcue, on account of ſickneſs, had reſigned his command, was a perſon ſo indefatigable, that he had ſubdued all the oppoſition he met with, and driven the Spaniards out of the iſland, notwithſtanding they had fortified themſelves in two or three places very ſtrongly, and had been abundantly ſupplied with artillery and ammunition from Cuba[t].

It is eaſy to account for the different behaviour of theſe men here, and at Hiſpaniola. They fought there for the profit of

that they fell down in a ſwoon, and were burned. The vice-roy, her lord, had opportunity ſufficient to have eſcaped; but when he ſaw his lady and daughter, whom he loved exceedingly, in that dreadful ſituation, unable to ſurvive their loſs, he ſaid, he would die where they died; and tenderly embracing the former, periſhed with them, together with one of their ſons. Two ſons, and three daughters, one of the latter an infant of twelve months old, with ninety other perſons, the wretched remains of this ſcene of horror and ruin, were ſaved. General Montague is very copious in his praiſes of the young marquis, whom he deſcribes as a moſt ingenious, learned, and accompliſhed youth of about ſixteen. Soon after their arrival in England, this young nobleman and his brother were brought from Chelſea, where they reſided, and preſented to the protector at Whitehall, who treated them with great kindneſs and generoſity, and in a ſhort ſpace, as we have before obſerved, ſet them at liberty.

[r] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 653, where we find, that the thanks alſo of the parliament, by the ſpeaker, were, in purſuance of their reſolution, given to general Montague, for his great ſervices done to the commonwealth by ſea, on his taking his ſeat in the houſe. [s] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 589. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 627. Heath's chronicle, p. 377. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 348. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 272. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 532. See the protector's proclamation, inviting merchants and others to ſettle in the iſland, in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iii. p. 753. [t] Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 308.

others,

others, but at this time for their own. They were then utterly unacquainted with the climate, and ſo leſs able to bear it; whereas they were in ſome meaſure ſeaſoned to it: yet this Colonel Doily, who did ſo much for the colony, was to be removed at all events from the government, becauſe he had been formerly a cavalier. Sedgwick, however, who was to have been his ſucceſſor, quickly died, and ſo did Forteſcue; and Humphreys, according to his orders, returned home with a ſmall fleet [t]. Upon this the protector deſpatched another thouſand men from Scotland, with one Colonel Brayne, who was to take the government out of Colonel Doily's hands; but he likewiſe dying, almoſt as ſoon as he ſet his foot on the iſland, Doily ſtill continued in the exerciſe of his authority, and with great ſkill and integrity managed all things there to the time of the Reſtoration; and then Jamaica was become, through his care and vigilance, a very conſiderable, and, for the time it had been ſettled, a very populous plantation [u].

We are now to return to the proceedings of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Admiral Blake continued to cruize before the haven of Cadiz, and in the Straits, till the month of April 1657; and having then information of another plate-fleet, which had put into the haven of Santa-cruz in the iſland of Teneriff, he immediately ſailed thither, and arrived before the town the 20th of April [w]. Here he found the flota, conſiſting of ſix galleons very richly laden, and ten other veſſels. The latter lay within the port, with a ſtrong barricado before them; the galleons without the boom, becauſe they drew too much water to ly within it. The port itſelf was ſtrongly fortified, having on the north a large caſtle well ſupplied with artillery, and ſeven forts united by a line of communication, well lined with muſketeers. The Spaniſh governor thought the place ſo ſecure, and his own diſpoſitions ſo well made, that when the maſter of a Dutch ſhip deſired leave to ſail, becauſe he apprehended Blake would preſently at-

[t] Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 533. Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 309, 310. [u] Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 557. See the whole of theſe tranſactions in a treatiſe entitled, Jamaica viewed, with all the ports, harbours, &c. by E. H. *i. e.* Edmund Hickeringhill, London, 1661, 8vo. [w] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 600. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 357. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 383.

tack the ſhips in the harbour, the Spaniard anſwered tartly, "Get you gone, if you will, and let Blake come, if he dares [x]."

The admiral, after viewing the enemy's preparations, called a council of war, wherein it was reſolved to attempt deſtroying the enemy's ſhips; for it was impoſſible to bring them off: and to this end he ſent captain Stayner with a ſquadron to attack them, who ſoon forced his paſſage into the bay, while other frigates played on the forts and line, and hindered them from giving the ſhips much diſturbance. Stayner's ſquadron was quickly ſupported by Blake with the whole fleet, who boarded the Spaniſh galleons, and in a few hours made himſelf maſter of them all, and then ſet them on fire; ſo that the whole Spaniſh fleet was burnt down to the water's edge, except two ſhips which ſunk outright; and then, the wind veering to S. W. he paſſed with his fleet ſafe out of the port again, loſing in this dangerous attempt no more than forty-eight men killed, and having about 120 wounded [y]. It was without queſtion the boldeſt undertaking of its kind that had ever been performed, and the Spaniards, who are romantic enough in their own conduct, were ſo much aſtoniſhed at his, that they quite loſt their ſpirits, and thenceforward never thought themſelves ſafe either from numbers or fortifications [z].

When the protector had the news of this glorious ſucceſs, he immediately ſent it by his ſecretary Thurloe to the parliament then ſitting; and they, on hearing the particulars, ordered a day to be ſet apart for a thankſgiving, a ring of the value of 500 pounds to the general as a teſtimony of his country's gratitude, a preſent of 100 to the captain who brought the news, and their thanks to all the officers and ſoldiers concerned in the action [a].

[x] Heath's chron. p. 391. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 227. [y] Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 274, 275. The perfect politician, or the life and actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 228, 229. See the letter of Thomas Maynard, Eſq; the Engliſh conſul at Liſbon, to Mr. ſecretary Thurloe, acquainting him with the news of this great victory, dated the 6th of June, 1657, in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vi. p. 312. [z] Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 601. Heath's chronicle, p. 392. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 357. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, Bates, Echard, Kennet, Rapin. [a] Heath's chronicle, p. 392. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 661. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 321. See the protector's letter to general Blake upon this occaſion, dated Whitehall, June 10, 1657, in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vi. p. 242.

Captain Richard Stayner, returning ſoon after, was knighted by the protector [b]: nor was it long before Blake and the fleet returned, which put an end to the Spaniſh war by ſea; for the protector had lately entered into a cloſer conjunction with France, and, in conſequence thereof, ſent over a body of land-forces into Flanders, where they aſſiſted in taking the fortreſs and port of Dunkirk, which was delivered into the hands of the Engliſh, who kept it till after the Reſtoration [c].

There had been for ſome years a very ſharp war carried on in the north between the kings of Sweden and Denmark, which in its conſequences was like to affect the reſt of Europe, eſpecially the maritime powers [d]. The Dutch ſaw that their trade to the Baltic would be ruined if the king of Sweden prevailed, who was now become the ſuperior both by land and ſea; they therefore reſolved to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Danes, which they did, and thereby ſaved Copenhagen [e]. In England it was judged to be of no leſs conſequence to ſuccour the Swedes; yet it was not thought proper to avow the deſign, as the Dutch had done, and therefore Sir George Ayſcue, who was drawn out of his retirement to command upon this occaſion, had orders to accept a commiſſion as admiral from the king of Sweden, which would have enabled him to act more effectually for his ſervice, than the Dutch did in favour of their allies.

This was in the year 1658; but it was ſo late in the ſeaſon, that the ſquadron was not able to reach Copenhagen for the ice [f].

[b] Heath's chronicle, p. 392. who (ſays he) deſerved that honour from a better hand, nor did his merit miſs it. See the liſt of Oliver's lords, baronets, and knights, at the end of the perfect politician, or life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 263. [c] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 640, 644. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 560, 562, 671. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 665, 673, 674. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vi. p. 33, 63, 87, 337. vol. vii. p. 151, 155, 156, 160, 169, 173. Memoires de Montglat, tom. iv. p. 174—179. Memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire d'Anne d'Autriche, par madame de Motteville, tome v. p. 267—271. edit. 1750. Quincy hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tome i. p. 233—236. [d] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 665. Heath's chronicle, p. 397. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 228, 229. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 383. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. xiii. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iii. liv. 11. [e] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 521. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome i. liv. 13. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iii. liv. 11. [f] Heath's chronicle, p. 416. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vii. p. 412, 509, 510, 513, 528, 529, 541, 557, 584.

All

All expeditions by ſea are liable to great uncertainty, even when planned with the greateſt ſkill. The protector and his council projected this. Sir George Ayſcue went in a Swediſh ſhip with a number of gallant officers attached to him, and reſolved to follow his fortunes; but the Engliſh ſquadron was commanded by vice-admiral Goodſon, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George, when he publiſhed his Swediſh commiſſion. But, this fleet being long retarded by contrary winds, the protector died in the mean time. However, Richard, purſuing his father's ſcheme, had ſent it; and on account of the ice, as is before mentioned, this fleet returned again to England, without effecting any thing, to the great joy of the Danes and the Dutch. This diſappointment, joined to the many difficulties ariſen upon the demiſe of Oliver, it was generally conceived that the Engliſh would have meddled no farther in this affair [g]. It proved otherwiſe, however; for a ſtout fleet was fitted out, and ſent into the Baltic under the command of admiral Montague, who had acquired a great reputation by ſerving in conjunction with Blake. He had, beſides his commiſſion of admiral, another, whereby he was joined in the negotiation in the north with the ambaſſadors Sidney and Honeywood [h]. He arrived at Copenhagen, and managed his affairs with great dexterity; for he avoided coming to blows, that he might not begin a new Dutch war, compelled the king of Sweden, by talking to him in a proper ſtyle, to think of peace, to which he was otherwiſe very little inclined, and while he did all this, and executed effectually the duties of thoſe high offices with which he was intruſted, he entertained a ſecret correſpondence with the king, and diſpoſed all things on board the fleet for his ſervice [i].

When meaſures were concerted for Sir George Booth's riſing, which was the laſt attempt made in favour of his majeſty before his reſtoration, notice of it was given to admiral Montague at

[g] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 553. [h] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 656, 730. Heath's chronicle, p. 416. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vii. p. 626, 636. [i] See general Montague's letters to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, as alſo to the Dutch admiral Opdam. See his letter to ſecretary Thurloe. See the protector Richard Cromwell's letter to general Montague in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vii. p. 644, 651, 666. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 700. Heath's chronicle, p. 416.

Copenhagen, who inſtantly reſolved to return to England. His fellow-ambaſſadors, who were very able men, and very hearty republicans, had by this time gained ſome intelligence of his intercourſe with the king, and therefore intended to have ſeized him in caſe he came aſhore [k]. He was wiſe enough never to put it in their power, and took care alſo to run no riſk in returning without orders; for having called a council of war, he complained to them that proviſions grew ſhort, and that it would be a very difficult thing to ſupply themſelves in that part of the world, there being a Dutch fleet there at the ſame time. Upon this it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſail home immediately; and this reſolution was no ſooner taken, than the admiral weighed anchor, and returned to England [l], very opportunely, and very unexpectedly.

On his arrival he found things in quite another ſituation than he expected, Sir George Booth had been defeated and taken priſoner, and the old parliament was again reſtored; ſo that admiral Montague, though he had forty ſail of ſtout ſhips under his command, and the ſeamen much at his devotion, yet thought it ſafeſt to leave the fleet, and to come up freely and give an account of his conduct to the parliament; which he did in September 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire to his houſe in the country [m]. The command of the fleet was then intruſted with admiral Lawſon, who continued in the channel with a larger ſquadron of ſhips than ordinary, till general Monk came out of Scotland [n]. As ſoon as the deſigns of that great man began to ripen, he propoſed that Montague ſhould be recalled, and rereſtored to the command of the navy; which was accordingly done, and the ſupreme power in maritime affairs veſted in him and Monk [o].

[k] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 731. [l] Clarendon, ibid. Heath's chronicle, p. 426. See Algernon Sydney's letter to the council of ſtate, dated Copenhagen, Auguſt 21, 1659, complaining bitterly of the general's ſailing without his concurrence and that of his colleagues. [m] Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 732. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 282. Heath's chronicle, p. 426. [n] Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 728. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 666. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 690. A perfect diurnal of every day's proceedings in parliament, London, 1659, 4to, N° 1. p. 3. [o] Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 729. Heath's chronicle, p. 439. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 697. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 863. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 264.

Admiral

Admiral Montague went inſtantly to his command, and was not a little ſurprized to find that Lawſon and the reſt of the officers were much better inclined to the intended change than he expected; and therefore he did not much diſſemble either his inclinations or intentions. On the fourth of April 1660, he received his majeſty's letter, and cauſed it to be read publickly in the fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the parliament's orders, he ſailed for Holland, and ſent an officer to the Hague, to inform the king that he was ready to receive him [p].

We have thus, without entering deep into politics, run through the naval tranſactions of this memorable period, and have now only the lives of the moſt eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed therein to employ our care. But, previous to this, it may not be improper to obſerve, that it was wholly owing to the unanimity of our ſailors, and their generous diſregard to domeſtic broils, that we obtained ſo many glorious victories at ſea, and ſpread the terror of the Engliſh name abroad, when the Engliſh nation at home was on the brink of deſtruction; that the parliament followed the king's ſteps exactly, in claiming the honour of the flag, aſſerting the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and looking with a jealous eye on the encroachments of the French and Dutch; that in all our naval expeditions we came off with honour, and moſtly with victory; whereas, in conjunct expeditions, wherein land were joined with ſea forces, we were leſs fortunate; that our readineſs in protecting trade, and reſolution to revenge any inſults on our honour, contributed not a little to

[p] See the king's letter to the generals of the navy at ſea, together with his majeſty's declaration to the captains, commanders, and ſeamen belonging to the fleet, *&c.* London, 1660, 4to. Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 768. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 701. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 435. Heath's chronicle, p. 446. In the minutes of the journal of admiral Montague, afterwards earl of Sandwich, printed in Kennet's chronicle, p. 144. that noble perſon tells us, that Sir John Grenville came on board the Naſeby, on Thurſday, May the tenth, about ten of the clock at night, with a meſſage from general Monk, that the king's friends judged his Majeſty's preſent repair to London was abſolutely neceſſary; and therefore deſired him to ſail, and wafe the king over, which he promiſed to do; and ſent Sir John over in the Speaker, to aſſure the king the fleet ſhould attend him, which it accordingly did, the admiral ſailing for the Dutch coaſt the next day.

the extending our commerce, and raiſing our reputation; laſtly, that theſe advantages were all the nation had to balance a multitude of misfortunes, our country being haraſſed and deſtroyed by contending parties, our induſtry diſcouraged by ſo long a war, and moſt of our manufactures ruined.

On the other hand, the iniquitous oppreſſions, the hypocritical diſſimulations, the ſcandalous outrages on our moſt excellent conſtitution, were ſo notorious, that we muſt have become very deſpicable in the eyes of our neighbours, but for the courage and conduct of our ſeamen [q]. Amongſt whom, all parties have agreed to give the firſt rank to one who brought no other qualities than good ſenſe, and a bold ſpirit, when he aſſumed the command of the Engliſh fleet; and yet ſoon became the ableſt ſailor in it, and as ſuch claims our firſt regard.

MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL BLAKE.

HIS deſcent was very honourable, the family from which he ſprung having been long ſettled at Plansfield, in the pariſh of Spaxton in Somerſetſhire [r]. Mr. Humphry Blake, his father, was a Spaniſh merchant, and having acquired a conſiderable fortune for the times in which he lived, bought a ſmall eſtate in the neighbourhood of Bridgwater, where his family had been long ſettled. He had ſeveral children, of whom the eldeſt was Robert, whoſe life we are now to write. He was born in the month of Auguſt 1598, and, during his father's lifetime, was educated at a free-ſchool in Bridge-water [s]. He afterwards removed to Oxford, where he was firſt a member of St. Alban's-hall, and next of Wadham-college. After taking a degree, and meeting with more than one diſappointment in his endeavours to obtain academical preferment, he left the univerſity, when he had ſtaid there ſeven years [t].

[q] See the concluſion of Lord Clarendon's hiſtory, and of Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. [r] Wood's faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 203. Lives, Britiſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 75. [s] Wood, ubi ſupra. [t] Lives, Engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 601. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 245.

During

During his reſidence in that ſeat of the muſes, he ſufficiently diſplayed his temper, which in reality was that of a humouriſt, uſually grave, and in appearance moroſe; but inclined in an evening, and with particular friends, to be very cheerful, though ſtill with a tincture of ſeverity, which diſpoſed him to bear hard on the pride of courtiers, and the power of churchmen; which, as the noble hiſtorian well obſerves, rendered him very agreeable to the good-fellows in thoſe days; though whether there was any ground from this diſpoſition of his to conclude him a republican, is, I think, not eaſy to be determined [u]. This is certain, that his reputation for probity, and his known averſion to perſecution, engaged the puritans to promote his election as a burgeſs for Bridgewater, in the parliament which ſat in April 1640 [w].

That aſſembly was diſſolved too early for Mr. Blake to make any diſcovery therein of his talents as a ſenator; and in the long parliament, which ſat ſoon after, he loſt his election. When the war broke out between the king and the parliament, he declared for the latter, and took arms very early in their ſervice; but where, and in what quality, is not very clear. However, he was very ſoon made a captain of dragoons, in which ſtation he ſhewed himſelf as able and active an officer as any in the ſervice, and as ſuch was conſtantly employed upon all occaſions, where either boldneſs or dexterity were particularly requiſite [x].

In 1643 we find him at Briſtol, under the command of colonel Fiennes, who intruſted him with a little fort on the line, in which he firſt gave the world a proof of his military virtues; for, on the 26th of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the governor had agreed to ſurrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake ſtill held out his fort, and killed ſeveral of the king's forces. This exaſperated Prince Rupert to ſuch a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not ſome friends interpoſed, and excuſed him on account of his want of experience

[u] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602. [w] Lives Engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 76. Ruſhworth's collections, under the year 1640. p. 1111. [x] Wood's faſti Oxon, vol. i. col. 204. Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 228. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 228.

in

in war; and at their requeſt, though not without much difficulty, he was at laſt prevailed on to give up the fort [y].

After this he ſerved in Somerſetſhire, under the command of Popham, who was governor of Lyme, to whoſe regiment Blake was lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greateſt part of the regiment were Somerſetſhire men, he had ſo good an intelligence in thoſe parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, ſurpriſed Taunton for the parliament, where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition [z]. In 1644, he was conſtituted governor of that place, which was of the utmoſt importance, being the only garriſon the parliament had in the weſt. The works about it were far from being ſtrong. He had no very numerous garriſon; yet, by keeping a ſtrict diſcipline, and treating the townſmen well, he made a ſhift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furniſh him with ſupplies, and notwithſtanding he was ſometimes beſieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces.

At length general Goring came before the place with near ten thouſand men, and preſſed Blake ſo cloſe, that he carried all the outworks, and actually took from him a part of the town. However, he held out the reſt of it and the caſtle with wonderful obſtinacy till relief came; for which extraordinary ſervice the parliament gave the garriſon a bounty of two thouſand pounds, and honoured colonel Blake with a preſent of five hundred pounds. All who have preſerved the memory of the ſignal events in that unhappy war, allow this to have been a ſingularly gallant and ſoldier-like action [a].

Colonel Blake, in April 1646, marched with a detachment from his garriſon, and reduced Dunſter-caſtle, a ſeat belonging to the ancient family of Lutterel, the troops poſted therein having given great diſturbance to the country; which was the laſt military achievement he performed during this war [b]. On the

[y] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602. [z] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 95. Ruſhworth's collections, under the year 1644. p. 685. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 113. [a] Ruſhworth's collections, under the year 1645, p. 28. Heath's chronicle, p. 76, 77, 81. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 135, 144, 151, 161. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 107, 144, 146. [b] Heath's chronicle, p. 106. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 202. Davies's hiſt. of the civil wars, p. 187. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 171.

twenty-fourth of December following, the parliament ordered five hundred pounds to be paid him for diſbanding ſome forces[c]. When the parliament voted that no further addreſſes ſhould be made to the king, Blake, as governor of Taunton, was prevailed upon to join in an addreſs of thanks to the houſe of commons, for having taken this ſtep. I ſay, prevailed upon; becauſe this could never have been agreeable to his own ſentiments if what the writer of his life tells us be true, that, when the king came to be tried, Blake diſapproved that meaſure as barbarous in itſelf and illegal in its nature; inſomuch that he was frequently heard to ſay, "He would as freely venture his life "to ſave the king, as ever he did to ſerve the parliament[d]."

This expreſſion, however, we muſt attribute rather to the generoſity of his temper, than to his political principles; ſince, after the king was murdered, he fell in roundly with the republican party, and, next to Cromwell and Ireton, he was the ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful officer they had. One would wonder how ſo honeſt and diſintereſted a perſon could take a ſhare in ſuch meaſures as were certainly contrived by men of quite another ſtamp; but it ſeems he ſatisfied himſelf in all theſe changes with the integrity of his own purpoſe, of adhering, as far as he was able, to his country's intereſt, and exerting his utmoſt capacity to exalt her glory. Theſe, though noble qualifications of themſelves, gave men of leſs honour, and more cunning an opportunity of uſing his great abilities and undaunted courage for the furtherance of their own private views, with which he grew afterwards very uneaſy, and ſome ſay his diſcontent ſwelled ſo high, that it became at length a mortal diſeaſe.

It is not eaſy to gueſs what induced the parliament to make choice of him, who had always ſerved as a horſe-officer, to take the ſupreme command of the fleet. All our hiſtorians and memoir writers are ſilent as to their motive; and therefore I hope the reader will excuſe me if I hazard a conjecture on this head. The parliament had lately taken upon themſelves the rank, though not the title, of ſtates-general, and therefore might be inclined to make uſe of deputies for the direction both of fleets

[c] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 231. [d] Lives Engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 87.

and armies, who were to judge in great points, and to be obeyed by ſuch as were ſkilful in their profeſſion, either as ſeamen or ſoldiers; for, in their judgment, to command was one thing, and to act another. On the 12th of February 1648-9, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners of the navy, and upon the 21ſt an act paſſed, as we have elſewhere taken notice, appointing him, in conjunction with Deane and Popham, to command the fleet. His firſt ſervice was driving Prince Rupert's fleet from the Iriſh coaſt, and then following him into the Mediterranean. This gave his maſters high ſatisfaction, both in reſpect to his capacity and his fidelity in their ſervice, which they likewiſe acknowledged very obligingly[e]. His conduct indeed was equally prudent and ſucceſsful; for it not only put an end to that kind of pyratical war, which did ſo much damage to trade, but alſo ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Spaniards and Portugueze, as to prevent all thoſe diſputes which otherwiſe would have naturally happened on the appearance of ſo new a power in Europe, as the commonwealth of England.

In the month of February 1651, Blake, in his return homewards, took a French man of war of forty guns; in reſpect to which action there happened ſome circumſtances that certainly deſerve to be particularly mentioned. The admiral commanded the captain on board him, and aſked him, if he was willing to lay down his ſword? he anſwered, he was not: upon which Blake generouſly bid him return to his ſhip, and fight it out as long as he was able. The captain took him at his word, fought him bravely for about two hours, and then ſubmitting, went again on board Blake's ſhip, firſt kiſſed and then preſented his ſword to the admiral upon his knees. This ſhip, with four more, the admiral ſent into England; and not long after arriving at Plymouth with his ſquadron, he there received the thanks of the parliament for his vigilance and valour in his ſtation, and was conſtituted one of the lords wardens of the cinque ports, as an additional mark of their eſteem and confidence[f].

In March following, colonel Blake, colonels Popham and Deane, or any two of them, were again appointed by act of parliament to be admirals and generals of the fleet for the year

[e] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 381, 383. [f] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 487, 488. Lives Engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 92, 93.

enſuing,

enſuing, in which he reduced the iſlands of Scilly, Guernſey, and Jerſey, to the obedience of the parliament; and, as a new mark of honour, he was on the 25th of November elected one of the council of ſtate. When the neceſſity of a Dutch war became apparent, the parliament gave the higheſt teſtimony of their ſenſe of his merit, and of their entire confidence in his conduct, by conſtituting him, in March 1652, ſole general of the fleet for nine months. But though I mention this as a proof that they were apprehenſive of the war, yet, as I have ſaid elſewhere, there is no appearance of their judging a rupture to be ſo near as it really was; otherwiſe they would certainly have ſent Blake to ſea with a better fleet[g]. We have already given a diſtinct account of the firſt battle in the Downs, on the 19th of May 1652, excepting ſome circumſtances which relate to Blake, and which were therefore reſerved for this place.

When he obſerved Van Tromp bore nearer his fleet than he had any occaſion to do, he ſaluted him with two guns without ball, to put him in mind of ſtriking ſail; upon which the Dutchman, in contempt, fired on the contrary ſide. Blake fired a ſecond and a third gun, which Van Tromp anſwered with a broadſide: the Engliſh admiral perceiving his intention to fight, detached himſelf from the reſt of the fleet to treat with Van Tromp upon that point of honour, and to prevent the effuſion of blood, and a national quarrel: when Blake approached nearer to Van Tromp, he and the reſt of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations, (the Engliſh admiral coming with a deſign to treat), fired on Blake with whole broadſides. The admiral was in his cabbin drinking with ſome officers, little expecting to be ſaluted, when the ſhot broke the windows of the ſhip, and ſhattered the ſtern, which put him into a vehement paſſion, ſo that curling his whiſkers, as he uſed to do whenever he was angry, he commanded his men to anſwer the Dutch in their kind, ſaying, when his heat was ſomewhat over, "he took it "very ill of Van Tromp that he ſhould take his ſhip for a "bawdy-houſe, and break his windows." Blake ſingly ſuſtained the ſhock of the Dutch fleet for ſome time, till his own ſhips,

[g] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 459. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 525. Heath's chronicle, p. 314. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 254.

and the ſquadron under major Bourne could join them; and then the engagement grew hot on both, and bloody on the enemy's ſide, till night put an end to it [h].

After this battle, Blake lay in the Downs for a conſiderable time, which he ſpent in repairing and augmenting his fleet, and in detaching ſmall ſquadrons to cruize upon the enemy. About the beginning of June, finding he had force enough to undertake any ſervice, he cauſed a ſolemn faſt to be held on board his ſhips, to implore the bleſſing of God on their arms; and encouraged his ſeamen by the example of his zeal on this occaſion, as much as he had ever done by his perſonal bravery in a time of action [i]. In the ſpace of this month, he ſent forty rich prizes into the river, and ſo effectually ruined the Dutch trade, and broke the ſpirits of ſuch as were appointed to ſupport it, that moſt of their veſſels declined coming through the channel, even under convoy; chuſing rather to put into French ports, land their cargoes there, and afterwards tranſport them to Holland, by land or water, as they could [k].

In the beginning of July, finding Sir George Ayſcue returned from Barbadoes, and a force ſufficient to guard the Downs, he reſolved to ſail northwards, to execute a deſign he had long meditated, of deſtroying the herring-fiſhery, which he thought would have put an immediate end to the war, by convincing the Dutch of the folly of diſputing our ſovereignty in our own ſeas. This appears to have been the moſt judicious ſcheme laid down through the whole war; becauſe it tended to clear the ground of the quarrel, and to ſhew the Dutch their error in diſputing with a nation, who had it in their power to diſtreſs them at any time in the tendereſt part; that which afforded a ſubſiſtence to many, and was the main ſource of wealth to all [l].

On the ſecond of July, Blake bore away to the north, and quickly fell in with the Dutch fiſhing veſſels, which were there in great numbers, under the protection of twelve men of war.

[h] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 533. Davies's hiſt. of the civil wars, p. 328. Lives Engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 99. [i] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 534. [k] Heath's chronicle, p. 322. Vie de Cromwell. [l] Whitlocke's memorials, 540. Heath's chronicle, p. 322. Hiſtoire de Holland par M. de la Neuville, tome iii. p. 66.

Blake

Blake attacked their convoy, and they, knowing the importance of their charge, and having taken on board a great ſupply of freſh men from the veſſels under their care, fought bravely, and ſold their freedom dearly; but at laſt were every one taken, which left the fiſhery entirely at the admiral's mercy, who upon this occaſion ſhewed the rectitude of his heart, and the ſolidity of his underſtanding; for having firſt threatened thoſe buſſes with utter deſtruction, if ever they were found there again without leave, he afterwards freely permitted them to compleat their ladings, on their paying the TENTH herring, which was what King Charles demanded; and where this was refuſed, he ſunk or drove away their ſhips [m].

This moſt important ſervice is far from being properly treated by our own writers; but the Dutch, who felt the weight of the blow, have ſet it in a true light. They acknowledge the fact, as I have ſtated it, in every circumſtance, except the taking the whole convoy, of which they tell us one ſhip eſcaped, and aſſign ſo good a reaſon for it, that I am apt to think the fact is true. The captain fled, ſay they, as ſoon as he heard Blake was coming; but an ingenious author obſerves, that Tromp's not following Blake time enough, was the ruin of their fiſhery. And though, ſays he, the herring-fiſhery may appear contemptible to ſtrangers, or to ſuch as do not reflect that commerce is, as it were, the ſoul of ſome ſtates; yet it is of infinite conſequence in Holland, on account eſpecially of the vaſt number of ſhips employed therein, which amount to more than three thouſand every year [n]. Beſides, there are an incredible multitude of people employed in ſeveral ſorts of works relating to this fiſhing; inſomuch that Mr. de Witte, who computed the inhabitants of Holland at two millions and a half, thought that near half a million acquired a ſubſiſtence from their fiſhery [o]. If therefore the parliament had purſued Blake's ſcheme, and had ſtationed a ſtout ſquadron on the coaſt of Scotland, they

[m] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 461. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 329. Heath's chronicle, page 322. Whitlocke, ubi ſupra. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 264. [n] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 258. [o] Memoirs de Jean de Witte, p. 30.

muſt

muſt have quickly ended this war on any terms they had thought fit to preſcribe.

I muſt upon this occaſion take notice of the only cenſure I have met with on our admiral's conduct, as I find it reported by lieutenant-general Ludlow, who ſays, that ſome thought the releaſing the herring-buſſes, and ſuffering the ſeamen to return ſafely into Holland, was not to be juſtified; becauſe, by the help of theſe veſſels, we might have been enabled to erect a fiſhery, and thereby have obtained ſome reparation for the damages ſuſtained from the Dutch, and by detaining their mariners, they muſt have been exceedingly weakened and diſtreſſed [p]. There is, I muſt own, ſomething very plauſible in this objection; and yet, when it is thoroughly conſidered, I believe it will appear, that the admiral took the better courſe. He found moſt of theſe buſſes near harbours, into which they would have undoubtedly run, had he proceeded to extremities. The men on board theſe veſſels were between ſix and ſeven thouſand. To have deſtroyed ſo many, would have been an act of great cruelty, and to have taken them, conſidering he had already above a thouſand priſoners, would, upon the whole, have proved but an imprudent ſtep; ſo that, conſidering him as a brave man, an Engliſhman, and a Chriſtian, one cannot well avoid commending him for ſo generous a behaviour towards enemies. The Dutch writers readily acknowledge his courteſy and magnanimity [q], which I doubt not was approved by the parliament, who, however they came by their authority, uſed it with honour and moderation, and thereby ſet a proper example to the officers they employed.

His ſubſequent conduct during the Dutch war has been already thoroughly accounted for, and therefore I ſhall only take notice here of the method our admiral took to keep the ſeamen eaſy, notwithſtanding all the changes that happened in the government. He told them, it was his and their buſineſs to act faithfully in their reſpective ſtations, and to do their duty to their country, whatever irregularities there might be in

[p] Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 420. This charge is tranſcribed in columna roſtrata, p. 99.

[q] Particularly Baſnage, tome i. p. 258. and the writer of Tromp's life.

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the councils at home, and would often ſay amongſt his officers, that ſtate-affairs were not their province, but that they were bound to keep foreigners from fooling us[r]. Theſe principles rendered him agreeable to all parties, and gained him ſo generally the reputation of a patriot, that when Cromwell, in his new model of a parliament, left the populous town of Bridgewater the choice of one repreſentative only, they very prudently fixed on their countryman Mr. Blake[s]. He was alſo very acceptable to the protector, though he was far enough from being his creature; Cromwell knew that he was by principle for a commonwealth, and therefore choſe to employ him abroad as much as poſſible, knowing that contributed to the ſafety of his government, and that Blake's concern for the glory of England would influence him to do all, and even more, than any other man could be excited to by views of intereſt and ambition[t].

When he ſailed in 1654 into the Mediterranean, he came in the month of December into the road of Cadiz, where he was received with great reſpect and civility by the Spaniards, and indeed by all nations as well as the Engliſh, who were then in port. A Dutch admiral would not wear his flag while the Engliſh admiral was in the harbour; one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with the French admiral and ſeven men of war near the Straits mouth. The captain of the victualling-ſloop was ordered on board the admiral, who inquired of him where Blake was, drank his health with five guns, and ſo wiſhed the captain a good voyage. The Algerines ſtood in ſuch awe of him, that they were wont to ſtop the Sallee rovers, and, in caſe they had any priſoners on board, took them out, and ſent them to Blake, in hopes thereby of obtaining his favour[u].

He ſailed from Cadiz to Malaga, and, while he lay in that road, gave ſuch a teſtimony of heroic zeal for his country's honour as was ſcarce ever equalled. Some of his ſeamen, going

[r] Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 357. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 247. Lives Engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 109.
[s] Heath's chronicle, p. 363. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 573. [t] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 602. [u] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 609. Heath's chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 347. Lives Engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 113, 114.

aſhore,

aſhore, met the hoſt as it was carrying to ſome ſick perſon, and not only paid no reſpect thereto, but laughed at thoſe who did. The prieſt who accompanied it highly reſented this, and put the people on revenging the indignity; upon which they fell upon the ſailors, and beat ſome of them very ſeverely. When they returned on board, they complained of this ill uſage, and the admiral inſtantly ſent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the prieſt who was the author of this inſult. The viceroy anſwered, that he had no authority over prieſts, and therefore could not ſend him. Upon this Blake ſent a ſecond meſſage, that he would not enter into the queſtion, who had power to ſend him; but that, if he was not ſent within three hours, he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. The inhabitants, to ſave themſelves, obliged the viceroy to ſend the prieſt, who, when he came on board, excuſed himſelf to the admiral on account of the behaviour of the ſailors. Blake with much calmneſs and compoſure told him, that, if he had complained of this outrage, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely; for he would not ſuffer any of his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of a place where he touched; but he blamed him for ſetting on a mob of Spaniards to beat them, adding, "that he would have him and the whole "world know, that none but an ENGLISHMAN ſhould chaſtiſe "an ENGLISHMAN [w]."

We have already mentioned the taking part of the plate-fleet by captain Stayner, an incident of ſuch conſequence to Cromwell, that the ingenious Mr. Waller wrote a poem to perſuade him to lay hold of this opportunity, while the people were pleaſed with the ſight of ſo much Spaniſh bullion, to work on their paſſions, and engage them to ſet the crown upon his head [x]. We have likewiſe entered into a detail of the celebrated action at Santa-cruz, and have ſhewn how glorious it was for his country and his profeſſion, no ſeaman having ever attempted any thing of that kind before. But there is a circumſtance yet behind, which will perhaps redound more to his own glory than even the burning of the Spaniſh ſhips in ſo well-fortified a port. His brother, captain Benjamin Blake, for whom he had a very tender affection, being guilty of ſome miſdemeanour or miſbehaviour in the action;

[w] Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 80, 81. [x] Waller's poems, p. 274.

he was, by ſentence from Blake, removed from his ſhip, and the command of it given to another [y].

This was ſuch an inſtance of diſintereſted diſcipline as muſt have had a very ſtrong effect on the minds of all who ſerved under him, ſo that we need not wonder ſuch extraordinary things were performed by men ſo ſtrictly tied to their duty. To ſay the truth, diſcipline is the ſoul of ſervice. Men are apt to meaſure the conſequences of things by the rewards and puniſhments which attend them; and if reſolution purchaſes nothing, or neglect is eaſily excuſed, an army or a fleet may, by the help of the land-taylor and ſhip-carpenter, make a fine ſhew, but, after all, will prove a terror to none but thoſe who are to pay them. An officer like Blake, who will do juſtice upon his brother, will be generally feared, highly admired, and yet ſincerely beloved; his ſailors will be ready to undertake any thing at his command, and his acts of courage will ſo far tranſcend what happens amongſt the trifling and debauched poſterity even of thoſe heroes, that they will be glad, rather than attempt imitating, to ſtyle that temerity, which in its day paſſed only for a bold attempt.

In a ſhort time after the deſtruction of the enemy's fleet at Teneriff, we find Blake cruiſing again off the harbour of Cadiz, where, perceiving his ſhips were become foul, and that his own health and ſpirits hourly wore away, he reſolved to ſail for England [z]. His diſtemper was a complication of dropſy and ſcurvy, brought upon him by being for three years together at ſea, and wanting all that time the conveniencies requiſite for the cure of his diſeaſe [a]. In his paſſage home it increaſed upon him, and he became ſo ſenſible of his approaching end, that he frequently inquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native ſoil, which, however, he did not live to ſee, dying, as his ſhip the St. George entered Plymouth-ſound, on the 17th of Auguſt, 1657, at about fifty-nine years of age [b]. His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out, and buried in the

[y] Lives Engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 121. [z] Heath's chronicle, p. 401. [a] Bates's elencus motuum, part ii. p. 228. Wood's faſti Oxonienſes, vol. i. col. 204. Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p 273. Mercurius politicus, N° 375. [b] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 664. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 357. Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 601. The perfect politician, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 246.

great church at Plymouth, and his corpſe, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich-houſe, from whence he reſolved to have it carried in great pomp to Weſtminſter-abbey, and there interred with the utmoſt ſolemnity, as the laſt mark of reſpect that could be paid by men to the noble ſpirit which once animated this tenément of clay [c].

On the fourth of September, after the corpſe had lain ſeveral days in ſtate, it was carried from Greenwich in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with eſcutcheons and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, remoter relations, and their ſervants, in mourning; by Oliver's privy-council, the commiſſioners of the admiralty and navy, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; the field-officers of the army, and many other perſons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marſhalled and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the ſolemnity. Thus they paſſed to Weſtminſter-bridge, and, at their landing, proceeded in the ſame manner, through a guard of ſeveral regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend, general Lambert, though then in diſgrace with the protector, attending on his horſe. The funeral proceſſion over, the body was interred in a vault, built on purpoſe, in the chapel of Henry VII. [d]

This was an honour which had been paid to the remains of his predeceſſors, Deane and Popham, by the parliament; and the protector would not be behind them in civility or magnificence, where it coſt ſo little, and had a viſible tendency to raiſe the credit of his adminiſtration ſo much. But very great offence has been taken at the removing his body after the Reſtoration. The writer of his life is particularly angry at this diſturbing of his bones [e]. A late reverend author, to make the injury ſtill greater, tells us, that, at the Reſtoration, his body was taken out of the grave, and flung, with others, into a

[c] Carrington's life of Cromwell, p. 247. Heath's chronicle, p. 402. Lives Engliſh and foreign, p. 122, 123. [d] Wood's faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 205. Heath, p. 402. who ſays, general Lambert's attendance was particularly remarked. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 725. and other hiſtorians. [e] Lives Engliſh and foreign, p. 123, 124.

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common pit [f]. This had been a great indignity indeed; but it luckily ſo happens, that the fact is not true.

An order was ſent, ſome time after the Reſtoration, directing the dean and chapter of Weſtminſter, to cauſe ſuch bodies, as had been interred in that church during the troubles, to be removed; which we may the leſs wonder at, if we conſider that Cromwell's, Ireton's, Bradſhaw's, and Sir William Conſtable's bodies were all interred there. The order, therefore, was general, and had no ſort of diſtinct or injurious reference to this great admiral. So far from it, that it appears, by a very authentic memorandum, that, on the 12th of September, 1661, his corpſe was removed from the abbey, and decently buried in the church-yard: neither could this be called taking it out of the grave, ſince the coffin ſtood in a vault [g]. Nay, to ſhew the reſpect the cavaliers or royaliſts had for him, we need only mention the characters that have been given him, ſince they come all, or at leaſt the far greateſt part of them, from perſons of that party.

The earl of Clarendon ſays, "He was the firſt man that "declined the old tract, and made it manifeſt that the ſcience "might be attained in leſs time than was imagined; and de- "ſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep "his ſhip and men out of danger, which had been held in "former times a point of great ability and circumſpection; as "if the principal art requiſite in the captain of a ſhip, had been "to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man "who brought ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had "been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by "him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could be "rarely hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that pro- "portion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by "experience what mighty things they could do, if they were "reſolved; and taught them to fight in fire, as well as upon "water: and though he hath been very well imitated and "followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that

[f] Neale's hiſtory of the puritans, vol. iv. p. 174. [g] Biſhop Kennet's regiſter and chronicle, p. 536.

" kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute achieve-
" ments [h]."

Dr. Bate, in drawing his character, ſays, " He was a man
" deſerving praiſe even from an enemy. Being advanced to
" a command at ſea, he ſubdued the Scilly-iſlands near home;
" and having attained the office and title of an admiral, per-
" formed things worthy of immortal memory abroad. For he
" humbled the pride of France, reduced Portugal to reaſon,
" broke the naval force of Holland, and drove them to the
" ſhelter of their ports, ſuppreſſed the rovers of Barbary, and
" twice triumped over Spain. Alone blameable in this, that
" he complied with the parricides [i]." Honeſt Anthony Wood, who obſerves, that he was admired and applauded by the royaliſts, in his blunt manner, celebrates his praiſes thus: " He
" was a man wholly devoted to his country's ſervice, reſolute
" in undertakings, and moſt faithful in the performance of
" them. With him, valour ſeldom miſſed its reward, nor
" cowardice its puniſhment [k]." We have a fine picture of him by Kennet, in his complete hiſtory of England, and a very fair one by Echard: to theſe, becauſe the lines were never printed before, I will add a ſhort encomium in verſe.

While Portugal ſhall her bleſs'd Indies boaſt,
While Naples glories in her flow'ry coaſt,
While pirates unto Afric's ſhore reſort,
While Tuſcany's enrich'd by her fair port,
While the Dutch fiſh, the Spaniard vaunts his mines,
To ſtealing conqueſts while proud France inclines,
While ſeas ſtill roar, while ſhips divide their waves,
While death, for fame, each gallant ſailor braves,
Thy praiſe ſhall live; and future heroes take,
As Cæſar's once—the nobler name of BLAKE.

In reference to the admirals Deane, Popham, and Rainſborough, we have very few, ſcarce any, memorials left. As to the firſt, he is mentioned by lord Clarendon, as a perſon raiſed by his own merit; and though this entitled him, when ſlain in

[h] Hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 692.
[i] Elencus motuum, p. 323.
[k] Faſti Oxonienſis, vol. i. col. 204.

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the Dutch war, to a pompous funeral in Weſtminſter-abbey, yet no care was taken to preſerve to poſterity, either by tomb or inſcription, the memory of thoſe military achievements by which his reputation was acquired [l]. Colonel Popham was raiſed to the command of the fleet, rather out of regard to his fidelity to the parliament, and his being known for a gallant and well-accompliſhed gentleman, than for any ſkill in ſea-affairs: and as to Rainſborough, we have already ſhewn how he came in, and went out of the fleet, through the prejudice of the ſailors againſt him, particularly on the account of his promoting a very ſevere diſcipline. After this, he returned to his command in the army, where he made a conſiderable figure, chiefly by the favour of Cromwell, who is thought to have had a greater regard for him than for any other perſon; and that expoſed him to the fury of the royaliſts, who having ſurpriſed him in his quarters at Doncaſter, to which place he came in order to form the ſiege of Pomfret-caſtle, on his making ſome reſiſtance, killed him [m].

In reſpect to other famous ſeamen within this period, ſuch as Monk, Montague, Lawſon, Ayſcue, Penn, and many more, to whoſe memory a juſt tribute of praiſe is certainly due, they fall properly under the next chapter: for though their merit was firſt made known in theſe times of diſtraction, (as civil wars generally manifeſt great ſpirits), yet their nobleſt exploits were afterwards performed, and thoſe too whence they acquired the titles of honour, by which they are now known to poſterity. Let us then conclude this part of our ſubject, with a few remarks on the ſtate of our trade and our plantations.

The commerce of England had been increaſing for many years, when the civil war broke out; and there ſeems to be

[l] Clarendon's hiſt. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 487. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 559. In a letter of Mynheer Van de Perre's, one of the Dutch ambaſſadors, dated Weſtminſter, July 18, 1653, N. S. it is ſaid, that ſince the day of the deceaſe of general Deane, till the day of his funeral, there had been allowed to his widow and children one hundred pounds ſterling *per diem*; and that an eſtate of ſix hundred pounds *per annum*, was likewiſe ſettled upon her, as a reward for the great ſervices rendered by her huſband to the commonwealth. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 339. [m] Clarendon, Whitlocke, Heath, Kennet, Rapin. Bates's elencus motuum, p. 101. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 257. He was killed October 29, 1648.

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good reaſon to believe, that it continued in a flouriſhing condition during the parliament's adminiſtration: but after that it certainly declined, in ſome meaſure, from foreign and unavoidable cauſes; and in ſome meaſure too, from the errors of the ſucceeding government. In regard to the former, we muſt conſider, that the peace of Munſter in 1648, changed the face of affairs in Europe as to trade, and this altogether to our diſadvantage. Before that time, the French had few or no ſhips: and though it be true, that our trade with France, even then, created a balance againſt us; yet we were no loſers by it, but rather gainers on the whole, becauſe we exported to Italy, and elſewhere, a great part of the goods we took from France. Before the treaty of Munſter, we had the whole Spaniſh trade in our hands; whereas, afterwards, the Dutch came into a large ſhare of it, at the ſame time that they managed the whole trade of the French, till, by degrees, rather through the wiſdom of the French miniſtry, than of the nation, it was taken out of their hands alſo.

As to the errors of the protector's government, in reſpect to trade, they were great and fatal, though (not to load his memory unjuſtly) perhaps they aroſe from neceſſity, and were not intended. In the firſt place, taxes were raiſed much higher than in former times. He impoſed ſixty thouſand pounds per month, by his own authority; and afterwards he procured from parliament an annual grant of two hundred thouſand pounds for his civil liſt; four hundred thouſand pounds for the expence of the navy, and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds for the army: ſo that the whole revenue came to one million, three hundred thouſand pounds per annum, a ſum almoſt incredible, compared with the modeſt grants of former times [n]. In the next place, theſe taxes were very unequally laid; and moſt of thoſe burdenſome methods of levying money were then introduced, which have lain heavy upon us ever ſince [o]. I ſay no-

[n] Happy future ſtate of England, p. 187. This book has no author's name in the title, but the dedication of it, to the earl of Sunderland, is ſubſcribed P. P. *i. e.* Peter Pett: and abundance of curious obſervations are to be found therein.

[o] For a comprehenſive view of theſe exactions, the reader may have recourſe to a calculation prefixed to Heath's chronicle, wherein it is ſhewn, that in five years time little leſs than 20,000,000 l. were levied upon the people.

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thing of the violent methods taken to raiſe vaſt ſums upon particular occaſions, which rendered every ſpecies of property very precarious, and all together brought ſuch a diſcouragement upon induſtry, as ſhewed itſelf in the declenſion of the coinage, in the leſſening the number of the inhabitants of the city of London, in decreaſing our ſhipping, and in many other inſtances.

But the greateſt, and moſt miſchievous of all his miſtakes, as to the true intereſt of England, was in the affair of the Spaniſh war; for though the ſtate, ſeparately conſidered, might be a gainer by the vaſt quantity of plate taken by Blake and Montague, yet the nation loſt thereby; ſince, if the peace had continued, we muſt have drawn larger ſums from Spain, in payment for our manufactures; and conſequently, that mighty maſs of wealth, which was deſtroyed at Santa Cruz, was a very conſiderable detriment to us, as well as to the Spaniards: for if it had come into their hands, we muſt have had a large ſhare of it; whereas it was buried in the ſea, and ſo the whole amount loſt to the trading intereſt in Europe for ever. Add to this, that in the end the Spaniards were ſo exceedingly reduced, that they were forced to hire Dutch ſhips to go to the Indies; and this opened a new ſcene of trade to that wiſe and induſtrious people, which otherwiſe had never fallen into their hands. Part indeed of theſe loſſes were concealed at that ſeaſon from the ſight of the nation, by the increaſe of our plantation-trade, of which I ſhall give a very ſuccinct account.

As the ill-timed, impolitic, and uncharitable ſeverities, exerciſed by the prelates, in the reign of king Charles I. drove multitudes to New-England, ſo the diſtractions of ſucceeding times contributed greatly to the increaſe of all our colonies; but more particularly Barbadoes and Virginia, which, as conſiſting in ſelf-baniſhed royaliſts, Cromwell, for his own eaſe, encouraged; and the plantation of Jamaica gave a new face to things in that part of the world, by opening ſeveral branches of commerce unknown to us before: this, together with the navigation-act, preſerved us, as I have ſaid, from feeling all the bad effects, which otherwiſe muſt have followed from the very groſs miſtakes in policy before-mentioned, and the

conſe-

conſequences of which, in reality, have been ſeverely felt ſince.

Beſides, our plantation-trade was then abſolutely new, and no other ſtate interfered in the commerce carried on in Europe, with the commodities which we then brought from thoſe parts; inſomuch, that very large and even immenſe eſtates were made in a ſhort ſpace of time, more eſpecially in Barbadoes; where ſome, who carried over only a few hundred pounds, came in a very narrow period, to be poſſeſſed of ſeveral thouſand pounds a-year, which, without queſtion, encouraged numbers of adventurers, and enabled the Engliſh to extend their trade, and their colonies, in that part of the world, as will hereafter be more largely ſhewn [p].

[p] The reader may receive ſatisfaction, as to the facts above-mentioned, by conſulting the Britiſh empire in America, or the particular hiſtories of our plantations. This was ſaid before the publication of that excellent work, entitled, The European ſettlements in America, in two volumes in octavo, which alone will furniſh an intelligent peruſer with all he can wiſh to ſee upon this ſubject, and is penned with a ſpirit and perſpicuity not to be found in the labours of any former writer.

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XVI.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN, during the reign of King Charles II. from the time of his reſtoration: containing a diſtinct account of the ſeveral expeditions againſt the Algerines; the two Dutch wars, and other naval tranſactions; the ſtate of our foreign trade and plantations; with memoirs of all the eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed in his reign.

WHEN the miſeries flowing from the ruin of our old conſtitution had taught the nation, that the ſhorteſt, as well as only way to peace and happineſs, was to build up again what they had deſtroyed; the ſeamen ſhewed greater readineſs than any other ſort of men to execute this ſalutary deſign; and, without waiting for any further orders than thoſe which came from their own officers, cheerfully carried the fleet over to the Dutch coaſt; where, after giving new names to the ſhips, they received his Majeſty, the duke of York, and other perſons of principal quality, who had attended him, on

board, the 23d of May, 1660, and ſafely landed them in Kent[a].

For this ſervice, Mr. Montague, who commanded that fleet, was created earl of Sandwich, had a garter, and was appointed vice-admiral of England, under his royal highneſs the duke of York. Sir John Lawſon, Sir Richard Stayner, and other officers, received the honour of knighthood, and the king was pleaſed to promiſe the ſeamen in general a particular ſhare in his favour and eſteem[b].

In the beginning, at leaſt, of this prince's adminiſtration, he certainly ſhewed a great attention to the public intereſt; and, as he had good natural abilities, and was inclined to look into naval affairs, ſo for ſome time he kept a ſtrict eye on whatever related to the fleet, of which many inſtances occur in the memoirs of ſeveral of its principal officers. In September 1660, the earl of Sandwich went with a ſquadron of nine men of war to Helvoetſluys, to bring over the king's ſiſter, the princeſs of Orange, who not long after died in England[c].

Upon this occaſion he received great honours in Holland; and it is conceived, that the affection which the people ſhewed for our king's nephew, the young prince of Orange, (afterwards King William), and for the Engliſh on his account, gave ſome jealouſy to the ſtates, or at leaſt to ſuch as had the principal direction of affairs, which was increaſed by a memorial preſented by the princeſs at her departure, recommending her ſon to their care, and deſiring they would now declare their intentions of conferring upon him the charges and dignities which his anceſtors had enjoyed. On the twenty-fourth of the ſame month the fleet returned; and his Majeſty and the duke of York going

[a] See the cloſe of the earl of Clarendon's hiſtory. Heath's chronicle, p. 457. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 700, 701. who is pleaſed to obſerve, that the ſoldiers at this time were quite altered from their former principles and maſters: but the beſt account is in the earl of Sandwich's journal, a MS. in the hands of the honourable Edward Wortley Montague, Eſq; Sir William Lower's account of this voyage. [b] Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 445. Continuation of Baker's chronicle, by Mr. Edward Philips, from the manuſcript papers of the duke of Albemarle, p. 715. Anſtis's regiſter of the moſt noble order of the garter, vol. i. p. 41. in the introduction. [c] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 618. Larrey hiſtoire d'Angleterre, tom. iv. p. 417. Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 7.

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on board the admiral's ſhip, named the Reſolution, lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the ſtate of every ſhip in the ſquadron next morning[d].

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between his Majeſty and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of three hundred thouſand pounds, the iſland of Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies, and the city of Tangier in Africa; it became neceſſary to ſend a fleet to bring over the queen, and to ſecure the laſt-mentioned city againſt any attempt from the Moors. For this purpoſe the earl of Sandwich was again ſent with a numerous fleet, which ſailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs, after having been firſt viſited by the duke of York[e].

His lordſhip ſailed firſt to Liſbon, and from thence to Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the Engliſh on the 30th of January, 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an Engliſh garriſon, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portugueſe governor[f]. The admiral then returned to Liſbon, where he received the queen's portion, conſiſting in money, in jewels, ſugars, and other commodities, and in bills of exchange, and then ſailed with her Majeſty for England, and arrived at Spithead the 14th of May, 1662[g].

There was certainly no occaſion for ſo large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen; but as it afforded a fair pretence for ſending ſuch a force into the Mediterranean, this opportunity was ſeized to execute things of greater moment. The Algerines, and other piratical ſtates of Barbary, taking advantage of our inteſtine confuſions, had broke the peace they made with admiral Blake, and began to take Engliſh ſhips, with as little ceremony as they did the Dutch and French. To put an end

d Earl of Sandwich's journal. Heath's chronicle, p. 470. Geſta Britannorum, p. 488, 489. Skinner's continuation of Bates's elencus motuum, part iii. p. 60. Public intelligence, 4to, N° 37. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 618, 619. e Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 182. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 800, 801. Stevens's hiſtory of Portugal, p. 503. Memoirs d'Ablancourt, p. 74—77. Journal of the earl of Sandwich. f Heath's chronicle, p. 500. Kennet's chronicle, p. 617. Annals of the univerſe, p. 53. g Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 313—317. Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 750, 751. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 255. Skinner's continuation of Bates's elencus motuum, part iii. p. 69.

to this, the earl of Sandwich with his fleet came before Algiers the 29th of July, 1661, and ſent captain Spragge with the king's letter to the principal perſon in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders alſo to bring off Mr. Brown, the conſul; which was accordingly done. That evening a council of war was held, and the next morning certain propoſitions were made to the regency, by captain Spragge and conſul Brown. About eleven o'clock theſe gentlemen returned on board the admiral, with an anſwer, that the government of Algiers would conſent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of the right of ſearching our ſhips. This inſolence of theſe ſea-robbers ſprung out of the jealouſy of the chriſtian powers, who would never unite to cruſh this neſt of pirates, and give the beautiful and rich country they inhabit to ſome prince of their own faith, which would be a common benefit to all commercial nations.

In the mean time, to ſhew they were in earneſt, they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the mole-head to the oppoſite corner of their port; that, by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raiſed, they might be able to defend themſelves from any attempts that could be made by ſea. The earl of Sandwich, however, reſolved to make a bold trial to burn the ſhips in the harbour, but the wind prevented him; ſo that, after a good deal of firing on both ſides, wherein more hurt was done to the city than the ſhips, the admiral thought fit to ſail for Liſbon[h], on the firſt of Auguſt, leaving Sir John Lawſon with a ſtrong ſquadron, to protect the Engliſh trade and haraſs the enemy; which he performed with ſuch ſucceſs, that, after taking many of their ſhips, he, by degrees, forced all theſe pyratical ſtates to conclude a peace with Great-Britain, without any reſervation as to their favourite article of ſearching our ſhips; though, it muſt be confeſſed, that the Algerines, retaining ſtill a ſtrong opinion of the ſtrength of their fortifications, did not keep it long, but returned to their old practices[i]; which obliged

[h] Heath's chronicle, p. 500. But moſt of the facts above mentioned are taken from the earl of Sandwich's journal. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 250. Annals of the univerſe, p. 56.

[i] Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 313. Heath's chronicle, p. 500. Annals of the univerſe, p. 56. Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tom. vi. part ii. p 419, 420.

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the government here to ſend freſh orders to Sir John Lawſon, to employ force in bringing them to reaſon.

We are now to enter upon a more ſerious affair than any that had hitherto claimed the care of the Engliſh court. On his firſt return to the throne of his anceſtors, King Charles and his miniſters had certainly ſhewn a great concern for the true intereſt of the nation, as will appear to any attentive reader of our hiſtory, who obſerves the advantages we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with Spain and Holland. By the former he ſecured the poſſeſſion of Jamaica, though it had been acquired by Cromwell, and thereby obtained ſome ſort of ſatisfaction for the injury intended him a little before his reſtoration, when it is certain that the Spaniards would have ſecured his perſon, if he had not prevented them by an unexpected retreat out of their dominions to Breda [k].

He alſo reſtored to the nation the advantages they drew from the Spaniſh trade; and the affection of this people to the Engliſh, preferable to any other nation, appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the Dutch, and even forbade their ſhips of war to enter their ports, as the Dutch writers themſelves tell us [l]. The treaty with Holland carried things alſo to a great height; for it not only ſecured the reſpect due to the Engliſh flag, but likewiſe procured ſome other conceſſions very honourable for the nation, and the iſland of Poleron, more correctly Pulo Ron, *i. e.* the Iſle of Ron, for the Eaſt-India company. His Majeſty had alſo an intention to have ſecured abſolutely and for ever the fiſhery on the Britiſh coaſt to his own ſubjects: but, before that could be effectually done, the war broke out; for the true grounds of which it is not over eaſy

[k] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 740. where it appears, that Mr. William Galloway, then page to Don Alonzo de Cardinas, carried an order he had received (his maſter being in bed and aſleep) from the M. de Carcenas, then governor of the Low Countries, to ſecure his Majeſty's perſon next day, to the king at midnight, who thereupon roſe and made his eſcape about three in the morning. This no doubt left a ſtrong impreſſion on his Majeſty's mind to the prejudice of the Spaniards. [l] Kennet, vol. iii. Echard. Welwood. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. Letters of the earl of Arlington. p. 43, 44. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i.

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to account; and yet, without accounting for them, books of this nature can be but of little value [m].

The Dutch began early to conceive jealous prejudices againſt the king's government, and in reality to apprehend our becoming their ſuperiors in commerce, in which we were every day viſibly increaſing. Theſe ſentiments engaged them, and eſpecially their Eaſt and Weſt India companies, which then carried on the greateſt part of their commerce, to take various ſteps, in thoſe parts of the world where their power prevailed, to the prejudice of the Engliſh. The Eaſt-India company particularly delayed the liquidation of the damages the Engliſh were to receive, peremptorily refuſed to deliver up the iſland before mentioned, and pretended to preſcribe the places where, and the terms on which the Engliſh ſhould trade in the reſt of the ports of India. The other company trod exactly in their ſteps, and proceeded ſo far as to get Cape-corſe caſtle into their hands, which belonged to the Engliſh company [n] trading to Africa.

The duke of York, who through his whole life was the patron, was at this time governor of the African company, and, being informed of this, ſent major, afterwards Sir Robert Holmes, with four frigates, to the coaſt of Guinea, in order to make repriſals. This was in 1661; and Sir Robert, in conſequence of this commiſſion, ſummoned the Dutch to ſurrender cape Verde to the company within a limited time, yet offered them the liberty to continue their trade there as before. He then proceeded to a ſmall fort poſſeſſed by the Dutch, who, firing their cannon to prevent the landing of the Engliſh, were at length obliged to ſurrender; and the fort, being in the hands of our

[m] Corps univerſel diplomatique du droit des gens, tome vi. part i. p. 422. Ludlow in his memoirs, vol. iii. p. 112. ſays, The foundation of this treaty having been laid in the blood of three of his friends, (Barkſtead, Okey, and Corbet, all of them regicides, and deſervedly put to death for the ſhare they had in the execrable murder of their ſovereign), the ſuperſtructure was raiſed with the like materials; and complains, that the Dutch agreed to an article, that if any who had been the judges of Charles I. or otherwiſe excepted, ſhould be found in their territories, they would, upon demand, deliver them up to ſuch as the king of England ſhould appoint to receive them. [n] Philips's continuation of Heath, p. 525. Coke's detection, vol. ii. book iv. chap. 2. Skinner's continuation of Bates's elencus motuum, part iii. p. 74. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own time, p. 85. See the king's letter to the ſtates-general on the cauſes of this war, and Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 682, 683.

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company, received the name of James-fort in honour of the duke. From thence proceeding to the river Gambia, he diſlodged the Hollanders, and built a new fort [o].

The Hollanders ſtill refuſing to deliver up to us cape Corſe, Sir Robert was ſent a ſecond time, *anno* 1663, with a ſmall ſquadron, to take it out of their hands by force. But, ſearching a Dutch ſhip by the way, he found expreſs orders (as king Charles informs the ſtates in his letter, October 4, 1666) from the Dutch Weſt-India company to their governor, general Valkenburg, to ſeize the Engliſh fort at Cormantin; which diſcovery diſpoſed him to go, as he thought he had a right, beyond his original commiſſion [p].

In the latter end of the month of January 1664, Sir Robert Holmes arrived with his ſquadron at Cape Verde. This cape is part of the main land of Africa, and lies on the weſt ſide of the kingdom of Jaloffi, and to the north-weſt of the river Gambia, in the 15th degree of north latitude. About a cannon-ſhot from thence lies the now ſo well known iſland Goree, whereon were two forts. The lower fort was furniſhed with about twenty pieces of cannon, and the upper with eight: the former was called fort Naſſau, the latter fort Orange. Sir Robert firſt ſummoned theſe two forts on the iſland Goree; and, becauſe the governor refuſed to ſurrender, he attacked and took them next day, together with a ſhip called the Crocodile, lying under their protection, after having the evening before taken two other Dutch ſhips, called the Viſch-korf and the Viſcher. In theſe forts he found a great quantity of goods ready to be ſhipped for Holland, and, among the reſt, 20,000 hides. Theſe he loaded on his own and the Dutch ſhips, and tranſported them to Sierra Liona [q].

He next proceeded to attack St. George del Mina, the ſtrongeſt of all the Dutch forts; but though himſelf and his ſeamen acted with great bravery, yet the deſign miſcarried, and he was obliged to ſheer off with ſome loſs. To repair this misfortune, he reſolved to attack Cape-corſe caſtle, which, though it was ſo

[o] O. Dapper deſcription de l'Afrique, p. 502. Vie de Ruyter, p. 171. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 58. [p] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 535. where there is an extract of major Holmes's proceedings. [q] Account of captain Holmes's proceedings on the coaſt of Africa. Heath's chronicle continued by Philips, p. 535. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 32. Annals of the univerſe, p. 36. Columna roſtrata, p. 151—155.

ſtrong

ſtrong by ſituation, that 100 men might have kept it againſt 1000, yet he ſoon took it and ſome other places; after which he ſailed from the coaſt of Guinea to North-America, where he reduced a Dutch ſettlement, called the New Netherlands, in the month of Auguſt 1664, changing the name into that of New-York, in honour of the duke. Yet this was not done merely by way of repriſal, but partly by virtue of a claim of right: for the New Netherlands, being firſt diſcovered by the Engliſh under the conduct of John and Sebaſtian Cabot, (who took poſſeſſion of all that northern coaſt in the name of King Henry VII. of England), had been always eſteemed a part of the Engliſh-American dominions, and the title to it maintained by our monarchs till the year 1637, when it was firſt ſeized and planted by the Dutch [p].

Theſe proceedings were hitherto of a private nature. The injuries done to the Engliſh were done by the Dutch Weſt-India company; the repriſals made by the Engliſh were under the charter of the African company; the crown had not either fitted out Sir Robert Holmes, or given him any commiſſion. But, when the news of what was done reached Holland, the de Witte faction, who then carried all at their pleaſure, reſolved inſtantly to fall upon the Engliſh in thoſe parts with a great fleet, and this without any declaration of war, or even intimation of their deſign to repair themſelves in damages for what, without any royal commiſſion, Holmes had taken from them [q].

[p] Douglas's ſummary, hiſtorical and political, of the Britiſh ſettlements in North America, vol. i p. 204. vol. ii. p. 221. The ſhort and true ſtate of the matter is this: The country mentioned in the text was part of the province of Virginia; and, as there is no ſettling an extenſive country at once, a few Swedes crept in there, who ſurrendered the plantations they could not defend to the Dutch, who, having bought the charts and papers of one Hudſon a ſeaman, who, by commiſſion from the crown of England, diſcovered a river to which he gave his name, conceited they had purchaſed a province. Sometimes, when we had ſtrength in thoſe parts, they were Engliſh ſubjects; at others, when that ſtrength declined, they were ſubjects of the united provinces. However, upon king Charles's claim the ſtates diſowned the title, but reſumed it during our confuſions. March 12, 1663-4, Charles II. granted it to the duke of York.

[q] So far from it, that the king confined Holmes when he returned, and did not diſcharge him, till he made it evidently appear, that he had not infringed the law of nations. Geſta Britannorum, p. 493, 506. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 533. Nay, M. de Neuville, hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 242. ſays expreſsly, that the king made this war, that he might accommodate himſelf to the diſpoſition of his parliament and people.

The chief difficulty lay in ſending ſuch a fleet ſafely into thoſe ſeas, before the deſign could be known in England, and the project formed by them, as it was in contrivance very ſubtile and fraudulent, ſo it was executed with equal cunning and ſucceſs. Admiral de Ruyter was at that time in the Mediterranean, where he had orders either to make a peace with, or at leaſt to defend their merchants from the inſults of the piratical ſtates; to which end, as we before obſerved, Sir John Lawſon was alſo there with a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, and the ſtates requeſted of king Charles, that theſe two admirals might act in conjunction. Yet now it was thought convenient to remove de Ruyter from thence, and to ſend him to commit hoſtilities againſt us, then acting as their allies, on the coaſt of Guinea, and in the Weſt-Indies. To this he was himſelf well enough inclined, from a difference that had happened between him and Sir John Lawſon about the ſalute at ſea, which the Dutch admiral paid, and Sir John refuſed to return, alledging, that his orders did not allow him to ſtrike to the ſubjects of any king or ſtate whatever. In other reſpects he aſſiſted the Dutch as friends and allies as much as was in his power[r].

The majority of the ſtates-general of the united provinces were not for a war with England, and conſequently ſuch orders as the miniſters of the de Witte party wanted, to authoriſe de Ruyter, were not to be had from them in a fair and open way; yet, rather than not have them, the Louveſtein faction reſolved to ſacrifice their conſtitution. De Ruyter had ſent home an account of his proceedings againſt the pirates: they got this report referred to a committee of ſeven who were in their intereſts, and this committee drew up an order, directing the admiral to ſail to the coaſt of Guinea, there to make repriſals upon the Engliſh. But, as this order muſt be read to, and approved by the ſtates, the miniſters took care to draw it up in looſe and equivocal terms, procuring alſo the ſecretary to read it over to them in ſuch a hurry as rendered it altogether unintelligible; then they thruſt it among ſome orders of courſe, and engaging ſuch as they thought would be againſt it, in private converſation, it was read

[r] Brandt leeven van Ruyter, fol. 290, 291. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 63, 64. See alſo the memoirs of Sir J. Lawſon.

without being attended to, or its importance apprehended. Laſtly, it was brought with a bundle of papers, moſt of them mere matters of form, to be ſigned by the preſident for the week, who, as uſual, ſet his hand to this amongſt the reſt, without reading. This is a true ſtate of the fact, as reported by the Dutch hiſtorians [s].

When de Ruyter received this order, he did not communicate it to his officers, but, having firſt got ſuch a ſupply of proviſions as he thought might be neceſſary, pretended to have ſudden information of certain pirates cruiſing near the Canaries; and, under colour of giving chaſe to theſe, he ſailed to Cape de Verde, and ſo far executed his commiſſion, as to oblige the governors for our African company either to ſurrender or demoliſh ſeveral of their forts. He likewiſe ſeized a great quantity of goods belonging to that company: after which he made himſelf maſter of fort Cormantin, a place which was built by, and had always been in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. But Cape Corſe and Chama (two of the places taken by Sir Robert Holmes) remained unreduced. From the coaſt of Guinea de Ruyter ſailed to Barbadoes, where he attacked a conſiderable fleet of merchant-ſhips lying under protection of the forts, but was repulſed with great loſs. Then paſſing over to Montſerat, Nevis, and Newfoundland, he took above twenty ſail of Engliſh ſhips, and ſo returned to Holland [t].

Theſe actions on both ſides ſerved to exaſperate the two nations, and to haſten the preparations for war; which was proclaimed by the Dutch in January, and by the Engliſh in February, 1665 [u]. But, before it came to that, the Heer van Goch was ſent by the ſtates to importune the king with memorials and

[s] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 714. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. La vie de Ruyter. Lettres de d'Eſtrades, tome ii. p. 12. See Lord Arlington's letter to Sir Richard Fanſhaw, the king's ambaſſador at Madrid, dated the 29th of September, 1664. [t] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 530. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 32. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own time, p. 86. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 76. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 64. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 744. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 7. La vie de Ruyter, p. 192—204. [u] Heath's chronicle, p. 531. Annals of the univerſe, p. 114. Geſta Britannorum, p. 506. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 736.

complaints.

complaints. To which the king's anſwer was, that he had received no particular information of the affairs in Guinea, and that the two companies muſt decide their diſputes. Theſe complaints of the ambaſſadors being likewiſe retaliated by the Engliſh merchants, whoſe inceſſant repreſentations of their wrongs obliged the king to repeat his demands of ſatisfaction, as the conſtant refuſal of the ſatisfaction demanded was the cauſe of the open rupture [w].

Several writers, who have cenſured king Charles's government, would have us believe, that this war was of his Majeſty's procuring: whereas nothing can be more certain than that he was ſupported in it by advice of parliament, as he had been driven into it by the clamours of the people. The houſe of commons told him in one of their repreſentations, that the Dutch had injured his ſubjects to the amount of 800,000 pounds. The king promiſed to take care of the merchants, and of the nation; and when he found a war neceſſary, and deſired the city of London to lend him 100,000 pounds, they did it very readily, and even repeated the favour as readily, when the king condeſcended to ſhew them that the firſt loan was not ſufficient to fit out the fleet. The parliament, as the king had acted in theſe matters in conſequence of their addreſs, and was, by thus acting, on the brink of a war, for which he was unprovided, and had been aſſiſted by the city of London, thought themſelves obliged to take notice of this, and therefore both houſes named a committee to carry the city their thanks [x].

Theſe ſurely are demonſtrative proofs, that this was not, as many writers ſtyle it, a court war, but a juſt, and therefore a popular one. Yet it muſt be allowed, that it was chiefly brought about by the artifices of France, the emiſſaries of that crown inſtigating the Dutch, and eſpecially de Witte, who, though a wiſe man, was their dupe, to do all they did, and at the ſame time omitting no opportunity of inflaming us againſt them for what they did. Their deſign was to engage the two maritime powers in a cruel war, that they might again, as before, weaken and

[w] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 271. Annals of the univerſe, p. 110. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 735. [x] Hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of commons, vol. i. p. 82. Coke's detection, part ii. p. 32. Kennet's complete hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 271.

waſte each other's ſtrength, and ſo be leſs able to oppoſe the deſigns of the French miniſtry, one of which was to render France a naval power [y].

The firſt action of conſequence, that happened after the war actually broke out, was the attacking a Dutch fleet coming richly laden from Smyrna upon the Spaniſh coaſt near Cadiz. It conſiſted of forty merchant-ſhips, ſome of them very large, and well provided with ordnance, and their convoy was compoſed of four third-rate men of war. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the Engliſh ſquadron, had with him about nine ſhips, (his own narrative ſays but eight). With theſe he attacked the enemy ſo ſucceſsfully, that having killed their commodore Brackel, and taken or ſunk four of their richeſt ſhips, he drove the reſt into the bay of Cadiz, where for ſome time he blocked them up. A misfortune of the ſame kind befel the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, out of which about 130 ſhips were taken. Some of theſe, however, appearing to be French bottoms, were diſcharged; but the far greater part were declared good prize [z].

Theſe heavy misfortunes obliged the Dutch, contrary to their inclinations, and indeed to their uſual practice, to lay an immediate embargo on all veſſels in their ports, by which their fiſheries, and all the annual commerce, were ſtopped for that ſeaſon. They likewiſe ſettled a fund of fourteen millions of guilders for the ſupport of the war; and, in order to ſhew that there ought to be ſome difference between ſuch as are made by trading na-

[y] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 527, 528. Skinner's continuation of Bates, part iii. p. 75. Annals of the univerſe, p. 95, 96, 97, 98. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own time, p. 86. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 25. Coke in his detection, vol. ii. p. 35. is pleaſed to ſay, he will not diſpute the juſtice of entering into this war, but, that he may have ſomething to cavil at, condemns the precipitancy with which the government embarked in it, and thinks the crown ſhould firſt have formed alliances abroad. See a very curious letter of Sir William Temple to his brother in his works, vol. ii. p. 41. wherein he has copiouſly ſtated the grounds and occaſions of this war, as alledged by all parties. See Ludlow's memoirs, vol. iii. p. 164, 165. The hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of commons, vol. i. p. 82—83. Lettres, memoires, et negotiations de monſieur le comte d'Eſtrades, tome i. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 737. [z] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 529, 530. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 78 Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 36. Annals of the univerſe, p. 114. Geſta Britannorum, p. 506. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 67.

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tions, and thoſe entered into by arbitrary princes, for the mere thirſt of dominion; they ordered about fifty Engliſh and Scots veſſels, which had been ſeized in their harbours, to be ſet at liberty; and, on the arrival of thoſe ſhips in England, the civility was returned by a like releaſe of all the Dutch ſhips that had been ſtopped here[a].

The Engliſh fleet was firſt ready, though the Dutch were the firſt who began to arm. This fleet of ours conſiſted of one hundred and fourteen ſail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire-ſhips and ketches, and had about twenty-two thouſand ſeamen and ſoldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the duke of York, as lord high-admiral, Prince Rupert was admiral of the white, and the earl of Sandwich of the blue. April 21, 1665, the Engliſh ſailed for the Dutch coaſt, and on the 28th ſent in a ſquadron ſo near the ſhore and harbour of the Texel, that the country was exceedingly alarmed. After remaining there a month, the fleet was ſo ruffled by a ſtorm, that it was found neceſſary to retire towards our own ſhore.

This opportunity the Dutch took of ſending out their fleet, which, by the latter end of May, appeared about the Dogger Sands. They were divided into ſeven ſquadrons, the firſt under Opdam, conſiſting of fourteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips; the ſecond under John Everts, of the like force; the third commanded by admiral Cortenaer, conſiſting of fourteen men of war and one fire-ſhip; the fourth was under Stillingwert, compoſed likewiſe of fourteen men of war and a fire-ſhip; the fifth conducted by Van Tromp, the ſon of the famous old admiral, made up of ſixteen men of war and two fire-ſhips; the ſixth under Cornelius Everts, conſiſting of fourteen men of war and a fire-ſhip; the laſt commanded by Schram, in which were ſixteen men of war and two fire-ſhips; in all, a hundred and three men of war, eleven fire-ſhips, and ſeven yachts. A mighty fleet, far ſuperior to what the French conceived it poſſible for the ſtates to fit out, and well furniſhed with men; but

[a] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 736. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 8. Leeven van de Witte, p. 252.

this

this was by the help of their India ſhips, whence they were moſtly taken, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by force [b].

The duke of York being retired with our navy from the Dutch coaſt when they came out, afforded them an opportunity to fall on our Hamburgh fleet, which they did not neglect; and they were ſo fortunate therein as to take the greateſt part, by which our merchants ſuffered near two hundred thouſand pounds loſs. Some attributed this to ill management, others, with more reaſon, to unavoidable accidents; for they had a convoy, and the duke of York ſent the Roe-ketch to inform them of his departure, which not meeting this fleet, proved their ruin [c]. This exceedingly exaſperated the Engliſh, and at the ſame time raiſed not a little the ſpirits of the Dutch.

Admiral Opdam, who commanded the latter, was a prudent as well as a truly gallant commander. The great John de Witte raiſed him to this envied employment; but finding him inclined to the prince of Orange, he became his enemy, and as ſoon as he was out at ſea wrote him a letter, directing him to fight at all events, and this with ſuch a peculiar quickneſs of ſtyle, as proved the letter his, though written in the name of the ſtates. Opdam reſolved to obey theſe orders, though contrary to the advice of moſt of his officers, and his own opinion, as appeared by his ſending aſhore his plate before the engagement: but more ſo from his expreſſions on taking the ſentiments of a council of war: "I am," ſaid he, "entirely in your ſentiments; "but here are my orders. To-morrow my head ſhall be bound "with laurel or with cypreſs:" and in this diſpoſition he ſailed to find out the Engliſh navy [d]. That did not require much time; for the duke of York was no leſs eager to revenge the loſs of

b Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 536. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 79. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own time, p. 90. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 78. Annals of the univerſe, p. 115. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 740. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 348. Leeven van de Witte, p. 252.

c Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 538. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 80. Geſta Britannorum, p. 508. Kennet's hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 276.

d Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 741. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv. p. 73.

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the Hamburgh fleet. On the third of June the Engliſh and Dutch navies engaged about three in the morning off Leoſtoff, when, by an overſight of the Dutch, (as their writers ſay), the Engliſh had the weather-gage, an advantage they knew how to uſe as well as keep[e].

Things went at firſt very equally on both ſides, ſeveral ſquadrons charging through and through, without any remarkable advantage. But about noon, the earl of Sandwich, with the blue ſquadron, fell into the center of the Dutch fleet, divided it into two parts, and began that confuſion which ended in a total defeat[f]. The duke of York in the Royal Charles, a ſhip of eighty guns, and admiral Opdam in the Eendracht, of eighty-four, were cloſely engaged. The fight continued for ſome hours with great obſtinacy, and his royal highneſs was in the utmoſt danger. Several perſons of diſtinction were killed on board his ſhip, particularly the earl of Falmouth, the king's favourite[g], Lord

[e] Annals of the univerſe, p. 116. Philips's continuation of Baker's chron. p. 753. Baſnage, Le Clerc, Neuville, and other Dutch writers.

[f] Earl of Sandwich's journal, MS.

[g] "The victory and triumph of that day," ſays the noble hiſtorian, "was "ſurely very great, and a juſt argument of public joy: how it came to be no "greater, ſhall be ſaid anon; and the trouble and grief in many noble families, "for the loſs of ſo many worthy and gallant perſons, could not but be very "lamentable, in wives, in fathers and mothers, and the other neareſt relations: "but no ſorrow was equal, at leaſt none ſo remarkable, as the king's was for "the earl of Falmouth. They who know his majeſty beſt, and had ſeen how "unſhaken he had ſtood in other very terrible aſſaults, were amazed at the "flood of tears he ſhed upon this occaſion. The immenſeneſs of the victory, "and the conſequences that might have attended it, the ſafety and preſerva-"tion of his brother, with ſo much glory, on whoſe behalf he had had ſo ter-"rible apprehenſions during the three days fight, having, by the benefit of the "wind, heard the thunder of the ordnance from the beginning, even after, by "the leſſening of the noiſe, as from a greater diſtance, he concluded that the "enemy was upon flight; yet all this, and the univerſal joy that he ſaw in the "countenance of all men, for the victory, and the ſafety of the duke, made "no impreſſion in him towards the mitigation of his paſſion, for the loſs of this "young favourite, in whom few other men had ever obſerved any virtue or qua-"lity, which they did not wiſh their beſt friends without, and very many did be-"lieve that his death was a great ingredient and conſiderable part of the victory. "He was young, and of inſatiable ambition, and a little more experience might "have taught him all things of which his weak parts were capable. But they "who obſerved the ſtrange degree of favour he had on the ſudden arrived to, "even from a deteſtation the king had towards him, and concluded from thence,

"and

Lord Muſkerry and Mr. Boyle, ſon to the earl of Corke, with one ball, and ſo near the duke, that he was covered with their blood and brains; nay, a ſplinter from the laſt-mentioned gentleman's ſkull razed his hand [h]. About one, the Dutch admiral blew up, with a prodigious noiſe; but how the accident happened is uncertain. Some ſay, a ſhot fell in the powder-room; others, that Opdam's black blew up the ſhip, to be revenged of his maſter for beating him. The moſt probable account is, that it was occaſioned by ſome accident in diſtributing the powder [i]. In this veſſel, together with the admiral, periſhed five hundred men, only five of the whole crew eſcaping; many of thoſe loſt were volunteers, of the beſt families of Holland, and not a few Frenchmen, who took this opportunity of being preſent in a ſea-fight [k].

A little after this unlucky blow, the Dutch received ſtill a greater. Four fine ſhips, the biggeſt of ſixty, the leaſt of forty guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one fire-ſhip: ſoon after, three larger veſſels by the ſame accident ſhared the ſame fate. The Orange, a ſhip of ſeventy-five guns, after a moſt gallant defence, was alſo burnt; and thus, towards four in the afternoon, all fell into confuſion. Vice-admiral Stillingwert was ſhot through the middle by a cannon-ball; vice-admiral Cortenaer received a ſhot in his thigh, of which he inſtantly

" and more from the deep ſorrow the king was poſſeſſed with for his death, to " what a prodigious height he might have reached in a little time more, were " not at all troubled that he was taken out of the way." Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 512.

[h] Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 538, 539. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 80, 81. Geſta Britannorum, p. 508. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 820. The lord Muſkerry was eldeſt ſon of the earl of Clancarty, and a young nobleman of extraordinary courage and expectation, had been colonel of a regiment of foot in Flanders under the duke, and had the general eſtimation of an excellent officer. He was of the duke's bed-chamber. Mr. Richard Boyle was a younger ſon of the earl of Burlington, a youth of great hopes, and newly come home from travel, where he had ſpent his time with ſingular advantage, and took the firſt opportunity to loſe his life in the king's ſervice. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 507, 508.

[i] Annals of the univerſe, p. 130. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 91. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 741. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 73. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iii. chap. 9. [k] Hiſtory of the three Dutch wars, p. 350.

died. Theſe ſhips bearing out of the line on the death of their commanders, without ſtriking their flags, drew many after them; ſo that, by eight at night, Tromp, who held out bravely to the laſt, and fought retreating, had not above thirty ſhips left with him. This was the moſt ſignal victory the Engliſh ever gained, and the ſevereſt blow the Dutch ever felt at ſea [l].

According to our accounts, which upon a ſtrict examination I have always found moderate, the Dutch had eighteen ſhips taken, (ſeveral of which we quitted), and fourteen ſunk in this action, beſides ſuch as were burnt or blown up. Yet their accounts admit of no more than nine ſhips taken, one (their admiral) blown up, and eight burnt [m]. As to our loſs, which was far more unaccountable, there is no diſpute about it. We loſt the Charity, a ſhip of forty-ſix guns, with moſt of her men, in the beginning of the fight; had in the whole but two hundred and fifty men killed, and three hundred and forty men wounded: on the other ſide, they loſt at leaſt ſix thouſand men, including two thouſand three hundred taken priſoners [n]. Yet ſome great men of ours bought this advantage to their country at the expence of their blood, ſuch as the earls of Portland and Marlborough [o], vice-admiral Sampſon, and Sir

[l] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 741. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xiv. Levens der Zeehelden tweede deel p. 166. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 37. Skinner's continuation of Baker's, p. 82.

[m] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 538. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 820. State letters of Roger earl of Orrery, p. 99.

[n] Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 753. Echard. Kennet. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 81. where he ſays, the diſſipating the enemy's fleet, killing their admirals, and forcing them again into their ports, is what we value ourſelves moſt upon; and all this with the loſs only of one ſhip on our ſide, two hundred eighty-three men killed, and four hundred and forty wounded. The enemy, beſides their ſhips, will find they want at leaſt ſeven thouſand of their men.

[o] "In prince Rupert's ſhip, ſays the earl of Clarendon, who did wonders that day, and in that of the earl of Sandwich, who behaved himſelf with notable courage and conduct, there were many men ſlain, and ſome gentlemen volunteers of the beſt families, whoſe memories ſhould be preſerved. The earl of Marlborough, who had the command of one of the beſt ſhips, and had great experience at ſea, having made many long voyages at ſea, and being now newly returned from the Eaſt-Indies, whether the king had ſent him with a ſquadron of ſhips, to receive the iſland of Bombayne from Portugal, was in this

Sir John Lawſon, who died of a wound he received in the knee, though he ſurvived the battle.

The Dutch aſcribe this ſignal defeat in a great meaſure to the ill conduct of their own officers and ſeamen, many of whom, according to the genius of the nation, were ſeverely puniſhed. Thus much is allowed on all ſides, that, except ſixteen or ſeventeen of their captains who had ſerved in the former war, they had none of tolerable knowledge, or true courage, moſt of them being the ſons of rich burgo-maſters, brought in, to ſecure their father's intereſt, by de Witte; who, though he thus incapacitated them for fighting, yet compelled them againſt reaſon, and their own opinion, to fight; becauſe, at all events, a battle was for his intereſt; ſince, gained, it raiſed his authority at home; or, loſt, it muſt from abroad bring in his allies the French. This refined policy had well nigh ruined himſelf and his friends; for the mob roſe, and threatened nothing leſs than a total revolution. At the Brill, admiral Everts was thrown into the river, and with much difficulty reſcued by the magiſtrates from the populace: and ſuch like tumults happened at Rotterdam, and elſewhere [p].

There is very little room to doubt, that if there had not been ſome miſmanagement on the ſide of the Engliſh, this, as it was the firſt, might have been alſo the laſt action in this war;

battle likewiſe ſlain. He was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and having no great eſtate deſcended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than any fortune could have given him. The earl of Portland was a volunteer on board his ſhip, and loſt his life by his ſide, being a young man of very good parts, newly come of age, and the ſon of a very wiſe and worthy father, who died a few months before: and he having a long and entire friendſhip with the earl of Marlborough, his ſon, though of a melancholic nature, intended to lead an active life, and to apply himſelf to it under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died very bravely." See his life, written by himſelf, vol. ii. p. 508.

[p] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 743. Le Clerc, tome iii. p. 74. Three of their captains were ſhot on the 4th of July, two were ordered to have their ſwords broken over their heads, and declared incapable of ſerving more in their navy; and the maſter to vice-admiral Cortenaer was condemned to ſtand two hours upon a ſcaffold, with a halter about his neck. Annals of the univerſe, page 130. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. page 277.

for

for the Dutch fleet fled in great confuſion, their captains behaving ill, and their admirals quarrelling about command; ſo that if the Engliſh had preſſed them vigorouſly, as it was in their power, having the wind; ſo many ſhips might have been either ſunk, diſabled, or taken, as muſt have forced a peace, for which there was a very ſtrong party in Holland, who did not like the dominion of the penſionary de Witte, and the dependence in which he held even the ſtates, who ſeldom ventured to do any thing of importance when he was abſent [q]. This great opportunity was loſt, through the Engliſh fleet's ſlacking ſail in the night, contrary to the expreſs directions of his royal highneſs the duke, before he went to reſt.

It is far from being an eaſy matter to inform the reader, how this came to paſs. But after having examined the point, with as much impartiality, as well as diligence, as the great importance of it deſerved, it appears to have ſtood thus. The duke, in quality of lord high-admiral, had two captains on board his ſhip, Sir William Penn, who had the rank of a vice-admiral; and captain, afterwards Sir John Harman. Sir William was gone to reſt, as well as the duke, ſo that the command remained in captain Harman, who was himſelf at the helm, when one Mr. Brounker, who was of the duke's bed-chamber, came and told him, "that he ought to conſider, how much his royal "highneſs's perſon had been already expoſed in the action, and "how much greater riſk he might run, if their ſhip, which "was the headmoſt of the fleet, ſhould fall in ſingle with "thoſe of the enemy, upon their own coaſts." Harman heard him, but anſwered like an honeſt brave man, as he was, that he could do nothing without orders. Brounker upon this, went to the duke's cabin, and returned with orders, in his royal highneſs's name, to make leſs ſail; theſe captain Harman, without the leaſt ſcruple, obeyed, which created ſome confuſion in the Engliſh fleet, ſeveral ſhips being very near running foul on each other [r].

[q] Wicquefort hiſtoire, MS. des provinces unies, liv. xv. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. page 272, 273. See alſo Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Coventry's account of this action, who was ſecretary to his royal highneſs. [r] Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 513. North's examen, p. 119, 120. Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. i. p. 209, 210.

In the morning, the duke expreſſed ſurpriſe and reſentment, to find they were at ſuch a diſtance from the Dutch, that there was no longer any hopes of coming up with them. It then appeared, that either through cowardice, or ſomething worſe, Brounker had carried captain Harman orders, which he never received [s]. However, this was concealed from his royal highneſs, and other excuſes made, ſuch as a briſk wind from ſhore, and their fire-ſhips being all ſpent. But the truth was nevertheleſs very ſoon whiſpered, though the duke was not acquainted with it, in leſs than ſix months after, upon which he diſcharged Brounker his ſervice, and would have done more, if the celebrated ducheſs of Cleveland, then counteſs of Caſtlemain, with whom he was a favourite, had not by her intereſt with the king, protected him [t]. However, at the end of the war, when the Houſe of Commons was out of humour, this affair was mentioned, and inquired into; upon which Brounker, who was a member, was moſt deſervedly expelled, and ordered to be impeached, but that was never proſecuted [u].

His royal highneſs left the fleet ſoon after, and returned to London, to make a report of all things to the king. His majeſty having attended his mother to the coaſts, went on board the Royal Charles in the river, where he made a ſtrict inquiry into the conduct of the officers, and the ſtate of their ſhips; and receiving ſatisfaction as to both, he there, as an encouragement to a like behaviour in time to come, knighted the moſt conſiderable commanders, *viz.* admiral Tyddiman, captain Cuttings, captain Jordan, captain Spragge, *&c.* after which, he directed that all the ſhips ſhould be repaired with the utmoſt

[s] Coke's detection, p. 37.

[t] The reader, who conſults the authors I have cited, will ſee very different editions of this ſtory, and I hope agree with me, that it proves the fate of nations may depend on very ſlight events, as in this caſe, on a private man's telling a lie; that princes ſhould immediately examine and clear up whatever reſpects their honour; that reſentment operates on moſt minds. Clarendon is for throwing it on Sir William Coventry; North, upon the Dutch; biſhop Burnet, on Sir William Penn. All of theſe could not be poſſibly guilty; but for any evidence that has appeared, they might be all equally innocent.

[u] Hiſtory and proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, vol. i. p. 118.

diligence,

diligence, and the fleet, as ſoon as poſſible, be put into a condition to go out again to ſea [w].

The king's command, their generous ſenſe of their late victory, and the news of two rich Dutch ſquadrons being at ſea, quickly brought out the Engliſh navy, to the number of ſixty ſail; and on the fifth of July, they ſteered from Southwold-bay, into which they put immediately after the laſt engagement, for the coaſt of Holland. The ſtandard was borne by the gallant earl of Sandwich, to whom Sir George Ayſcue was vice, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman rear-admiral. Sir William Penn was admiral of the white, Sir William Berkley vice-admiral, and Sir Joſeph Jordan rear-admiral. The blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whoſe vice and rear were, Sir Chriſtopher Minnes, and Sir John Harman. The deſigns they had in view were, to intercept de Ruyter in his return, or at leaſt to take and burn the Turkey and Eaſt-India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence [x].

They ſucceeded in neither of theſe ſchemes. De Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the north of Scotland, and arrived ſafely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet [y]. The Turkey and India fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſail, under the command of commodore Bitter, choſe to take the ſame northern route, in hopes of avoiding the Engliſh navy; but having intelligence at ſea, that this would prove very difficult, if not impoſſible, they took ſhelter in the port of Berghen in Norway [z].

[w] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 539. The Intelligencer, No. 47. p. 464. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 83. Annals of the univerſe, p. 115. Journal of the earl of Sandwich. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 82. The queen mother, at parting with the king, prevailed on him to promiſe her, that the duke ſhould not go to ſea again in the next expedition. Life of Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 516. [x] Annals of the univerſe, p. 118. Lord Arlington's letters, p. 83, 84. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 277. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 821. [y] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 744, 745. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces, tome iii. liv. xiv. La vie de Ruyter, p. 250. Lord Arlington's letters, p. 85. Lettres, et memoires du Comte d'Eſtrades, tome ii. p. 250. [z] Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 84. Annals of the univerſe, p. 118. Geſta Britannorum, p. 510. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 38. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 747.

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The port was pretty eaſy of acceſs, and covered only by an old caſtle; the Daniſh governor indeed promiſed the Dutch to do for them what he could, and they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to render him able. In order to this, they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were diſpoſed on a line before the fort: then the Dutch drew another line croſs the bay, conſiſting of their largeſt ſhips; and in this poſture they waited for the Engliſh. It was not long before they appeared; for the earl of Sandwich having advice of their being put into Berghen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman with fourteen ſail of men of war, and three fire-ſhips, to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was againſt them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire from the caſtle, the line, and the ſhips; ſo that at laſt he was forced to bear out of the bay, and this he performed without the loſs of a ſhip, though he had five or ſix very ill treated [a].

The ſtates by this time, partly by threats, partly by puniſhment, but ſtill more by promiſes and rewards, had again manned out a ſtout fleet. Admiral de Ruyter had the command of it, which gave no ſmall diſpleaſure to Tromp; but he grew into a better temper, when he perceived that his competitor had the command only in appearance [b]. Their great ſtateſman de Witte, not ſatisfied with directing all things in the Dutch councils, reſolved alſo to direct their fleets; to which end he got himſelf, and two other deputies, Meſſ. Huygens and Boreel, appointed to attend the admiral. A ſtep oppoſed by all his friends, and directly contrary to the ſentiments of the French king, who was afraid, if by any accident he loſt M. de Witte, he ſhould not find the ſtates ſo tractable as they had been for ſome years paſt [c].

The penſionary, however, perſiſted in this deſign, and gained a very great reputation in his new character, even before

[a] In order to come as near the truth as poſſible, I have compared the Dutch commodore's letter with one wrote by the earl of Arlington, ſecretary of ſtate dated from Saliſbury, Aug. 22, 1665, where the court then reſided on account of the plague being in London. Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 86, 87. See alſo miſcellanea aulica, p. 359, 360. [b] Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 82. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iii. c. 10. Leeven Van Tromp. [c] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. page 745.

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the fleet put to ſea; and, though I cannot ſay that this relates to Engliſh hiſtory, yet, as it has a near relation to naval affairs, I hope the reader will not be diſpleaſed at my telling him, how de Witte acquired ſo ſuddenly this high reputation. When he came on board the fleet in the Texel, the pilots, captains, and admirals, were unanimouſly of opinion, that they muſt wait for a fair wind in order to get out, though there were two paſſages. As to the larger, they ſaid, that two and twenty winds might abſolutely hinder a fleet from ſailing through it; and that in reſpect to the latter, it was too ſhallow for large ſhips to paſs. M. de Witte, who was no ſeaman, inquired into the reaſon why ſo many winds ſhould keep them in, and the next morning demonſtrated to the pilots upon their own principles, that no winds blowing from more than four of theſe points, could produce this effect; which experience has ſince fully juſtified. Yet the wind being at that time in one of theſe four points, de Witte went the ſame day and examined the Spaniſh paſſage with a lead, and having done this, he and Mr. Van Haaren, who accompanied him, undertook with the next tide, to carry out two of the largeſt ſhips in the fleet, which they performed very ſafely, and the reſt followed the next day; and ever ſince this has been called DE WITTE'S PASSAGE [d].

The point he had principally in view was, to bring off the Eaſt-India fleet from Berghen, which was a very difficult thing, conſidering the Engliſh fleet was then at ſea. He found means, however, to paſs by them, and arrived ſafely before Berghen, where the Dutch had found a new enemy in their old defender. The Daniſh governor modeſtly deſired a hundred thouſand crowns for the aſſiſtance he had given them in the late affair, and threatened to ſink them without ceremony, if they offered to ſtir out of the port before they had complied with his demand. The arrival of the fleet made him change his language: he was content they ſhould ſail then without paying the money; but in order to have ſomewhat towards it, he kept the cannon they had put aſhore [e].

[d] Wicquefort, hiſtoire des provinces unies, liv. xv. The Dutch term in the maps was Spanjards Gat, now they call it, Heer de Witte's diep. [e] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 747. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xiv.

Thus

Thus far de Witte was very ſucceſsful; but in his return home, the fleet was ſcattered by a ſtorm, in which were loſt two fire-ſhips, and ſome of the merchant-men. The vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the Eaſt-India fleet, ſhips of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five Engliſh frigates, which the ſame ſtorm had ſeparated from our fleet; and ſoon after, four of their men of war, two fire-ſhips, and thirty merchant-men, joined our fleet inſtead of their own, and by this miſtake were all taken; which ended the operations of this year [f].

The French perceiving that the ſcales were no longer even, but that the Dutch would certainly be deſtroyed, if left entirely to themſelves; or, which they more apprehended, would be forced to make ſuch a peace as we ſhould preſcribe, reſolved to declare in their favour. It may not be amiſs, in order to ſhew what ſort of an enemy this court has always been, to obſerve, that immediately upon this declaration, ſhe began to cabal with our republicans, and actually endeavoured to draw general Ludlow from his retreat, that ſhe might ſend him over to head their friends, as they now called them, on this ſide the water. By the perſuaſion of France, the king of Denmark, who had concurred with us in the buſineſs of Berghen, and the elector of Brandenburgh declared alſo for the Dutch; but the former was well paid for it, ſince the ſtates forgave him a debt of ſix millions of guilders, and undertook to pay him an annual ſubſidy of one million and a half more, ſo long as the war ſhould laſt [g].

It quickly appeared, that France, by taking this meaſure, meant to make herſelf at once a maritime power; for having promiſed to aſſiſt the Dutch with a fleet of ſix and thirty men of war, they were thus made up. Twelve were built by Dutch carpenters, in the Dutch docks; twelve more were made out of

f Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 38. Annals of the univerſe, p. 119. Geſta Britannorum, p. 511. Lettres, memoires, &c. du comte d'Eſtrades, tome ii. p. 364. Miſcellanea aulica, p. 361. g Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 549. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 85, 86. Annals of the univerſe, p. 149. Memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome ii. p. 318, 502, 525. tome iii. p. 29, 30, 53, 64. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 58, 59.

large Indiamen, purchaſed in the ſame country, and the other twelve were either built or bought in the ports of Denmark. Beſides this, the French miniſter, the count d'Eſtrades, inſiſted upon the delivering up two Eaſt-India ſhips, of which the Dutch had made prizes, and wreſted from them many other conceſſions, to purchaſe his maſter's declaration in their favour, agreeable to his ſecret treaty in anno 1662, which was the genuine ſource of this war, and a long train of miſeries with which this ſtate was afflicted [h].

When all this was done, the French were for ſetting on foot a negotiation; but king Charles being then in the true intereſt of his ſubjects, was (at leaſt to them) very deaf on that ear. He ſaid, the Dutch had injured England to the amount of two millions; and if they thought fit to pay ſo much money, he was willing to grant them a peace without any mediation at all. Nay, the king carried it ſtill higher; for he declared, in caſe he made ſuch a peace with the Dutch, their allies ſhould be left out of it; which, conſidering the ſtrength of the confederacy, and that the plague then raged in England, ſeems to prove that this prince did not want ſpirit enough, when his own good ſenſe told him he was engaged in a right cauſe; for, at that time, we had not a ſingle ally, but the martial and mercenary biſhop of Munſter, who, though he gave the Dutch a great deal of trouble, yet did it entirely at our expence [i].

The next year opened a new ſcene; the king recalled his ambaſſador, lord Holles, from the French court, and ſent the earl of Sandwich in that quality to Spain: two of the wiſeſt ſteps in his whole reign; for, by the firſt, he broke entirely (for this time at leaſt) with that perfidious court; and, in conſequence of the ſecond, he concluded the moſt beneficial treaty

[h] Lettres d'Eſtrades, tome ii. Baſnage, tome i. p. 770, 771. Le Clerc, tome iii. p. 102. where it appears the French meditated the ſurpriſe of two of the ſeven provinces by the troops ſaid to march for their aſſiſtance. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 544, Geſta Britannorum, p. 511. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 1, 34, 35, 36, 81. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 828. Lettres, memoires, &c. du comte d'Eſtrades, tome ii. p. 390, 406, 408, 415. Letters of Sir William Temple, in his works, vol. ii. p. 4.

of commerce, that was ever made for this nation [k]. As to naval affairs it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould be commanded by prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle; the former to look after the French, who began to talk very high, and the latter to act againſt the Dutch [l].

Before we ſpeak of the conſequences of theſe capital undertakings, it may not be amiſs to take ſome notice of an incident which happened at Liſbon, becauſe it ſhews the gallant ſpirit of that age. There were in that port a conſiderable number of Engliſh merchantmen, which were to come home under the convoy of the Guinea frigate. A large French man of war was alſo there, and the captain daily boaſted to the Portugueſe what he would do whenever the Engliſh frigate put to ſea. This coming to the ears of captain Coite, who commanded her, he ſent the Frenchman word he would ſail the next morning, which he performed accordingly; but having hovered on the coaſt three days, in expectation of being chaſed, he returned into port, carried out his fleet of merchant-men, and brought them ſafe into the river Thames, the Frenchman continuing all the while quiet in the harbour of Liſbon [m].

Prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet on the 23d of April, 1666, and ſailed with it in the beginning of May. Towards the latter end of that month, the court was informed, that the French fleet, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch. But this rumour of their joining the Dutch, was ſpread by the court of France, in order to deceive us, and diſtreſs the Dutch; themſelves in reality having no ſuch intention. Upon the receiving this news, the court ſent poſitive orders to prince Rupert to ſail with the white ſquadron to look out and fight the French; which command that brave prince obeyed, but found it, what many wiſe people before thought it, a mere

k Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 545. Annals of the univerſe, p. 137, 139. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. page 62, 63, 75. Vol. ii. page 178. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 231. Corps univerſal diplomatique du droit de gens, tome vii. part i. p. 27. l Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 424. The hiſtorian's guide, p. 57. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 39. m Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 550.

gaſconade,

gaſconade, intended to hurt us, and to raiſe the courage of their new allies, in order to bring them into ſtill greater dangers[n].

At the ſame time prince Rupert ſailed from the Downs, the Dutch with their whole force put to ſea, the wind at north-eaſt, and having a freſh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coaſts of Dunkirk, and carried away his highneſs towards the Iſle of Wight; but the wind ſuddenly ſhifting to the ſouth-weſt, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the duke of Albemarle with his two ſquadrons to an anchor. Captain Bacon in the Briſtol firſt diſcovered the enemy, and, by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the Engliſh fleet. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein, without much debate, it was reſolved to fight the enemy, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority[o].

After the departure of prince Rupert, the duke of Albemarle had with him only ſixty ſail; whereas the Dutch fleet conſiſted of ninety-one men of war, carrying four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen guns, and twenty-two thouſand four hundred and ſixty-two men. It was the firſt of June when they were diſcerned, and the duke was ſo warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor; and, as de Ruyter himſelf ſays in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the ſame letter he alſo owns, that, to the laſt, the Engliſh were the aggreſſors, notwithſtanding their inferiority and other diſadvantages. The Engliſh fleet had the weather-gage, but the wind bowed their ſhips ſo much, that they could not uſe their loweſt tier. Sir William Berkley's ſquadron led the van. The duke of Albemarle, when he came on the coaſt of Dunkirk, to avoid running full on a ſand, made a ſudden tack, and this brought his top-maſt by the board, which compelled him to lie by four or five hours, till another could be

[n] Skinner's continuation of Bates, part iii. p. 86. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own time, p. 101. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 427. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 175, 178, 180, 188, 194. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 39. Lettres, mem. de comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 78, 113, 129, 135. [o] Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 428. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 39. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 772. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 13. Leevens der Zeehelden tweede deel, p. 207. Sir John Harman's account of this engagement.

ſet up. The blue ſquadron knowing nothing of this, ſailed on, charging through the Dutch fleet, though they were five to one[p].

In this engagement fell the brave Sir William Berkley, and his ſhip, the Swiftſure, a ſecond rate, was taken; ſo was the Eſſex, a third rate; and Sir John Harman, in the Henry, had the whole Zealand ſquadron to deal with. His ſhip being diſabled, the Dutch admiral Cornelius Evertz, called to Sir John, and offered him quarter, who anſwered, "No, Sir! it is not "come to that yet;" and immediately diſcharged a broadſide, by which Evertz was killed, and ſeveral of his ſhips damaged; which ſo diſcouraged their captains, that they quitted the Henry, and ſent three fire-ſhips to burn her. The firſt grappled on her ſtarboard quarters, and there began to raiſe ſo thick a ſmoke, that it was impoſſible to perceive where the irons were fixed. At laſt, when the ſhip began to blaze, the boatſwain of the Henry threw himſelf on board, and having, by its own light, diſcovered and removed the grappling irons, in the ſame inſtant jumped back on board his own ſhip. He had ſcarce done this, before another fire-ſhip was fixed on the larboard, which did its buſineſs ſo effectually, that the ſails being quickly on fire, frighted the chaplain and fifty men overboard. Upon this, Sir John drew his ſword, and threatened to kill any man who ſhould attempt to provide for his own ſafety by leaving the ſhip. This obliged them to endeavour to put out the fire, which in a ſhort time they did; but the cordage being burnt, the croſs-beam fell and broke Sir John's leg, at which inſtant the third fire-ſhip bore down; but four pieces of cannon loaded with chain-ſhot diſabled her: ſo that, after all, Sir John brought his ſhip into Harwich, where he repaired her as well as he could, and, notwithſtanding his broken leg, put to ſea again to ſeek the Dutch. The battle ended on the firſt day about ten in the evening[q].

[p] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 550. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 101. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 87. Annals of the univerſe, p. 139. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 773. La vie de Ruyter, p. 290. [q] Theſe circumſtances are taken from Sir John Harman's relation, who blames the duke's eagerneſs for fighting, and mentions his own affairs only to ſhew, how hard the Engliſh were put to it. As to the matters of fact in this account, they are confirmed by all the Dutch authors.

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The following night was ſpent in repairing the damage ſuffered on both ſides, and next morning the attack was renewed by the Engliſh with freſh vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with vice-admiral Vander Hulſt, being on board one ſhip, raſhly engaged it among the Engliſh, and their veſſel was in the utmoſt danger of being either taken or burnt. The Dutch affairs, according to their own account, were now in a deſperate condition; but admiral de Ruyter at laſt diſengaged them, though not till his ſhip was diſabled, and vice-admiral Vander Hulſt killed. This only changed the ſcene; for de Ruyter was now as hard preſſed as Tromp had been before. However, a reinforcement arriving preſerved him alſo; and ſo the ſecond day's fight ended earlier than the firſt [r].

The third day, the duke of Albemarle found it neceſſary to retreat; and he performed it with wonderful courage and conduct. He firſt burnt three ſhips that were abſolutely diſabled: he next cauſed ſuch as were moſt torn to ſail before; and, with twenty-eight men of war that were in a pretty good condition, brought up the rear [s]. Sir John Harman, indeed, ſays he had but ſixteen ſhips that were able to fight [t]. Yet, in the evening, his grace, diſcovering the white ſquadron coming to his aſſiſtance, reſolved to engage the enemy again. In joining prince Rupert, a very unlucky accident happened; for Sir George Ayſcue, who was on board the Royal Prince, the largeſt and heavieſt ſhip in the whole fleet, ran upon the Galloper; and being there in danger of burning, and out of all hopes of relief, was forced to ſurrender; and night then falling, ended this day's engagement [u].

[r] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 342. Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 281. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 830. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 268. Memoires du comte de Guiche, p. 235. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 275. [s] See an extract from the journal book of a principal flag-officer in this battle, in Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 430. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 89. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551. [t] In his narration, an extract of which may be found in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 281. [u] Parker's hiſtory of his own time, p. 102. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 345. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 776. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 269.

On the 4th of June, the Dutch, who were ſtill conſiderably ſtronger than the Engliſh, were almoſt out of ſight; but the duke of Albemarle, having prevailed on the prince to follow them, about eight in the morning they engaged again, and the Engliſh fleet charged five times through the Dutch; till prince Rupert's ſhip being diſabled, and that of the duke of Albemarle very roughly handled, about ſeven in the evening the fleets ſeparated, each ſide being willing enough to retire. In this day's engagement fell that gallant admiral Sir Chriſtopher Minnes, who, having a ſhot in the neck, remained upon deck, and gave orders, keeping the blood from flowing, with his fingers, above an hour, till another ſhot pierced his throat, and put an end to his pain [w].

This was the moſt terrible battle fought in this, or perhaps in any other war, as the Dutch admirals themſelves ſay; and the penſioner de Witte, who was no flatterer of our nation, yet too quick a man not to diſcern, and of too great a ſpirit to conceal the truth, ſaid roundly upon this occaſion, "If the Engliſh "were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their "former victories; their own fleet could never have been "brought on after the firſt day's fight, and he believed none "but theirs could; and all the Dutch had diſcovered was, that "Engliſhmen might be killed, and Engliſh ſhips burnt; but that "the Engliſh courage was invincible [x]." Of this panegyric it is hard to determine, whether it does more honour to him who made it or to the Engliſh nation.

After all, it is by no means eaſy to ſay who were victors upon the whole, or what was the loſs of the vanquiſhed. Some Dutch writers talk of thirty-five ſhips, and between five and ſix thouſand men loſt by the Engliſh; which is more than half their fleet, and very little leſs than all their ſeamen. Their beſt hiſtorians, however, compute our loſs at ſixteen men of war, of which ten were ſunk, and ſix taken. Our writers ſay, the Dutch loſt fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five thouſand

[w] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 830. A true narrative of the engagement between his majeſty's fleet and that of Holland, begun June 1, 1666, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and continuing till the 4th at ten o'clock at night. Publiſhed by command. London, printed by Thomas Newcomb, 1666, fol. [x] Wicquefort hiſt. des provinces unies, liv. xv.

men:

men: themſelves own the loſs of nine ſhips, and that there was a moſt prodigious ſlaughter of their ſeamen [y].

The duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his raſhneſs [z], and great contempt of the Dutch. It ſeems he was of the ſame ſentiment with Blake, and thought that fighting was, almoſt on any terms, preferable to running away, in a nation who pretend to the dominion of the ſea; and whoever ſhall conſider the reputation we ſtill retain from the glorious ſpirit of theſe intrepid men, will ſcarce think it reaſonable to hazard his own character by attacking theirs. It is enough that we live in cooler times, when men may be conſidered as heroes upon moderate terms: let us, therefore, content ourſelves with juſtifying our own conduct, without cenſuring that of others, while, in the ſame breath, we confeſs that it is no eaſy thing to imitate it.

The Dutch had once more the credit of appearing at ſea before the Engliſh, their ſhips having in theſe engagements ſuffered leſs. They firſt affected to brave us on our own coaſts, and next to go in ſearch of their French allies, who certainly never meant to afford them any real aſſiſtance. It was not long before the Engliſh appeared. The fleet conſiſted of eighty men of war, great and ſmall, and nineteen fire-ſhips, divided into three ſquadrons: the red under prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, who were on board the ſame ſhip, Sir Joſeph Jordan their vice, and Sir Robert Holmes their rear admiral. Sir Thomas Allen was admiral of the white, and had under him Sir Thomas Tyd-

[y] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. i. p. 778, 779. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. 14. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tom. iii. ch. 13. See de Ruyter's letters to the ſtates, the Dutch, French, and Engliſh accounts of this battle, and Sir George Ayſcue's letter to the king, dated from the caſtle of Loveſtein, June 20, 1666, in la vie du Ruyter, p. 290—350. The count d'Eſtrades, in his letter to the king of the 17th of June, ſays, the Dutch took eleven large ſhips, and burned or ſunk ten; that the white ſquadron was totally deſtroyed, Sir George Ayſcue made priſoner, and his ſhip burned; that the vice-admiral, commanded by Berkley governor of Portſmouth, of ſeventy guns, was brought into the Maeſe, with five others of the like force; that three thouſand men periſhed, and as many made priſoners. In his letter of July 1. he ſays, De Witte told the ſtates, that the Engliſh had loſt twenty-four ſhips, and nine or ten thouſand men, and that eighteen ſhips were ſo diſabled, that they would not be fit for ſervice in a long time. See his letter alſo of the eighth of the ſame month. [z] Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 433, 435. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 352.

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diman, and rear-admiral Utburt. Sir Jeremiah Smith carried the blue flag, and his officers were Sir Edward Spragge and rear-admiral Kempthorne [a]. The Dutch, according to their own accounts, had eighty-eight men of war, and twenty fire-ſhips, divided alſo into three ſquadrons, under lieutenant-admiral de Ruyter, John Evertz, (brother to the admiral who was killed in the former engagement), and Van Tromp [b].

On the 25th of June, about noon, the Engliſh came up with the enemy off the north foreland. Sir Thomas Allen with the white ſquadron began the battle by attacking Evertz. Prince Rupert and the duke, about one in the afternoon, made a deſperate attack upon de Ruyter, whoſe ſquadron was in the centre of the Dutch fleet, and, after fighting about three hours, were obliged to go on board another ſhip. In this ſpace the white ſquadron had entirely defeated their enemies, admiral John Evertz, his vice-admiral de Vries, and his rear-admiral Koenders, being all killed, the vice-admiral of Zealand taken, and another ſhip of fifty guns burnt. The prince and duke fought de Ruyter ſhip to ſhip, diſabled the Guelderland of ſixty-ſix guns, which was one of his ſeconds, killed the captain of another, and mortally wounded two more; upon which the Dutch ſquadron began to fly [c]. However, vice-admiral Van Nes ſtood bravely by de Ruyter, and his ſhip received great damage: yet, being at laſt deſerted by all but ſeven ſhips, they yielded to neceſſity, and followed the reſt of their fleet as faſt as they could.

Admiral de Ruyter's ſhip was ſo miſerably torn, and his crew ſo diſpirited and fatigued, that he could have made but little reſiſtance, and nothing but the want of wind hindered the Engliſh from boarding him. As for admiral Van Tromp, he was enga-

[a] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 91. Annals of the univerſe, p. 140. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 87, 88. vol. ii. p. 181. [b] Brandt Leeven van de Ruyter, p. 507. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 781. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. ch. 13. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 289, 297. La vie de Ruyter, p. 358. [c] Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 754. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 439. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 92. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 182. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 282. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 831. and other hiſtorians. Miſcellanea aulica, p. 412.

ged with Sir Jeremiah Smith, and the blue ſquadron at a diſtance, and ſo could not aſſiſt his friends. As his was the ſtrongeſt ſquadron of the Dutch fleet, and Smith's the weakeſt of the Engliſh, we had no great advantage on that ſide; yet ſome we had, his vice-admiral's ſhip being diſabled, and his rear-admiral killed; which, however, did not hinder his fighting it out with much bravery as long as there was any light[d].

Admiral de Ruyter continued his retreat that night, and the next day prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle purſued him, with part of the red ſquadron, with as much vigour as the wind would permit. A fire-ſhip bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and miſſed very little of ſetting him on fire. They then cannonaded again, when de Ruyter found himſelf ſo hard preſſed, and his fleet in ſuch eminent danger, that in a fit of deſpair he cried out, "My God, what a wretch am I! amongſt ſo many thou-"ſand bullets is not there one to put me out of my pain?" By degrees, however, he drew near their own ſhallow coaſt, where the Engliſh could not follow him. Upon this occaſion prince Rupert inſulted the Dutch admiral, by ſending a little ſhallop called the Fanfan, with two ſmall guns on board, which, being by force of oars brought near de Ruyter's veſſel, fired upon him for two hours together; but at laſt a ball from the Dutch admiral ſo damaged this contemptible enemy, that the crew were forced to row, and that briſkly, to ſave their lives. The enemy being driven over the flats into the wielings, the Engliſh went to ly at Schonevelt, the uſual rendezvous of the Dutch fleets[e].

This was the cleareſt victory gained during the whole war: the Dutch were miſerably beaten, and their two great admirals de Ruyter and Tromp had nothing to do but to lay the blame on each other, which they did with all the aggravating circumſtances they could deviſe[f]. In this battle the Dutch loſt twenty ſhips; four

[d] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 780. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iii. chap. 14. La vie de Ruyter, p. 361. Lettres memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 336. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. ii. p. 276. [e] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 783. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tom. iii. chap. 14. La vie de Ruyter, p. 368, 369. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 359. [f] Baſnage and the other Dutch hiſtorians ſpeak largely of this quarrel. See Tromp's letter to the ſtates-general,

four admirals killed, and a great many captains: as to private men, there might be about 4000 ſlain, and 3000 wounded. The Engliſh had only the Reſolution burnt, three captains killed, and about 300 private men.

Upon this occaſion it appeared, of how little ſervice it is to ſpread falſe rumours amongſt the populace. The Dutch people had been aſſured, that the laſt battle had entirely ruined the naval ſtrength of England, and that their fleet, when it ſailed out, was gone to deſtroy the coaſting trade, and to inſult the ſea-ports of our iſland. When therefore, in the ſpace of ſix weeks, they ſaw the reverſe of this, their own countrymen flying, the Engliſh navy ſtationed on their ſhore, and their whole commerce at a ſtand, their fury is not to be expreſſed. They reproached their governors not only with want of courage and fortune, but alſo with being deficient in point of probity, and with endeavouring to impoſe on a nation they could not protect. Their rage, furious as it was, received no ſmall increaſe from a new misfortune, heavier in itſelf, and more ſhameful in its nature, than any they had ever ſuſtained; yet whether ſo honourable to the Engliſh as ſome have repreſented it, I will not take upon me to determine, but leave it to the deciſion of the candid reader, when he ſhall have read the beſt account of the matter I am able to give [g].

On the 29th of July the Engliſh fleet weighed anchor, and ſteered their courſe for the Ulie; but, the wind being contrary, they did not make the iſland till the 7th of Auguſt. Being then come to anchor, prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle re-

general, dated Auguſt 13, 1666, in la vie de Ruyter, p. 376. See the letter of the count d'Eſtrades to the king, dated Auguſt 12, 1666, in lettres memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 345. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. ii. p. 278.

g The Dutch miniſters, who in thoſe times preached as if they had the rolls of deſtiny lying open before them, affirmed the fire of London, which happened the September following, to be a judgment from heaven for this action. Some of our own writers are very angry with it, and with Sir Robert Holmes for performing it: but this is quite abſurd, ſince he acted in conſequence of the reſolution of a council of war, and is therefore commendable in this reſpect, whatever may be thought of his orders, or his conduct in other things. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 553. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 93. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 441. Annals of the univerſe, p. 142. Kennet, vol. iii. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 528. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 831. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 400.

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ceived intelligence, that, notwithſtanding there were very rich magazines on the iſlands, and a large fleet of merchantmen lying between them, yet Ulie and Schelling were very indifferently guarded; upon which it was reſolved to attack them without delay[h].

Upon this, a council of flag-officers was called, in order to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for this great attempt. There it was reſolved, that 300 men ſhould be drawn out of each ſquadron, two thirds land and one third ſea men, under nine captains, and the whole to be executed under the direction of Sir Robert Holmes, rear-admiral of the red, with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in caſe it was found expedient to attack both iſlands at the ſame time, was to command one diviſion. The ſhips appointed for this enterprize were five fourth, three fifth rates, five fire-ſhips, and ſeven ketches, as Sir Robert Holmes tells us in his relation of the affair[i].

On the 9th of Auguſt, about ſeven in the morning, this ſquadron weighed, divided from the reſt of the fleet, and came to anchor about a league from the Buoys, where they met the prince's pleaſure-boat called the Fanfan, the crew of which had diſcovered in the harbour a conſiderable fleet of ſhips near the Ulie, which proved to be 170 merchant-ſhips, the leaſt of which was not of leſs than 200 tons burden, with two men of war, which had lately convoyed home near 100 of thoſe ſhips from the northward, ſome from the Streights, ſome from Guinea, ſome from Ruſſia, ſome from the eaſt countries: the reſt were outward-bound ſhips, all of which likewiſe were very richly laden[k].

Sir Robert Holmes, conſidering that if he ſhould proceed, as his deſign was, firſt to attempt a deſcent on the land, that nu-

[h] The Ulie is an iſland from which the Dutch fleets uſually ſail to the Baltic; it has the Texel on the ſouth, and Schelling on the north.

[i] I take this from the account by authority, entitled, A true and perfect narrative of the great ſucceſs of a part of his majeſty's fleet by their burning 160 Dutch ſhips within the Ulie. Of this there is an extract in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 282. See alſo Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 361. Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 754. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 188.

[k] If the reader conſiders the number, the burden, and the trade, in which theſe ſhips were employed, he will eaſily diſcern the credit due to the ſubſequent account of damages.

merous fleet might poſſibly pour in ſuch numbers of men, as might render the ſucceſs hazardous, reſolved to begin with the ſhips; and accordingly, having ordered the Advice and the Hampſhire to ly without the Buoys, he weighed with the reſt of his fleet; and, the wind being contrary, he turned with much ado into Schelling road, where the Tyger came to anchor, and immediately Sir Robert went on board the Fanfan, and hoiſted his flag; upon which the officers came on board him, and there it was ordered, that the Pembroke which drew the leaſt water, with the five fire-ſhips, ſhould fall in amongſt the enemy's fleet with what ſpeed they could.

Captain Brown with his fire-ſhip choſe very bravely to lay the biggeſt man of war on board, and burnt the veſſel downright. Another fire-ſhip running up at the ſame time to the other man of war, the captain, backing his ſails, eſcaped the preſent execution of the fire-ſhip, but ſo as to run the ſhip on ground, where it was preſently taken by ſome of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ſhips clapped the three great merchantmen on board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confuſion, which Sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a ſignal for all the officers to come on board again, and preſently gave orders, that Sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be ſpared, ſhould take the advantage, and fall in, ſink, burn, and deſtroy all they could, but with a ſtrict command, that they ſhould not plunder. The execution was ſo well followed, each captain deſtroying his ſhare, ſome twelve, ſome fifteen merchantmen, that, of the whole fleet, there eſcaped not above eight or nine ſhips, one of which was a Guineaman of twenty-four guns, and three ſmall privateers: theſe ſhips, being driven up into a narrower corner of the ſtream, ſerved to protect four or five merchantmen that were a-head of them, where it was not poſſible for our boats to come at them, though even theſe few were much damaged[1].

The next day, being the tenth, it was found more expedient to land on the iſland of Schelling than upon that of Ulie, which

[1] This account agrees very well with what is ſaid on the ſame ſubject by the Dutch writers, who ſpeak with horror of this action, the town being inhabited by Mennonites, a ſort of Dutch Quakers, who hold the uſe of arms repugnant to the Chriſtian principle, and are an honeſt, harmleſs, induſtrious kind of people.

was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven companies in his long-boats; and he debarked with little or no oppoſition. When he came on ſhore, he left one company to ſecure his boat, and with the other ten marched three miles farther up into the country to the capital town called Bandaris, in which there were upwards of 1000 very good houſes, where, keeping five companies upon the ſkirts of the town to prevent any ſurprize from the enemy, he ſent the other five to ſet fire to the place: but finding them ſomewhat ſlow in executing that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themſelves in order to pillage, he was himſelf forced to ſet fire to ſome houſes to the windward, the ſooner to deſpatch the work, and haſten his men away, which burnt with ſuch violence, that, in half an hour's time, moſt part of the town was in a bright flame. This place was reported, by thoſe that were found in it, to have been very rich, and ſo it appeared by ſome of the ſoldiers pockets; but very few people were to be ſeen there, having had time to eſcape from the danger, except ſome old men and women, who were uſed by the Engliſh, after they fell into their hands, with all poſſible gentleneſs and humanity [m].

This blow, and that too in many reſpects, greatly affected the Dutch, who, according to their own accounts, ſuffered, by burning the town and magazines, the loſs of near ſix millions of guilders; and, if we take the ſhips and their rich cargoes into this computation, they confeſs that they were loſers to the amount of eleven millions, or 1,100,000 pounds ſterling. We need not wonder that this wound cut very deep, and engaged the ſtates to uſe their utmoſt diligence in fitting out a new fleet [n].

But, before we come to this expedition, it may not be amiſs to introduce a paſſage, which hitherto has not found a place in

[m] The damage done by burning of the town of Bandaris is ſomewhat leſſened in the detail given by M. de Neuville in his hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 287.

[n] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 784. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 151, 152. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 360. who ſays the Engliſh burnt 140 merchantmen, two men of war, and a village on the coaſt, and that the whole loſs was computed at ſix millions. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. ii. p. 281. Some writers make the loſs ſuſtained by the Dutch ſtill more, *viz.* 12,000,000 guilders, or 1,200,000 pounds ſterling. Lediard's naval hiſtory, p. 387. Rapin diminiſhes the loſs, and the number of ſhips.

our hiſtory. The deſtroying the Dutch ſhips, and the burning the town of Bandaris, though done by Engliſhmen, was no Engliſh project. One captain Heemſkerk, a Dutchman, who fled hither for fear of his being called to an account for miſbehaviour under Opdam, was the author of that diſmal ſcene. After the return of the fleet, he was one day at court, and boaſting, in the hearing of King Charles II. of the bloody revenge he had taken upon his country, that monarch, with a ſtern countenance, bid him withdraw, and never preſume to appear again in his preſence. He ſent him, however, a very conſiderable ſum of money for the ſervice, with which he retired to Venice. This inſtance of magnanimity in that generous prince has been long and highly applauded by the Dutch [o]; why ſhould it be any longer unknown to the Engliſh?

As ſoon as the fleet was ready, the command was beſtowed on Michael de Ruyter, Tromp having at that time, in conſequence of his diſpute with de Ruyter, laid down his commiſſion. This navy conſiſted of ſeventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-ſeven fire-ſhips [p]. The firſt deſign they had was to join the French ſquadron, which Louis XIV. had promiſed to fit out for their aſſiſtance; in this they were moſt egregiouſly diſappointed, and after a dangerous navigation, in which they were more than once chaſed by a ſuperior Engliſh fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with indignation at ſuch uſage, which, it is ſaid, wrought ſo powerfully on the mind of the gallant de Ruyter, as to throw him into a fit of ſickneſs [q].

When the French thought the coaſt was become pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but Sir Thomas Allen attacking them with his ſquadron, boarded the Ruby, a fine ſhip of a thouſand tons and fifty-four guns, and carrying her in a ſhort time [r], it ſo diſcouraged the French miniſtry, that they ſcarce truſted their

[o] Vie l'admiral de Ruyter, partie i. p. 373, 374. [p] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 785. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. chap. 14. La vie de Ruyter, p. 419. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 283. Echard, and other writers.

[q] The Dutch writers differ much from the Engliſh in reſpect to theſe particulars, but their accounts are inconſiſtent with each other. Beſides, if they were ſuperior at ſea, how came they not to join the French?

[r] Letters to Sir William Temple, in his works, vol. ii. p. 131. Kennet's hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 283. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 402.

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navy afterwards out of ſight of their own ſhores[s]. But, in the mean time, to convince the Engliſh that they were determined enemies, though they did not like fighting, they had recourſe to a ſtratagem; or, to call the thing by its proper name, they ſet on foot a dirty conſpiracy for ſeizing the iſland of Guernſey. In purſuit of this fine ſcheme, they ſent a gentleman, who was governor of one of the fortreſſes upon their own coaſts, to negotiate with major-general Lambert, an old republican, who was priſoner in the iſland. But the general, it ſeems, preferred any government to a French one, and therefore, having made a free diſcovery of theſe politicians, they were taken and hanged for ſpies[t]. This, methinks, is ſufficient to ſhew, that both courts were enough in earneſt; which, however, is a fact ſome people then, and not a few hiſtorians now, pretend to doubt.

By the end of the year 1666, all parties began to grow weary of this war; which was certainly directly, and at the ſame time equally oppoſite to the welfare both of Britain and Holland, and may, therefore, be juſtly referred to the arts of France, and the very peculiar ſituation of the grand penſionary of Holland, M. de Witte; a man not more fortunate in his abilities, than unhappy in the application of them. A man who underſtood the intereſts of his country thoroughly, and, in his own nature, was certainly inclined to promote them; but having been engaged from his birth in the deſigns of a faction bent to ruin the authority, intereſt, and credit of the houſe of Orange, he came, on account of his royal highneſs's near relation to it, to have an inveteracy againſt the Engliſh court, which grew ſo much the more vehement, the leſs cauſe there was for it[u].

He had plunged his country into this war chiefly to gratify his own humour, and to pin himſelf effectually on France; and now, when his countrymen were almoſt unanimouſly deſirous of peace, the overtures for which were well received, and rea-

[s] Lettres, memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 425, 450. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. ii. p. 295.

[t] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 554. Miſcellanea aulica, p. 407. Echard's hiſt. of England, p. 833.

[u] See his character in d'Eſtrade's negotiations, as well as in Baſnage, and le Clerc, who is his apologiſt at leaſt, if not his panegyriſt; yet he confeſſes, that this ſtateſman had never travelled, and was little verſed in the hiſtory, politics, or intereſts of other countries. He was a man inflexible, but not infallible.

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dily complied with in England, he contrived in his own mind ſuch an extraordinary method of making war, as he thought would effectually raiſe the reputation of his family; and, at the ſame time, cut off the head of a very honeſt gentleman, who, at the requeſt and by the conſent of the ſtates, had carried on a correſpondence in England for facilitating a peace [w].

The king of Sweden having offered his mediation, it was readily accepted on both ſides. On the one hand, the plague, the fire of London, and other national misfortunes, particularly the reſtleſſneſs of factions, (a miſchief from which we are very ſeldom long free), engaged King Charles to be very earneſt as well as ſincere in his deſires of a peace. The Dutch, on the other hand, needed it; they were drawn into the war to ſerve the purpoſes of their miniſtry, and many arts had been practiſed to keep them in it, though it was equally againſt their intereſts and their inclinations. Now, therefore, when France found pacific meaſures expedient, or rather was convinced that carrying the war on would ſerve only to raiſe the reputation of England, and to obſcure their own, as well as ruin the Dutch; a treaty was ſet on foot at Breda, not only at the deſire of the ſtates, but by their expreſs appointment both of time and place, in which they were indulged by King Charles, purely to ſhew the ſincerity of his reſolution. Whilſt this treaty was thus negotiating, de Witte was reſolved to put in practice his baſe project; which, though executed with ſucceſs, and eſteemed glorious for a moment, yet, in the end, proved fatal to his country, and more eſpecially ſo to himſelf and his brother, who, to ſhew how much it was their own, had the immediate conduct and execution of it [x].

When

[w] The matter is very fairly ſtated in Baſnage's annals, tome i. p. 787. but Mr. de Neuville treats M. Buat, who ſuffered on this occaſion, as a downright traitor, though he owns he had formerly ſerved his country with equal integrity and courage. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 153. Lettres, memoires, &c. du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 351, 359, 365, 449, 451. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. ii. p. 283. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 629. Miſcellanea aulica, p. 415. [x] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 804. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Wicquefort. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 294. Lettres, memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 469, 471, 483, 487. See alſo tom. iv. King Charles acquainted the Swediſh ambaſſadors, that he would not treat with

When the penſionary John de Witte was laſt on board the Dutch fleet, and, in the abſence of the Engliſh navy, had cruiſed upon our coaſt, he took an opportunity of ſending ſeveral perſons to ſound the mouth of the river Thames, in order to diſcover how far it might be practicable to make any attempt therein with large ſhips; and having by this means found, with what facility the project he had formed might be executed, he reſolved to proceed in it, notwithſtanding the negotiations for peace were then far advanced. He at firſt opened himſelf to the count d'Eſtrades, the French ambaſſador, who communicated the deſign to his court, where it met with the utmoſt approbation, and where meaſures were taken for rendering it effectual in its execution [y].

To this end it was neceſſary king Charles ſhould be perſuaded that there was no neceſſity of fitting out a fleet for this year, ſince that would have rendered the deſign of the Dutch ſtateſman not only difficult and dangerous, but abſolutely impracticable [z]. With a view to this, the queen mother (whoſe advices were always fatal to this nation) was perſuaded to write her ſon a letter, wherein ſhe informed him, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and the ſtates-general, had turned their thoughts entirely

the ſtates, unleſs they ſent a proper perſon to London with propoſitions, made, at his requeſt, a ſuitable proviſion for his nephew the prince of Orange, and agreed to a proper regulation of the trade to the Indies; that he expected damages for the great loſſes ſuffered by the war; an acknowledgment for the herring fiſhing on his coaſts, the nets being dragged on his ſhore; that he demanded no towns for caution, but inſiſted on the guaranty of the emperor and other princes. See alſo memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. ii. and iii. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 560. Lord Arlington's letters, p. 213, 215, 221. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own time, p. 123.

[y] Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. p. 193, 194. Secrete reſol. van Haer Hoog. Mog Saterdagh, 19 Martii, p. 522. Valkenier's Verwerd Europa, p. 73. La vie de Ruyter, 449, 454. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. p. 296. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. iii. p. 389. Columna roſtrata, p. 191.

[z] Count d'Eſtrades, who was the great confidante of the penſionary, and to whom the beſt Dutch writers allow he imparted many ſecrets of their ſtate, very improper for any foreigner, and much more a French miniſter, to be acquainted with, tells the king his maſter plainly, that de Witte hated the peace; 1. Becauſe it would make him leſs neceſſary, and ſo leſſen his authority; 2. Becauſe it would be favourable to the intereſts of the houſe of Orange; 3 Becauſe he had (though with no ill intention) done many things contrary to the conſtitution, for which, in a time of peace, he might be very eaſily called to an account.

towards peace; and that it might have ill effects, if his majeſty, by fitting out a great fleet, ſhould alarm them on their own coaſts, as in the preceding year. This advice, ſupported by the intrigues of the earl of St. Albans, and agreeing with the king's temper and circumſtances, whoſe miniſters deceived, whoſe miſtreſſes beggared, and whoſe courtiers plundered him, againſt whoſe meaſures a party was formed, many of whom, notwithſtanding their vehement profeſſions of patriotiſm, in reality meant little more than places and preferments, we need not wonder he fell ſo readily into it; for meanly covetous, and ſquandering needy princes, are alike liable to the greateſt foible in governing; the preferring preſent gain to any future proſpect whatever. Notwithſtanding, therefore, his naval magazines were never better provided, king Charles, by a ſtrange fatality, ordered only two ſmall ſquadrons for the ſummer ſervice, in 1667 [a].

Things being thus in a readineſs, the laſt reſolution was taken in Holland for the immediate execution of penſionary de Witte's project; and this reſolution was ſigned by the French miniſter, as well as by the deputies of the ſtates. His moſt chriſtian majeſty had promiſed that a ſquadron of his ſhips, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, ſhould aſſiſt therein. However, that the iſſue of the thing might irritate the Engliſh againſt the Dutch only, the French, as uſual, waved the performance of their promiſe; when the matter, however, was ſo far advanced, that the Dutch found it impoſſible for them to go back. Yet the Engliſh miniſters were treating all this time at Breda, where, from the beginning, there was a fair appearance of ſpeedily concluding a peace [b].

The

[a] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 560. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 97, 98. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 50. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 297. Miſcellanea aulica, p. 394, 395. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 106, 117, 131, 139, 145. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 287. Echard, p. 838. Memoires d'Eſtrades, tome iii. p. 393, 483, 521.

[b] In this the hiſtorians of both nations agree. One would wonder how, after duly conſidering this fact, any writer can aſſert, (as Dutch hiſtorians do), that de Witte's expedition was neceſſary to the making of the peace. King Charles had yielded to a treaty at the requeſt of the Dutch; he had left the manner of negotiating it to them; he had diſarmed his victorious fleet. What ſigns, beyond theſe, could he ſhew of inclining to peace? but it was plainly calculated to fruſtrate

The pretence made uſe of by John de Witte, for fitting out a fleet in the ſpring, was the miſchief which had been done to their navigation by the privateers from Scotland. In order to check theſe, admiral Van Ghendt was ſent with a conſiderable fleet into the Frith, with orders to burn the coaſts, and recover ſuch ſhips as were in thoſe ports. He appeared before Leith on the 1ſt of May, and might, if he had thought fit, have done a great deal of miſchief; but he contented himſelf with cannonading Burntiſland to very little purpoſe. When the Engliſh court received the news of this proceeding, it confirmed them in their opinion, that there would be no fighting that year, and that this expedition was purely to quiet the minds of the people enough diſturbed by their late loſſes. This ſhews the great folly of truſting an enemy, and ought to be a warning to all Britiſh ſtateſmen for the future. If the king at this time had pawned the jewels of the crown, or the crown itſelf, (as ſome of his predeceſſors did), to pay his ſeamen, and put a ſtrong fleet to ſea, he had turned the tables, made a good peace, and paſſed the remainder of his reign in quiet.

But penſionary de Witte, in the mean time, had haſtily manned out a large fleet, under the command of de Ruyter, on board which he intended to have gone in perſon; but the French proteſted againſt this ſtep, and therefore he was at laſt content to ſend Cornelius de Witte, his brother. Care had been taken to provide ſome of the old republican officers to command the troops which were to make a deſcent; and theſe alſo eaſily procured pilots to conduct the Dutch into our rivers and ports. So wild a thing is faction, which, though always covered with fair pretences of love for the public, will yet lead ſuch as are deluded thereby to the moſt flagitious actions, and ſuch as viſibly tend to deſtroy, what, by their own principles, they ſhould moſt vigorouſly defend![c]

ſtrate the very ends of peace, by leaving a rancour in the minds of both nations; and this effect it had.

[c] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 560. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 167. Annals of the univerſe, p. 157. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. iii. p. 197. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 804. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. p. 194. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. chap. 17. Memoires du comte de Guiche, liv. iii.

The fleet being ready, ſailed over to the Engliſh coaſt, where it was joined by Van Ghendt, and conſiſted then of ſeventy men of war, beſides fire-ſhips. On the ſeventh of June they attacked Sheerneſs, which was at that time unfiniſhed, and in no ſtate of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a conſiderable quantity of naval ſtores. Though the court had ſcarce any warning of this attempt, yet the duke of Albemarle, Sir Edward Spragge, and other great officers, had made all imaginable proviſion for the defence of the river Medway, by ſinking ſhips in the paſſage, throwing a chain acroſs it, and placing three large veſſels, which had been taken from the Dutch in this war, behind the chain. The Dutch had the advantage of a ſtrong eaſterly wind, which encouraged them to endeavour burning our ſhips at Chatham, in ſpite of all theſe precautions ſo well and wiſely taken to preſerve them. It was on the twelfth they executed this deſign; which at laſt, however, had miſcarried, if one captain Brakell, who was a priſoner on board their fleet for ſome miſdemeanor, had not offered (to wipe out the memory of his former miſtake) to undertake breaking the chain, which he gallantly performed [d].

He alſo with great bravery boarded and took one of the Engliſh frigates which guarded the paſſage, ſoon after the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth, being the ſhips which, as we before obſerved, had been taken from the Dutch, were ſet on fire. The next day, the advantage of wind and tide continuing, they advanced with ſix men of war and five fire-ſhips as high as Upnore-caſtle, but were ſo warmly received by major Scot, who commanded therein, and Sir Edward Spragge, from the oppoſite ſhore gave them ſo much diſturbance, that they were quickly obliged to return [e]. However, as they came back, they burnt the Royal Oak, a very fine ſhip, and in her captain Douglas, whoſe behaviour ought to perpetuate his memory,

[d] I take theſe facts from the ſeveral accounts in their hiſtorians and our own, but particularly from the relations, laid before the houſe of commons, of this whole affair, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

[e] Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 124. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 50. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 448. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 225. Memoirs of John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamſhire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 7. State letters of Roger, earl of Orrery, p. 239.

He

He had received orders to defend his ſhip, which he did with the utmoſt reſolution; but having none to retire, he choſe to be burnt with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deſerted his command [f]. On the fourteenth they carried off the hull of the Royal Charles, notwithſtanding all the Engliſh could do to prevent it; which was what they had principally at heart. In their return, two Dutch men of war ran aſhore in the Medway, and were burnt, which, with eight fire-ſhips conſumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loſs acknowledged by the Dutch writers; though it is not improbable that they really ſuffered much more [g].

De Ruyter, highly pleaſed with what he had performed, left admiral Van Nes with part of his fleet in the mouth of the Thames, and ſailed with the reſt to Portſmouth, in very ſanguine hopes of burning the ſhips there. Failing in this deſign, he ſailed weſtward to Torbay, where he was likewiſe repulſed [h]. Then he returned back again to the mouth of the Thames, and with twenty-five ſail came as high as the Hope, where our ſquadron lay, under the command of Sir Edward Spragge. This conſiſted of eighteen ſail; yet, the admiral not being on board when the enemy began the attack, we ſuffered at firſt from their fire-ſhips; but Sir Edward repairing with great diligence to his command, and being joined by Sir Joſeph Jordan with a few ſmall ſhips, quickly forced the Dutch to retire. The like ſucceſs attended their attack on Land-guard fort, which was performed by ſixteen hundred men, commanded by colonel Doleman, a republican, under the fire of their whole fleet: but governor Darrel, an old

[f] "I could have been glad" (ſays the ingenious Sir William Temple in his letter to lord Liſle, in his works, vol. ii. p. 40.) "to have ſeen Mr. Cowley, "before he died, celebrate captain Douglas's death, who ſtood and burnt in one "of our ſhips at Chatham, when his ſoldiers left him, becauſe it ſhould never "be ſaid a DOUGLAS quitted his poſt without order. Whether it be wiſe in "men to do ſuch actions or no, I am ſure it is ſo in STATES to honour them."

[g] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 287. See the duke of Albemarle's narrative of this buſineſs, which he preſented to the houſe of commons in the enſuing ſeſſions, in Echard's hiſtory of England, book i. ch. 2. p. 839. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 804. Levens der Zeehelden tweede deel, p. 248. Le Clerc, tome iii. Neuville, and other Dutch hiſtorians.

[h] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 562.

cavalier,

cavalier, beat them off with great loſs [j]. On the twenty-third, Van Nes ſailed again up the river as far as the Hope, where he engaged Sir Edward Spragge, who had with him five frigates, and ſeventeen fire-ſhips [k]. This proved a very ſharp action, at leaſt between the fire-ſhips, of which the Dutch writers themſelves confeſs they ſpent eleven to our eight.

The next day the Engliſh attacked the Dutch in their turn; and, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire-ſhip they had left to prevent her being taken. On the twenty-fifth they bore out of the river, with all the ſail they could make, followed at a diſtance by Sir Edward Spragge, and his remaining fire-ſhips. On the twenty-ſixth, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another Engliſh ſquadron from Harwich, conſiſting of five men of war, and fourteen fire-ſhips. They boldly attacked the Dutch, and grappled the vice-admiral of Zealand, and another large ſhip; but were not able to fire them, though they frighted a hundred of their men into the ſea. The rear-admiral of Zealand was forced on ſhore, and ſo much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home [l].

The Dutch fleets, notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, and though it was now very evident that no impreſſion could be made, as had been expected, on the Engliſh coaſts, continued ſtill hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was actually ſigned, and ratifications exchanged at Breda. Our writers are pretty much at a loſs to account for this conduct; but a Dutch hiſtorian has told us very plainly, that Cornelius de Witte ordered all our ports, on that ſide, to be ſounded, and took incredible pains to be informed of the ſtrength of our maritime forts, and the proviſion made for protecting the mouths of our rivers; which ſhewed plainly, that though this

j They made various attempts upon the coaſts of Eſſex, but it ſeems with no great ſucceſs, other than getting a little freſh proviſion, loſing, as our writers aſſert, as many men as they ſtole ſheep.

k Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 480. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 401. Brandt Leeven van de Ruyter, fol. 563.

l Beſides the authors before mentioned, the reader may conſult Ludlow's memoirs, in order to be convinced, that the Dutch, and particularly the de Wittes, had our deſtruction more at heart than their own ſafety, and that this Chatham expedition was chiefly contrived, directed, and executed by our own fugitives.

was

was the firſt, it was not deſigned to be the laſt viſit [m] they paid us.

Theſe were certainly very provoking circumſtances; and he added to them at his return a ſtrange act of indignity towards the king and the Engliſh nation, by repreſenting himſelf in triumph, and them at his feet, in a pompous picture, which he cauſed to be hung up in a public edifice, to heighten the inſult to the laſt degree. But before we ſpeak of the peace, and of what followed thereupon in Holland, it will be requiſite to give ſome account of ſuch actions in the war as have not yet been mentioned [n].

While the whole Dutch fleet was employed in alarming our coaſts, Sir Jeremiah Smith was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron northwards; with which, and the aſſiſtance of a numerous fleet of privateers, already abroad for their own profit, the Dutch commerce to the Baltic was in a manner ruined, and multitudes of rich prizes were daily brought into Engliſh ports. Thus it may be truly ſaid, that the nations at this time changed characters. The Dutch preferred the inſult at Chatham, which, all things conſidered, was of little or no conſequence to them, to the preſervation of their trade; and the Engliſh endeavoured to make themſelves amends for this unexpected loſs of a few men of war, by taking numbers of merchant-men. Such are the effects which private paſſions produce in public affairs! The indolence and credulity of king Charles expoſed his ſubjects and himſelf to this ſtain on their reputation, and the fury and ſelf-intereſt of the de Witte faction, betrayed (for the ſake of furthering their own purpoſes) the trade of their country at pre-

[m] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 807. where he adds they waited for, and would have taken our Barbadoes fleet, if they had met it, with a view of creating a freſh breach, or at leaſt availing themſelves of their preſent ſuperiority, and the king's unlucky ſituation.

[n] Theſe acts of indignity and contempt were not only galling to the king, and ſuch of his ſubjects as were truly loyal, but they were alſo ſuch marks of rivetted hate, and implacable prejudice, as diſpoſed that prince more than any thing to receive ill impreſſions from France; and therefore, how wrong ſoever his ſubſequent behaviour might be, (politically conſidered), yet the Dutch had apparently themſelves to blame.

ſent,

ſent, and its future welfare, to extreme hazard. But let us return from men to things [o].

The Engliſh, in the Weſt-Indies, took the iſland of St. Euſtacie, Salia, St. Martin, Bonaira, the iſland of Tobago, and other places, from the Dutch. On the contrary, the Dutch, under the conduct of commodore Krynſen, made themſelves maſters of Surinam; and the French, aſſiſted by the Dutch, almoſt deprived the Engliſh of their half of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, after ſeveral obſtinate diſputes, and the death of their commander les Salles. Six frigates, and ſome other ſmall veſſels from Barbadoes, ſailing from thence to repair this loſs, were ſo ill treated by a violent ſtorm, that they were put out of a condition to execute their deſign, and two or three of the moſt diſabled ſhips fell into the hands of the enemy; though, before their misfortune, they had burnt two Dutch ſhips richly laden, in the harbour of Los Santos. Some authors ſay, this little fleet was commanded by the lord Willoughby, and that himſelf was loſt in the hurricane. The Engliſh were more ſucceſsful in the neighbourhood of Surinam, where they deſtroyed the Dutch colony, took a fort belonging to the French, and afterwards made themſelves maſters of many rich prizes, at the expence of that nation [p].

The Dutch admiral Evertz, in conjunction with commodore Krynſen, recovered the iſland of Tobago, and did a great deal of miſchief upon the coaſt of Virginia. In March 1667, Sir John Harman was ſent with a ſquadron of twelve men of war to redreſs theſe miſchiefs. He performed all that he was ſent for, and effectually cleared the ſeas both of French and Dutch rovers; yet he had not been long there before he found himſelf puſhed by a ſuperior force. The Dutch commodore Krynſen, having embarked on board his ſquadron thirteen hundred land troops, ſailed to Martinico, where he joined monſieur de la

[o] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 564. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 174. vol. ii. p. 228, 231. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. i. p. 218, 220. [p] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 548, 557. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 49. Annals of the univerſe, p. 120, 141, 154. Kennet, vol. iii. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 838. Columna roſtrata, p. 189. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 404. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 808, 809.

Barre, who commanded all the forces of the French king in thoſe parts. Their fleet, after this junction, conſiſted of two and twenty ſail of ſtout ſhips, with which they went to ſeek the Engliſh ſquadron upon the coaſt of St. Chriſtopher's.

On the 10th of May, 1667, an engagement enſued, which laſted, with great vigour, for above three hours, in which the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the ſuperior force of the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The Dutch hiſtorians ſay, that had it not been for the courage and conduct of the officers of their fleet, the French admiral had been taken; and, on the other hand, it is certain that thoſe officers were ſo ill ſatisfied with the behaviour of the French, that they quitted them upon their return to St. Chriſtopher's. The Engliſh admiral with his fleet came ſoon after thither, burnt the French admiral, and ſix or ſeven ſhips in the harbour, and either ſunk himſelf, or obliged the French to ſink, all the reſt of the ſhips that were there, except two, and this with the loſs only of eighty men [q].

In the firſt of theſe engagements, our writers have obſerved, that the admiral, Sir John Harman, was exceedingly ill of the gout, ſo as not to be able to ſtir. On the firſt firing, however, he ſtarted up, and went upon deck, gave his orders throughout the engagement, in which he acted with all the alacrity imaginable, and when it was over became as lame as he was before. By theſe victories he became maſter in thoſe ſeas, and took from the Dutch their plantation at Surinam; but, however, it was reſtored by the treaty, as not taken within the time limited by that treaty for the concluſion of hoſtilities [r].

There were three diſtinct treaties of peace ſigned at Breda, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the Engliſh miniſters, who were Lord Holles and Mr. Coventry; which were ratified on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1667. The terms upon which this peace was made, were ſafe and honourable, at leaſt, though not ſo glorious and beneficial as might have been expected after ſuch a war. By it the honour of the flag was ſecured, and the iſland of Poleron, to prevent further diſputes,

[q] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 564. Annals of the univerſe, p. 159. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. i. p. 218. [r] Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 50. Columna roſtrata, p. 191.

was yielded to the Dutch. In the Weſt-Indies we kept all that we had taken, except Surinam, and the French were obliged to reſtore what they had taken in thoſe parts from us[s].

Here it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the loſs of Poleron, and, in conſequence of that, the ſpice-trade, was not ſo much owing to this treaty as to the conduct of Cromwell, to whom it was yielded, when, after turning out his maſters, he made peace with the Dutch. In obtaining it, he conſulted his honour, and ſeemed to have the intereſt of the nation at heart. But, knowing of how great conſequence it was to the Dutch, he conſented that, paying him an annual penſion, they ſhould keep it, ſacrificing manifeſtly thereby the public intereſt to his own. The iſland being thus out of our poſſeſſion, and being of greater conſequence than ever to the Dutch, they would not at the time of this treaty depart from their pretenſions.

It is certain that the king made this peace much againſt his will, and without obtaining what he ſought and expected from the war. The motives which induced him thereto were chiefly theſe. Firſt, diſorders in his domeſtic affairs, which diſquieted him with great reaſon. He found there was a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection amongſt his ſubjects, which produced the late misfortune at Chatham; and, in caſe the war had continued, would have probably had ſtill worſe effects. And, ſecondly, the French king's deſign was become apparent; and his claim to the greateſt part of the Spaniſh Netherlands openly avowed. If, therefore, the quarrel between Great-Britain and Holland had ſubſiſted any longer, the balance of power on the continent muſt have been immediately and irretrievably loſt[t]. Such were the

[s] Corps univerſal diplomatique de droit des gens, tome vii. part 1. p. 40—57. Memoires du comte d'Eſtrades, tome iv. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 14. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 146. See the lord-ambaſſador Coventry's letter to Sir William Temple, dated Breda, Auguſt 4. N. S. 1667, in his works, vol. ii. p. 133. Miſcellanea aulica, p. 440.

[t] What I aſſert above the reader will find confirmed by two unexceptionable and irrefragable witneſſes, whoſe knowledge cannot be doubted, or credit queſtioned. As to the diſpoſition of the people to ſet up a republic again here, and the offers of Holland and France on that head, Ludlow is full in his memoirs, vol. iii. p. 184, &c. As to the king's judgment on the ſtate of affairs, Sir William Temple gives a candid and copious account in his letters, in which alſo he concurs with the king in his opinion.

true

true grounds of the peace at Breda; and whoever conſiders the ſituation of things at home and abroad at that juncture, will think it, upon the whole, as good a peace as could have been expected.

We ſucceeded better in our negotiations this year in other parts. The worthy and wiſe earl of Sandwich, concluded, on the thirteenth of May, a treaty with Spain, whereby all old differences were ſettled, the friendſhip between the two crowns renewed and ſtrengthened, and our commerce much extended [u]. Soon after this, his lordſhip went to Liſbon, and there, by his mediation, a peace was made between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, by which the latter came to be owned by the former as an independent kingdom, and an end was put to a war which had already weakened each of the nations greatly, and might, if longer purſued, have been fatal to both [w]. Towards the cloſe of this year, his majeſty ſent Sir William Temple into Holland, in order to enter into a ſtricter correſpondence with the ſtates, and to concert with them the means of preſerving Flanders from falling into the hands of the French. The Dutch in general, and even the penſionary de Witte himſelf, now ſaw plainly they had been dupes to France in this war.

This ſhews that his majeſty, for the preſent, laid aſide his reſentments for what had been done againſt him perſonally by the Dutch; and this for the ſake of giving a check to the too great power of France. In conſequence of Sir William's negotiation, was concluded the famous triple alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland; the moſt glorious ſtep taken in this reign, and which, ſteadily purſued, would have cruſhed at the beginning that ambitious prince, whoſe projects never ceaſed diſturbing his neighbours, till after being humbled by the arms of Britain, in a ſucceeding reign, he came to know himſelf, and

[u] Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 224. See Sir William Temple's letter to the lord-ambaſſador Coventry, dated May 21. N. S. 1667, in his works, vol. ii. p. 34. See alſo p. 313. [w] Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 236. Sir William Temple's works, vol. ii. Memoires d'Ablancourt, p. 349—361. Corps univerſal diplomatique, tome vii. part 1. p. 70.

deplore them on his death-bed [x]. But, to return to our more immediate buſineſs.

The Dutch war being over, his majeſty ſent Sir Thomas Allen with a ſtout ſquadron into the Mediterranean, to repreſs the inſults of the Algerines, who, taking advantage of our differences, had diſturbed both the Engliſh commerce and the Dutch. The latter ſent admiral Van Ghendt with a ſquadron to ſecure their trade; and he, having engaged ſix corſairs, forced them to fly to their own coaſts, where probably they would have eſcaped, if commodore Beach with four Engliſh frigates, had not fallen upon them, and, after a cloſe chaſe, obliged them to run a-ground. In this ſituation they were attacked by the Engliſh and Dutch in their boats, and, being abandoned by their reſpective crews, were all taken, and a great number of Chriſtian ſlaves of different nations releaſed. The Engliſh commodore preſented ſixteen Dutch ſlaves to admiral Van Ghendt, and received from him twenty Engliſh by way of exchange; but the Algerine ſhips being leaky were burnt. The ſame year ſome of our frigates attacked ſeven of the enemies beſt ſhips near Cape Gaeta. The admiral and vice-admiral of the Algerines carried fifty-ſix guns each; their rear-admiral, the biggeſt ſhip in the ſquadron, carried ſixty, and the leaſt forty. Yet, after a ſharp engagement, the vice-admiral was ſunk, and the reſt forced to retire, moſt of them miſerably diſabled [y]. At the cloſe of the year 1669, captain Kempthorne, (afterwards Sir John), in the Mary Roſe, a ſmall frigate, engaged ſeven Algerine men of war, and, after a very warm action, forced them to ſheer off, being in no condition to continue the fight any longer; of which we have a particular account [z].

It is ſomewhat extraordinary, that, conſidering the Dutch, as well as we, were concerned in attacking theſe pirates, we have

[x] Sir William Temple's works, vol. ii. p. 45—81. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. i. p. 198. See the duke of Buckingham's character of the earl of Arlington in his works, vol. ii. p. 87. Corps diplomatique, tom vii. part 1. p. 68. Le ſiecle de Louis XIV. par M. Voltaire, tome ii. p. 94, 95. [y] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 569, 578. Annals of the univerſe, p. 188, 239. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 295. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 857. [z] This account, together with a print repreſenting the whole action, engraved by Hollar, is inſerted by Ogilby in his deſcription of Africa, p. 218.

no better account of the war that was carried on againſt them, or of the force they then had, but what we are left to collect as we can, from the ſcattered accounts of particular engagements with them. The only liſt I have ſeen, is of the ſtate of their navy in 1668, and then it conſiſted of twenty-four ſhips great and ſmall, that is, from about fifty to twenty guns: and they had likewiſe ſix new ſhips of force upon the ſtocks. Yet this pitiful enemy continued to diſturb, and even to diſtreſs the commerce of both the maritime powers for ſeveral years [a].

At laſt, Sir Edward Spragge was ſent in 1670, with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruiſed for ſome days before their capital, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer to his demands. Upon this he ſailed from thence, with ſix frigates and three fire-ſhips, to make an attempt upon a conſiderable number of thoſe corſairs which lay in the haven of Bugia. By the way he loſt the company of two of his fire-ſhips; yet, not diſcouraged by this accident, he perſiſted in his reſolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines aground, and (notwithſtanding the fire of the caſtle) burnt ſeven of their ſhips, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which he deſtroyed another of their ſhips of war near Teddeller. Theſe and other misfortunes cauſed ſuch a tumult among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey, and choſe another, by whom the peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh, on the ninth of December in the ſame year; and as they were now ſufficiently humbled, and ſaw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with England muſt end in their deſtruction, they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times [b].

We are now come to the third Dutch war, (more frequently called the ſecond, becauſe it was ſo in reſpect to this reign), and to account for the beginning of it will be no eaſy matter. It

[a] O. Dapper deſcription de l'Afrique, p. 160—184. Hiſt. du royaume d'Algier, liv. ii. ch. 14. See alſo the title ALGIERS in the large hiſtorical dictionary in Dutch by Luiſcius. [b] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 581. Annals of the univerſe, p. 263. Columna roſtrata, p. 203, 204. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 128, 129. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xv. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iii. ch. 21.

has

has been before ſhewn, that the laſt treaty of peace was made by king Charles againſt his will, and on terms to which force only made him conſent. We need not wonder, therefore, that he ſtill retained a diſlike to the Dutch. Beſides, there had been many other things done, ſufficient to give diſtaſte to any crowned head. For inſtance, their factory at Gambron in Perſia, after the peace, burnt the king in effigy, having firſt dreſſed up the image in an old ſecond-hand ſuit, to expreſs the diſtreſs in which they knew him in his exile; for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, ſo the ſtates-general looked upon themſelves as above giving him any ſatisfaction [c].

They likewiſe ſuffered ſome medals to be ſtruck, in which their vanity was very apparent. Amongſt others, becauſe the triple alliance had given a check to the power of France, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they were pleaſed to arrogate to themſelves the ſole honour of giving peace to Europe, and of being arbiters among contending princes [d]. Here, however, it muſt be owned, that, in making war upon them at this juncture, king Charles acted too much under the direction of French counſels. He had about him the worſt ſet of miniſters that ever curſed this, or, perhaps, any other nation. Men of different faiths, (if bad ſtateſmen have any), and who agreed only in promoting thoſe arbitrary acts, which, while they ſeemed to make their maſter great, in reality ruined his, and, if they could have been ſupported, would have exalted their power [e].

This infamous crew (for however decked with titles by their maſter, no Engliſhman will tranſmit their names to poſterity with honour) were then called the CABAL: and theſe engaged the king to liſten to the propoſitions of his moſt chriſtian majeſty,

[c] This was very much inſiſted on in thoſe days, and the rather, becauſe things of a like nature were practiſed by the Dutch in Ruſſia and other places. As to the fact before us, we have a long detail of it in voyages de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, vol. i. p. 775. It is mentioned by Baſnage, tome i. p. 808. and de Neuville, who both own, that it was a baſe and unjuſtifiable outrage. Inſtead, however, of attributing this to the Dutch nation, we ought in juſtice to refer it to the ſpirit of the de Witte miniſtry, which was its true ſource. [d] Gerard Van Loon hiſtoire metallique des Pays Bas, tome iii. p. 17, 22. [e] The candid and inquiſitive reader, if deſirous of going to the bottom of this, may conſult the very ingenious Sir William Coventry's England's appeal from the private cabal at Whitehall to the great council of the nation. London, 1673, 4to.

who,

who, as he had before deceived him to ſerve the Dutch, ſo he now offered to deceive the Dutch to gratify our king: and that Charles might not heſitate at this ſtep, Louis le grand betrayed his creature de Witte, and diſcovered a project he had ſent him, of entering into an offenſive alliance againſt England; which, with other articles for his private advantage, moſt unhappily determined our monarch to take a ſtep prejudicial to the proteſtant intereſt, repugnant to that of this nation, and dangerous to the balance of power in Europe [f].

By virtue of ſecret engagements with France, this war was to end in the total deſtruction of the republic of Holland. Part of her dominions was to be added to thoſe of France, and the reſt to fall to the ſhare of England. In order to have a pretence for breaking with them, the captain of the Merlin-yacht, with Sir William Temple's lady on board, had directions to paſs through the Dutch fleet in the channel, and, on their not ſtriking to his flag, was commanded to fire, which he did; yet, this not being thought enough, was blamed inſtead of being rewarded for it; and, for not ſufficiently aſſerting the king's right, he was, on his arrival in England, committed to the Tower [g]. The pretence, however, thus ſecured, the French next undertook to lull the Dutch aſleep, as they had done us, when our ſhips were burnt at Chatham; and this too they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their ſchemes depended. Yet de Witte truſted to this, till, as the dupe of France, and the ſcourge of his own nation, he fell a ſacrifice to the fury of an enraged people. The war once reſolved on, Sir Robert Holmes, who began the former by his repriſals in Guinea, had orders to open this too, though as he did that, without any previous declaration, by attacking the Smyrna fleet.

This ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips was commanded by Sir Robert, who hoiſted his flag in the St. Michael, as admiral; the

f The cabal was a word very luckily choſen, ſince it was compoſed of the initial letters of their titles, which were Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. As to the juſtice of my account of them, the reader may conſult Kennet, Echard, Rapin, Temple, Parker, Burnet, and Carte's life of the duke of Ormonde.

g Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 333. Sir William Temple's works, vol. ii. p. 249.

earl

earl of Oſſory in the Reſolution, as vice-admiral; and Sir Fretcheville Holles, as rear-admiral, in the Cambridge. They cruiſed in the channel on purpoſe to execute this ſcheme, of which, however, the Dutch had ſome notice, and ſent advice-boats to direct their fleet to ſteer northwards. But theſe inſtructions came too late; for they were already ſo far advanced, that it was thought more dangerous to return than to proceed, and therefore in a council of war it was reſolved to hold on their courſe. On the 13th of March five of our frigates fell in with this fleet, which conſiſted of about fifty ſail of merchant-ſhips, and an eſcort of ſix men of war. When the Engliſh veſſels came near them, they fired in order to make them ſtrike, and lower their topſails, which they refuſed to do [h].

Upon this the fight began, which laſted till night, and was renewed the next morning, when the Dutch fleet was in a manner ruined; five of their richeſt merchantmen were made prizes, their rear-admiral was boarded by captain John Holmes, brother to the admiral, and taken, but ſoon after ſunk, and the reſt of the men of war were very rudely handled [i]. The Dutch hiſtorians, however, ſet a good face upon the matter, and ſay, that their ſeamen behaved very bravely. This is true, but they ſuffered deeply for all that; and beſides, this was the beginning of hoſtilities, and a neceſſary prelude to the war. So the ſtates underſtood it, and immediately deſpatched deputies hither, and to the French king, to ſue for peace [k].

In this, as in the former diſpute with the Dutch, ſuch ſhips as had been detained in port were diſmiſſed on both ſides, and, in the midſt of a cruel war, the Dutch profeſſed all imaginable eſteem for the Engliſh nation; and, on the other hand, king Charles offered his royal protection to ſuch as thought fit to quit their country in its preſent calamitous ſituation, and take

[h] Onroerd Nederlant, 1. deel. fol. 85. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 193. Coke's detection of the four laſt reigns, part ii. p. 67. Vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 2. where the reader may find the relation of captain Yſſelmuyde, who, after the death of commodore Hayes, commanded the Dutch fleet. [i] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 582. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 310. Echard, p. 879. Sir William Temple's works, vol. ii. p. 250. [k] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 193. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. p. 264. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iv. p. 20, 21.

ſhelter in his dominions[l]. The war was ſolemnly declared on the 28th of March, 1672, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter[m], and great pains were taken to impoſe upon the world a groſs and groundleſs notion, that it was undertaken at the inſtance, or at leaſt with the concurrence of the people in general; whereas they knew their intereſt too well not to diſcern how little this meaſure agreed with it; and therefore, though the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain ſupplies, while the Dutch, in the midſt of all their miſeries, went on receiving ſixty millions of their money (which is between five and ſix millions of ours) annually from their ſubjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money cheerfully paid to preſerve the commonwealth[n].

The French king, that he might ſeem to perform his treaty with the Engliſh better than that which in the former war he made with the Dutch, ſent the count d'Eſtrees, vice-admiral of France, with a large ſquadron, to join the Engliſh fleet. He arrived at St. Helen's on the 3d of May; and immediately afterwards the king went down to Portſmouth, and, to ſhew his confidence in his new ally, went on board the ſhip of the French admiral, where he remained ſome hours. Our fleet in a ſhort time ſailed to the Downs, the Duke of York, as high-admiral, wearing the red, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Soon after

[l] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 585. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. iii. p. 241. An order of privy council, giving orders to the commiſſioners of prizes to releaſe all Dutch ſhips, goods, and merchandizes, ſeized in any of his majeſty's ports before the declaration of the war, or which voluntarily came in thither, together with all perſons belonging to the ſame, and giving free leave to all Dutch merchants or others to depart the kingdom, if they think fit, without any incumbrance or moleſtation, dated Whitehall, May 15, 1672, fol. Baſnage, tome ii. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville, tome iv. ch. 4. See alſo his majeſty's gracious declaration for the encouraging the ſubjects of the united provinces of the Low Countries to tranſport themſelves with their eſtates, and to ſettle in this his majeſty's kingdom of England. Given at Whitehall, the 12th of June, 1672, fol. [m] His majeſty king Charles the Second's declaration againſt the ſtates-general of the united provinces of the Low Countries: publiſhed by the advice of his privy council, 1672, fol. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 362. [n] Columna roſtrata, p. 215. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 194. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iv. ch. 4. and other Dutch hiſtorians.

the French ſquadron joined them, their admiral bearing the white flag; and then the fleet conſiſted of one hundred and one ſail of men of war, beſides fire-ſhips and tenders. Of theſe the Engliſh had ſixty-five ſhips of war, and on board them four thouſand ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thouſand five hundred and thirty men. The French ſquadron conſiſted of thirty-ſix ſail, on board of which were one thouſand nine hundred twenty-ſix pieces of cannon, and about eleven thouſand men. The Dutch, in the mean time, were at ſea with a very conſiderable fleet, conſiſting of ninety-one ſtout men of war, fifty-four fire-ſhips, and twenty-three yachts. On the 9th of May they were ſeen off Dover, and the 13th of the ſame month a Dutch ſquadron chaſed the Glouceſter, and ſome other ſhips, under the cannon of Sheerneſs [o].

The Engliſh fleet were at anchor in Solebay, on the twenty-eighth of May, when the Dutch fell in with them, and, if they had not ſpent too much time in council, had certainly ſurpriſed them. As it was, many of the Engliſh captains were forced to cut their cables, in order to get time enough into the line of battle. The engagement began between ſeven and eight in the morning, when de Ruyter attacked the red ſquadron in the center, and engaged the admiral, on board of which was his royal highneſs the duke of York, for two hours, forcing his highneſs at laſt to remove to another ſhip. The Dutch captain, Van Brakell, attacked the earl of Sandwich in the Royal James; and while they were engaged, almoſt all the ſquadron of Van Ghent fell upon the earl's ſhips. His lordſhip behaved with amazing intrepidity, killed admiral Van Ghent himſelf, ſunk three fire-ſhips and a man of war, that would have laid him on board; but then having loſt all his officers, and two thirds of his men, his battered ſhip was grappled, and ſet on fire by a fourth fire-ſhip. Some of his men eſcaped; yet the earl continued on board till the flames ſurrounded him, where he periſhed; but left behind him a name immortal, and which will ever be revered by ſuch

[o] It is generally believed, and indeed with good reaſon, that count d'Eſtrees had orders to look on rather than fight; a conduct agreeable to that which had been purſued by the ſame court in the former war, when they pretended to aſſiſt the Dutch; as the reader may perceive, by comparing what is here ſaid with the account before given, p. 314.

as

as eſteem the valour of an officer, the capacity of a ſtateſman, or the integrity of a patriot [p].

The death of their admiral, with the furious attack of part of the blue ſquadron, coming in, though too late, to the earl of Sandwich's aſſiſtance, threw this part of the Dutch fleet, which had been commanded by Van Ghent, into very great confuſion, and forced them to ſtand off. This gave an opportunity for the blue ſquadron to join the red, and to aſſiſt the duke of York; who, deſerted by the French, was in the utmoſt danger of being oppreſſed by the two ſquadrons of de Ruyter and Bankert. About this time Cornelius Evertz, vice-admiral of Zealand, was killed, and de Ruyter and Allemond narrowly eſcaped being burnt by fire-ſhips; but, when the Engliſh thought themſelves ſecure of victory, the ſcattered ſquadron of Van Ghent came in to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen, and again rendered doubtful the fortune of the day [q].

All this time the French, who compoſed the white ſquadron, inſtead of ſeconding the continued efforts of the Engliſh, kept as far out of danger as they could, and left our fleet to ſuſtain the whole force of the enemy, at a diſadvantage of three to two. But, notwithſtanding this vaſt inequality of numbers, the fight continued with inexpreſſible obſtinacy till towards the evening, when victory declared for the Engliſh. Five or ſix of the enemy's fire-ſhips were ſunk by an Engliſh man of war, and Sir Joſeph Jordan, of the blue ſquadron, having the advantage of the wind, pierced the Dutch fleet, and thereby ſpread through it the utmoſt confuſion; while a fire-ſhip clapped their admiral de Ruyter on board, and it was not without the utmoſt difficul-

[p] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 584. Parker's hiſtory of his own time, p. 150. Memoirs of John, duke of Buckinghamſhire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 14. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. iii. p. 240. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 374. A true relation of the engagement of his majeſty's fleet, under the command of his royal highneſs, with the Dutch fleet, May 28, 1672, in a letter from Henry Saville, Eſq; on board his royal highneſs, to the earl of Arlington, principal ſecretary of ſtate, dated from on board the prince, near the Middle Ground, June 6, 1672, with a poſtſcript, giving an account of the number killed and wounded. Publiſhed by authority, 1672, fol. [q] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 207, 208. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces, tome iii. p. 324. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iv. p. 55. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 36.

ty that he eſcaped being burnt or taken. As it grew dark, de Ruyter, collecting his fleet in the beſt order he could, fought retreating; and, as the moſt authentic of the Dutch hiſtorians ſay, quitted the place of fight, and ſteered northwards[r].

As the French king had by this time over-run a great part of their country, the ſtates, by the advice of the grand penſionary de Witte, (whoſe brother Cornelius[s] had been preſent in this fight, ſeated under a canopy, as if he had been a ſovereign prince), aſſumed to themſelves the honour of beating the Engliſh. However, they were ſo modeſt as to make no rejoicings for this ſuppoſed victory; and the diſtreſs their affairs were in might well excuſe their departure on this occaſion from truth. Their people were already diſpoſed to deſtroy their governors, through madneſs, at the ſight of the cruelties exerciſed by the French; and if to theſe there had been joined the news of a defeat at ſea, one can ſcarce conceive how the republic could have been preſerved. As it was, the populace, inſtead of applauding, inſulted Cornelius de Witte on his return, and framing to themſelves an imaginary quarrel between him and de Ruyter, would willingly have killed him for an offence he never committed[t].

The Engliſh, on the other hand, had all the marks that could be deſired of a victory, but very dear-bought victory. They carried off the Staveren, a large Dutch man of war; whereas

[r] Memoirs of Sir John Rereſby, baronet, p. 20. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 314. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 883, 884. Annals of the univerſe, p. 280. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 209. Leven van de Ruyter, p. 675.

[s] There was on this occaſion (ſays the author of the hiſtory of the Dutch war) a fine chair of ivory placed on an eſtrade, covered with a moſt magnificent carpet, upon the deck of the ſhip, called the Seven United Provinces, in which ſat Cornelius de Witte in a magiſtrate's robe, ſurrounded with an officer and twelve halberdiers in his own livery, with caps on their heads, decorated with green and blue ribbons. By this pompous appearance he pretended to add to the grandeur of the ſovereignty of the ſtates he repreſented, to have an opportunity of obſerving the motions of the fleet, and the progreſs of the battle, to animate his men, and to render the dignity of plenipotentiary at ſea equal to that of general at land, both in ſplendour and authority.

[t] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 207, 210. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 322. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iv. chap. viii. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 40, 55.

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the enemy took none of ours. They kept their poſt, while de Ruyter made the beſt of his way home. All our relations made the victory clear, though not of any great conſequence; while de Ruyter himſelf, in his letter to the ſtates, did not ſo much as claim it, but rather tacitly admitted the contrary. Cornelius de Witte, indeed, was of another opinion; but therein his intereſt dictated rather than his judgment. The only objection that could be made to our claim was, our not following the Dutch to their own coaſts; and, if we conſider the ſtrange and unbecoming behaviour of the French in the battle, this will appear no objection at all.

As to the loſs, it was pretty equal on both ſides. We had four men of war ſunk or diſabled, but they were ſmall ſhips; whereas the Dutch loſt three of the beſt in their fleet; one ſunk, another burnt, and the third taken: a fourth, called the Great Holland, commanded by the brave captain Brakell, was entirely diſabled. As for the French, notwithſtanding all their caution, they loſt two men of war, and their rear-admiral M. de la Rabiniere. Of perſons of note, beſides the earl of Sandwich, there were ſlain captain Digby of the Henry, captain Pearce of the St. George, captain Waterworth of the Anne, Sir Fretcheville Holles, who commanded the Cambridge, Sir John Fox of the Prince, and captain Hannam of the Triumph. Of our volunteers, there fell the lord Maidſtone, Mr. Montague, Sir Philip Carteret, Sir Charles Harboard, two of the duke of York's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, Mr. Trevanian, and many others. Of private men, about two thouſand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think fit to publiſh any liſt, though their loſs without queſtion was as great; ſince de Ruyter ſays in his letter, "it was the hardeſt fought battle "that he ever ſaw [u]."

Moſt of our writers, even of naval hiſtory, paſs over in ſilence the remaining ſervice performed in this year; becauſe it did not anſwer the mighty expectations of the miniſtry, by whom the

[u] See the relation written by Henry Saville, Eſq; before cited, p 7. Kennet, Echard, Burchet. See monſieur de Witte's letter to the ſtates of the 8th of June, 1672, and that of de Ruyter of the ſame date. See likewiſe de Witte's letter of the 19th of June in la Vie de Ruyter, p. 46, 49, 52. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 325.

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moſt ſanguine ſchemes were contrived. But, as truth ought on all occaſions to be preferred to every thing, ſo I think myſelf obliged to report fairly the extravagant deſigns in which we embarked, and the means by which we were diſappointed, not more perhaps to our neighbours advantage than our own; for in ſuch wars as are made by princes, through caprice, reſentment, or ambition, againſt the intereſt of their people, it often happens, that a diſappointment of the former proves a kind of victory to the latter [w].

On the return of the Dutch fleet to their own coaſts, it was laid up, and was forced to remain ſo for want of gun-powder, all that was on board being ſent to the army. The ſtates perceiving their authority almoſt loſt, and their country on the very brink of ruin, reſolved once more to try the force of intreaties; with which view they ſent four deputies to England, and as many to the French king [x]. The buſineſs of the former was to ſhew the danger of the proteſtant religion, the apparent and near approaching ruin of the balance of Europe, and the diſmal conſequences which muſt follow, even to England, from the further proſecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any ſatisfaction to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, that he ſhould require.

The arrival of the deputies in England had very different effects; it alarmed the court, and filled the nation with concern. The king, who was then in the hands of the cabal, treated them with a haughtineſs as little agreeable to his natural temper as inconſiſtent with his dignity. Inſtead of hearing and giving them an anſwer in perſon, as he was wont on ſuch applications, he was pleaſed to ſend four of the cabal to confer with them, in

[w] Mr. Philips, in his continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 587. mentions our fleet miſſing the Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips; as does alſo the earl of Arlington, in his letter of Auguſt 5, 1672, but ſpeak not one word of this invaſion. Biſhop Kennet is alſo ſilent, and Burchet truly, becauſe there was nothing done, ſeems unwilling to let his readers know there was any thing intended. Mr. Colliber, in his columna roſtrata, relates the matter fairly, but in very few words, p. 227.

[x] Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 375. The Dutch miniſters, coming without leave or paſſport, were, as his lordſhip writes, ordered to Hampton-court, there to remain till the king ſhould think fit to allow them an audience. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 239, 251. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 59.

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order to know what propoſals they had to make; and, afterwards, ſent over with them the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Arlington, and the viſcount Halifax, into Holland, as if he intended to treat there; whereas the true deſign was, to be rid of the deputies, the ſight of whom drew the compaſſion of the nation, who conſidered the Dutch no longer as their rivals in trade, but as a Proteſtant people ſacrificed to a French and Popiſh intereſt [y].

On the arrival of theſe lords in Holland, they made moſt extravagant demands; ſuch as ten millions of guilders for the expence of the war, an annual tribute of one hundred thouſand for the liberty of fiſhing, the perpetual ſtadtholderſhip for the prince of Orange, and his iſſue male. All theſe were moderate articles to the reſt; for they inſiſted on a ſhare in their Eaſt-India trade, the poſſeſſion of the city of Sluys in Flanders, and the iſlands of Cadzant, Walcheren, Goeree and Voorn. After the propoſal of theſe intolerable conditions, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arlington, deſerting their colleague, went away to the French camp, and there concluded an agreement in the name of their own prince, without his inſtructions, with the French king, the principal point of which was, that neither ſhould, upon any terms, make a ſeparate peace with the Dutch [z]. As for the deputies ſent to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, they were anſwered in the ſtyle of a conqueror, and ſo ſent back to ſpread deſpair through the country, which they did ſo effectually, that

[y] I have entered farther into this matter than I ſhould otherwiſe have done, for two reaſons. Firſt, this was the grand expedition, and, had it taken effect, would have put an end to the war, and a period to the republic of Holland. Lewis XIV. was in Utrecht, the biſhop of Munſter before Groningen, and, had the Engliſh landed, the Zealanders were inclined to ſubmit. Secondly, this was apparently the favourite ſcheme of the cabal. Shaftſbury at home preached up openly the deſtruction of Holland. Buckingham and Arlington were abroad, intent on putting his doctrine in practice. This attempt therefore was critical, and its miſcarriage ſaved Holland certainly, Britain conſequentially, and very probably all Europe!

[z] Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 378. This whole affair is very fairly ſtated in the complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 315—318. where, from ſecretary Coventry's remarks, it looks as if theſe lords acted in their negotiation with the French king, rather as deputies from the cabal, than as ambaſſadors from Charles II. and, from what followed, one would imagine the king too ſaw their conduct in this light.

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the inhabitants drew from thence for their ſafety; for, ſeeing no hopes of living any better than in ſlavery, they generouſly reſolved to lay aſide all treaties, and to die free [a].

In the mean time the French and Engliſh fleets, being perfectly refitted, and the latter having taken on board a large body of land-forces, ſailed again for the Dutch coaſts, with a deſign to make a deſcent on Zealand, the only province into which the French had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the Dutch fleet; but, not thinking proper to attack them among the ſands, they deferred the execution of their deſign, and blocked up the Maeſe and Texel; which de Ruyter (having ſtrict orders from the ſtates not to hazard a battle) ſaw with concern, yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of York was reſolved to debark, on the iſle of Texel [b], the body of troops on board his fleet. The occaſion was favourable in all reſpects; the French and the biſhop of Munſter were in the heart of the Dutch territories, ſo that no great force could be drawn together to reſiſt them on ſhore; and the coaſt was ſo low and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a ſuperior force could have ſecured the Dutch from this invaſion.

It was upon the 3d of July this reſolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces ſhould have landed the next flood. But Providence interpoſed in favour of a free people, and ſaved them from a yoke which ſeemed already to preſs upon their necks. The ebb, inſtead of ſix, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended deſcent for that time, and the ſtorm, that roſe the night following, forced the fleet out to ſea, where they ſtruggled for ſome time with very foul weather, and, the opportunity being quite loſt, returned, without performing any thing of conſequence, to the Engliſh ſhore. The Dutch clergy magnified this accident into a miracle; and, though ſome of our writers have thereupon arraigned them of ſuperſtition, yet I muſt own, I think their exceſs of piety, in this reſpect, very pardon-

[a] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 241, 246. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tom. iv. liv. xiii. xiv. p. 120, 148. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 60.

[b] The Texel, though a ſmall iſland, is yet the moſt conſiderable of thoſe which, lying in a ſtraight line in the German ocean, cover the mouth of the Zuyder-zee.

able; eſpecially if we conſider, there could not be a higher ſtroke of policy, at that time, than to perſuade a nation, ſtruggling againſt ſuperior enemies, that they were particularly favoured by heaven[c].

After this diſappointment, there was no other action thought of at ſea for this year, except the ſending Sir Edward Spragge, with a ſquadron, to diſturb the Dutch herring-fiſhery; which he performed with a degree of moderation that became ſo great a man, contenting himſelf with taking one of their veſſels, when he ſaw that was ſufficient to diſperſe the reſt[d]. But while the war ſeemed to ſlumber in Europe, it raged ſufficiently in the Weſt and Eaſt-Indies.

Sir Tobias Bridges, with five or ſix ſhips, and a regiment of foot, from Barbadoes, made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Tobago, taking about four hundred priſoners, and five hundred ſlaves[e]. On the other ſide, the Dutch, with five or ſix hundred men, poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland of St. Helena, lying off the coaſt of Africa; for the fort not being defenſible on the land-ſide, the Engliſh governor and his people, after having ſeveral times repulſed the enemy, retired with all their valuable effects on board ſome Engliſh and French ſhips, as finding it impoſſible to preſerve the iſland after their landing. But commodore Monday, being ſent with four men of war, to convoy the Engliſh Eaſt-India fleet, perceiving on his arrival at St. Helena what had happened, reſolved to attempt retaking it: he was the rather induced to this reſolution, from his want of freſh water. Accordingly, landing ſome men on that ſide of the

[c] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 264. where this extraordinary accident is juſtly ſtated, and fairly accounted for. The wonder did not conſiſt ſo much in an ebb of twelve hours, as in the time in which it happened; for, though the like has fallen out before and ſince about the equinoxes, yet in July it never happened but at this juncture, when the ſwelling of the waters in the Y and the Zuyder-zee repelled the flood. Lord Arlington in his letters of Auguſt 29. and September 26. 1672, mentions the bad weather, but takes no notice of the ebbing of the water. [d] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 588. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 388. [e] This iſland, which belonged of right to the crown of England, was however ſeized and ſettled (during our troubles) by the Dutch, who beſtowed upon it the name of New Walcheren, and rendered it a populous, proſperous, and profitable plantation. See Rochefort, hiſtoire naturelle des iſles Antilles, p. 7.

iſland which is moſt acceſſible, and at the ſame time attacking the fort with his ſhips, he eaſily ſucceeded in his deſign[f].

The iſland being thus recovered, it ſerved the Engliſh as a net to incloſe and take the enemy's ſhips, for a Dutch Eaſt-India veſſel, called the Europe, coming to St. Helena, with a new governor on board, was ſeized. And ſoon after ſix others appearing in ſight of the iſland, the Engliſh commodore, the better to confirm them in the opinion that their countrymen were ſtill in poſſeſſion, cauſed the Dutch flag to be diſplayed from the fort; which ſtratagem had ſo good an effect, that the Eaſt-India ſhips approaching nearer, their vice-admiral and rear-admiral were taken, with an immenſe quantity of ſilver on board; as the reſt would likewiſe have been, had not the Engliſh diſcovered themſelves ſomewhat too ſoon. On the other ſide, the Hollanders, who attempted the iſland of Bombay, were repulſed with great loſs; but near Maſſalpatnam, thirteen Dutch men of war, and ſome other veſſels, being raſhly engaged by ten Engliſh ſhips, partly men of war, and partly merchantmen, there happened a long and bloody fight, which ended with the death of the Dutch vice-admiral John Frederickſon, and the taking of three Engliſh merchant-ſhips. So that the loſs of the two nations was pretty equal, though poſſibly the Dutch eſteemed themſelves gainers[g].

All this time commerce in general ſuffered exceedingly on both ſides: noble plantations were ruined; and the French, who before this war had very little ſkill in navigation, and ſcarce at all underſtood the art of fighting at ſea, as their own writers confeſs, improved wonderfully in both, at the joint expence of Britain and Holland. Thus their ſelf-intereſted political end was plainly anſwered, while the maritime powers were fighting with, and weakening each other, and this too as much againſt

f Dapper, deſcription de l'Afrique, p. 495. where the excellency of the air, the variety of fine fruits, and the commodious ſituation of this iſland, are amply explained. It was (the Dutch having poſſeſſed themſelves of the Cape of Good Hope) ſettled by the Engliſh Eaſt-India company about twelve years before.
g Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 591. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 425. A relation of the retaking of the iſland of St. Helena, and three Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips, publiſhed by authority, 1673, fol. Annals of the univerſe, p. 300. Columna roſtrata, p. 230, 231.

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their inclinations as their intereſts, which it is neceſſary for us to ſhew [h].

As the rancour which the Dutch had diſcovered againſt the Engliſh, and their moſt unjuſtifiable behaviour in reſpect to the inſults offered to the king's perſon, were not ſo much owing to their own prejudices as to the arts of the de Wittes; and as they plainly ſaw, that this war and all its miſeries came upon them through the vanity of their governors, and from the reſentment king Charles ſtill had for the action at Chatham, contrived by John, and executed by Cornelius de Witte; ſo they turned their rage upon theſe two brothers, and the reſt of their faction; obliged the ſtates to repeal the perpetual edict, which followed the concluſion of the laſt war, and took away the office of ſtadtholder for ever; advanced the prince of Orange to that high dignity, and ſoon after, in a fit of popular fury, barbarouſly murdered the de Wittes; as if the blood of theſe men could have reſtored that peace, which, in truth, but for their ſchemes had never been loſt. In order to be convinced of this, the reader need only conſult the ſecret reſolutions of the ſtates-general, during his miniſtry, which are publiſhed; his letters, and his maxims, all which clearly prove his jealouſy of, and averſion to, this nation. The truth is, like too many great miniſters, he deceived himſelf into an opinion, that what was requiſite to ſupport his adminiſtration, was eſſentially neceſſary to the ſecurity of his country. Upon this rock he ſplit, ruined himſelf, and brought the republic to the brink of deſtruction.

Nay, to ſhew how thorougly they were cured of thoſe fatal prepoſſeſſions, which had brought upon them the naval force of ſo potent a neighbour, the people, on the firſt arrival of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, thronged about them, and cried out, "God bleſs the king of England! God bleſs the prince of "Orange! and the devil take the ſtates." They hoped, and with great reaſon, that theſe teſtimonies of their ſincere deſire of peace, the ruin of the Louveſtein faction, and the advancement of his nephew, the prince of Orange, would have pacified our king; and they were infinitely concerned when they

[h] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iv. liv. 15.

found themſelves miſtaken. They did not, however, as before, vent their ſpleen in violent acts of perſonal malice, or diſreſpect towards the king; but contented themſelves with carrying on the war with courage and reſolution, and, at the ſame time, omitted no opportunity of ſignifying their earneſt deſire of peace [i].

In England, the credit of the cabal, which had been long loſt with the people, began now to decline alſo with the king; and the parliament, though very loyal, yet in granting a large ſupply to the king, would not own the Dutch war; but borrowed an expreſſion from the king's ſpeech, and declared what they gave to be for the king's EXTRAORDINARY OCCASIONS. They likewiſe fell warmly upon matters of religion, and paſſed an act, ſince ſufficiently famous, under the title of the TEST; which putting it out of the power of the papiſts to continue in any public employments, lord Clifford was ſoon after obliged to quit the treaſury, and the duke of York immediately declined the command of the fleet [k].

Theſe were changes, which had a natural tendency to bring things about again into their proper ſpheres; yet the Dutch war was carried on for another year through the influences of their councils who began it, and, which muſt appear extremely ſingular to any man who is a ſtranger to the arts practiſed in courts, the very people who promoted the war ſecretly practiſed the defeat of thoſe meaſures by which alone it could be purſued with honour. For this I know of no reaſons that have been aſſigned, and therefore I venture to ſpeak my own opinion, that it proceeded from a deſire in the miniſtry to gain a pretence for making a peace, from ſome want of ſucceſs in the war, when it was to be carried on under the command of prince Rupert, who, though he was too wiſe to be fond of this ſervice, was yet too honeſt and too brave a man to neglect his duty [l].

i Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 315. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. p. 304. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iv. p. 176. E. Vander Hoeven, Leeven Dood van Corn. en Jan de Witte, boek ii. p. 346—370. k Andrew Marvell's growth of popery and arbitrary power in England, London, 1678, fol. l Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 590. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 404, 405, 406, 409. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 74, 76. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 320. Memoirs of what paſſed in Chriſtendom from 1672 to 1679, by Sir William Temple.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding it was reſolved early in the year 1673, that prince Rupert ſhould command, yet no care was taken to fit out the fleet in time, and much leſs to ſhew any degree of confidence, or even complaiſance, in furniſhing him with ſuch officers as were agreeable to him. Sir Robert Holmes was laid aſide, though formerly ſo much careſſed, merely becauſe he was known to be in his highneſs's favour, and Sir Edward Spragge ſent in his ſtead, who not long after went into France on a ſecret commiſſion, without prince Rupert's knowing any thing of his buſineſs. With the like view, Sir John Harman was appointed his vice-admiral, when he was known to have ſurvived the great abilities he once had, and beſides was ſo ill of the gout when he went on board, that he was not able to move either hand or foot, or ſo much as to ſtir out of his cabbin. The prince expoſtulated in vain againſt theſe and many other hardſhips, of which he could obtain no redreſs; and therefore in the beginning of the month of April, hearing the Dutch fleet was at ſea, and intended to come and ſink many hulks filled with lead and ſtones in the mouth of the river, he with much induſtry got together as many of the fourth and fifth rate ſhips as he could, and with ſome fire-ſhips, ſailed out and took ſuch meaſures as prevented them. This was one of the ſchemes laid in the former war, and, if the Dutch could have accompliſhed it, would have been attended with very miſchievous effects.

About the middle of May the fleet, though indifferently provided, was ready for the ſea; but then the great difficulty was, how to join our good allies, the French, who were at Breſt, and who freely declared, that they were reſolved not to ſtir till our fleet was in the channel. As the Dutch laboured day and night to ſtrengthen their navy, his highneſs ſaw the neceſſity of joining the French early, and as a proof of his high courage, as well as great ſkill in maritime affairs, he paſſed in defiance of the enemy, then riding at the Gun-fleet, through the paſſage called the Narrow, and this too againſt the wind; which ſo ſurpriſed the Dutch, that, ſeeing the end of their lying there loſt, they ſailed back again to their own ports[m].

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[m] An exact relation of all the engagements and actions of his majeſty's fleet under the command of his highneſs prince Rupert, and of all circumſtances concerning

The grand deſign of our court was the ſame this year that it had been the laſt, that is to ſay, to make a puiſſant deſcent on the Dutch coaſt; and, with this view, there were a conſiderable number of land-troops put on board the navy. His majeſty and his royal highneſs the duke of York viſited the fleet on the 19th of May, and, in a council of war held in their preſence, it was peremptorily reſolved to attack the enemy even upon their own coaſt, in caſe they could not be provoked to quit it. In purſuance of this determination, prince Rupert ſtood over towards the coaſt of Holland, and found de Ruyter with the Dutch fleet, riding within the ſands at Schonevelt, in a line between the Rand and the Stony-bank, which was a very advantageous ſituation; but, notwithſtanding that, his highneſs perſiſted in his reſolution of obeying the poſitive orders he had received for attacking them [n].

On the 28th in the morning, about nine o'clock, a detached ſquadron of thirty-five frigates and thirteen fire-ſhips were ſent to draw the enemy out, which was very eaſily done; for de Ruyter preſently advanced in good order, and, the Engliſh light ſhips retreating, put their own fleet in ſome diſorder. This engagement happened on very unequal terms: the confederate fleet conſiſted of eighty-four men of war, beſides fire-ſhips, divided into three ſquadrons, under the command of prince Rupert, count d'Eſtrees, and Sir Edward Spragge. The Dutch were ſcarce ſeventy men of war and frigates, under de Ruyter, Tromp, and Bankert [o].

Moſt of our own and the Dutch hiſtorians agree, that the Engliſh, to prevent the French from running away, as they did before, intermixed their ſhips in this battle with their own: but, in the account publiſhed under the direction of prince Rupert, the thing is put in quite another light; for there it is ſaid, that the French made little or no ſail, but kept in the rear, though they ſaw the Dutch fleet ſtretch to the north. By twelve in the morn-

cerning this ſummer's expedition, 1673, written by a perſon in command of the fleet. London, 1673, 4to. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 412, 417. See memoirs in the reign of Charles II. by John, duke of Buckinghamſhire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 28. [n] La vie de l'admiral Ruyter, p. ii. p. 103, 104, 105.

[o] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 323. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 893. Annals of the univerſe, p. 300. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 403. Columna roſtrata, p. 233.

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ing the detached ſquadron, before mentioned, engaged Van Tromp, and ſoon after the prince engaged de Ruyter almoſt two hours before the French began to fight at all. Then, ſays the ſame relation, count d'Eſtrees engaged de Ruyter, but quickly left him; neither did de Ruyter follow [p], but went to the aſſiſtance of Tromp, whom he very ſeaſonably relieved, which put an end to the feuds which had been long ſubſiſting between them.

The battle was very hard fought on both ſides, inſomuch that Tromp ſhifted his flag four times; from the Golden Lion to the Prince on Horſeback, from the Prince on Horſeback to the Amſterdam, and from the Amſterdam to the Comet, from on board which he dated his letter to the ſtates in the evening. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Oſſory diſtinguiſhed themſelves on our ſide by their extraordinary courage and conduct. Prince Rupert alſo performed wonders, conſidering that his ſhip was in a very bad condition, and took in ſo much water at her ports, that ſhe could not fire the guns of her lower tier. The battle laſted till night, and then the Dutch are ſaid to have retired behind their ſands [q].

Both ſides, however, claimed the victory: de Ruyter, in his letter to the prince of Orange, ſays, "We judge abſolutely, that "the victory is on the ſide of this ſtate and of your highneſs [r]." Tromp carried the matter farther, and reported the Engliſh to have loſt ten or twelve ſhips. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, ſays, "I thought it beſt to ceaſe the pur-"ſuit, and anchor where I now am [s]." As to the ſlain on both ſides in this battle, it is reported the Dutch loſt vice-admiral Schram, rear-admiral Vlugh, and ſix of their captains, and had one ſhip diſabled, which was loſt in her retreat. On our ſide fell

[p] An exact relation of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, p. 8, 9. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 592. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 412. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xv. p. 340. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iv. p. 270. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 103.

[q] His highneſs prince Rupert's letter to the earl of Arlington, his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate, from on board the Royal Charles, off the Oſterbank, the 29th of May, 1673, diſtant from Eaſt-capel ſeven leagues, at one of the clock, afternoon, the wind S. S. W. Publiſhed by authority, 1673, fol.

[r] See his letter to the prince, dated the 8th of June, 1673, in la vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 105. [s] Letter to Lord Arlington, before cited, p. 3.

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the captains Fowls, Finch, Tempeſt, and Worden: colonel Hamilton had his legs ſhot off, and we had only two ſhips diſabled, none either ſunk or taken.

The great doubt is as to the conduct of the French. Our writers are poſitive, that they behaved to the full as ill as they did before; but the Dutch authors ſay they fought very bravely. The truth ſeems to be, that the briſkeſt of the French officers made it their choice to fight among the Engliſh, where they behaved very gallantly, while thoſe remaining with the count d'Eſtrees took a great deal of care to keep themſelves and their ſhips ſafe: and yet they ſuffered more than either the Engliſh or Dutch; for they loſt two men of war, and five or ſix fire-ſhips, which they knew not how to manage. The French writers are pretty even with us; for they report that matters were but indifferently managed on both ſides, and that prince Rupert did not puſh things as far as he might, becauſe he was averſe to the war [t]. In one reſpect, the Dutch certainly had the advantage, ſince they prevented the deſcent intended upon their country, for which ſervice, in caſe of a clear victory, count Schomberg, with ſix thouſand men, lay ready at Yarmouth [u].

The Dutch, as they were upon their own coaſt, had the advantage of receiving quick and great ſupplies; whereas the wind prevented the Engliſh from obtaining the like advantages. Prince Rupert, however, did all that in his power lay, to put the fleet into a good condition, and believing that the Dutch would not be long before they endeavoured to make uſe of their advantages, he went on board the Royal Sovereign in the evening of the third of June, where he went not to bed all night [w]. His foreſight was very requiſite; for on the fourth in the morning, the Dutch fleet, by this time at leaſt as ſtrong as the confederates, bore down upon them as faſt as the wind would permit. Sir Edward Spragge had ſo little notion of their

[t] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 415. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 341. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iv. liv. xv. chap. 2. Quincy hiſt. militaire de Louis XIV. tome i. p. 354. [u] Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 402. Memoirs in the reign of Charles II. by John duke of Buckinghamſhire, in his works, vol. ii. p. 29.: his grace ſerved in the expedition. Kennet, Echard, and other writers. Baſnage, Le Clerc, Neuville, and the reſt of the Dutch hiſtorians. [w] An exact relation of the actions of the fleet, &c. p. 9, 10.

fighting, that taking the brave earl of Oſſory, his rear-admiral, with him, he went in his boat on board the admiral; which loſt a great deal of time [x].

As for prince Rupert, he was ſo much in earneſt, that finding his ſhip's crew, which was but indifferent, raiſed his anchors very ſlowly, he ordered his cables to be cut, that he might make haſte to meet the Dutch.

Count d'Eſtrees, with the white ſquadron, betrayed no ſuch great willingneſs to fight, as both our own and the Dutch writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of harm's way. At laſt, about five in the evening, Spragge and Tromp engaged with great fury. As for de Ruyter, he ſhewed at firſt a deſign of coming to a cloſe engagement with the prince: but before he came within muſket-ſhot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had ſuffered ſome conſiderable damage. Spragge, in the mean time, had forced Tromp to ſheer off. He then fell into vice-admiral Sweers's diviſion, which he ſoon put to confuſion; and had a third engagement with Tromp, wherein he ſhot down his flag. The battle laſted till between ten and eleven at night, and then the Dutch ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt, and ſo it ended [y].

Both ſides claimed the victory as before. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, ſays expreſly, "that he "purſued the Dutch from two till ſix the next morning, and "ſeeing no likelihood of reaching them, before they got with-"in their ſands, thought a farther purſuit needleſs." He likewiſe adds, "that they went away in great diſorder, though he "could not tell certainly what loſs they had received." This is not altogether irreconcileable to de Ruyter's letter, wherein he alſo claims the victory. "The next day (ſays he) we ſaw "the enemies were gone; and doubt not but they made to the "Thames; we ſatisfied ourſelves with purſuing them half-way,

[x] La vie de l'admiral Ruyter, part ii. p. 129. The Dutch valued themſelves much on this ſurprize. [y] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 592. Annals of the univerſe, p. 301. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 419. His lordſhip ſays this was a pure bravado of the Dutch which they had not the courage to execute equal to their deſign, and conſequently would not ſtay to be better beaten than they were. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 415.

" and then returned to our former ſtation [z]." In the ſame letter, however, he owns that they began their retreat as ſoon as it was dark. The loſs on both ſides was pretty equal, but was very far from being conſiderable on either. Admiral Van Tromp, however, was ſo ill ſatisfied with the conduct of vice-admiral Sweers, that he accuſed him to the ſtates [a]. Some of the Dutch and French writers pretend, that prince Rupert did not diſtinguiſh himſelf on that occaſion as he uſed to do; for which they ſuggeſt reaſons void of all foundation [b].

The truth is, the prince was for fighting the enemy again; but it was carried in a council of war to ſail for the Engliſh coaſt, in order to obtain ſupplies, as well of ammunition as proviſion; through want of which a great many captains complained loudly. Beſides, the fleet was ſo poorly manned, that if it had not been for the land-forces on board, they could not have fought at all: and theſe being for the moſt part new-raiſed men, we need not wonder they did not behave ſo well as our old-ſeaſoned ſailors were wont to do. On the eighth of June, the fleet arrived at the Buoy in the Nore, and on the fourteenth prince Rupert went to London, in order to give the king an account of the condition things were in, and to preſs for ſuch neceſſary ſupplies as might enable him to put to ſea again without delay [c].

The Dutch, in the mean time, to countenance the pretences they made after the two laſt battles to victory, and (which was of much greater conſequence) to raiſe the ſpirits of the people at ſuch a conjuncture, when the very being of the republic was at ſtake, gave out, that their fleet ſhould ſpeedily put to ſea again, and attempt ſome great thing. Inſulting the Engliſh coaſt was ſometimes mentioned, and then again, the loſſes they had lately ſuſtained from the French, induced them to think of revenge on

[z] See prince Rupert's letter, before cited. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 323. See monſieur de Ruyter's letter to the ſtates, dated June 17, 1673, in la vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 130. [a] Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xv. p. 342. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 416. Neuville hiſt. de Hollande, tome iv. liv. xv. ch. 2. Leven Van Tromp, p. 440. [b] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 416. Quincy hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tome i. p. 355. [c] Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 420. An exact relation, &c. p. 10, 11.

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that ſide, and taking ſome maritime town in France, which might oblige king Lewis to abandon the ſiege of Maeſtricht, or incline him to give it up by way of exchange. But while they were amuſing themſelves and de Ruyter with theſe propoſals, they were informed that Maeſtricht was already taken, and that the combined fleet was likewiſe ready to put to ſea; ſo that all theſe grand ſchemes vaniſhed at once, and they were forced to attend to their old buſineſs of defending their own coaſts, and protecting their commerce[d].

About the middle of the month of July, prince Rupert was at ſea, having on board the troops intended for a deſcent, which was ſtill preſſed by the real authors of the war. His highneſs arrived on the Dutch coaſts on the twenty-firſt of the ſaid month, and declining an engagement, ſtood along the ſhore, in order to find an opportunity for debarking his troops. On the ninth of Auguſt, he took a Dutch Eaſt-India ſhip richly laden. This induced de Ruyter to fight; and, therefore, he immediately bore down upon the Engliſh fleet[e]. As ſoon as his highneſs perceived it, he commanded the French a particular courſe, and had thereby an opportunity of diſcerning what he was to expect from them in a time of action. They lay bye twice that night; firſt about eleven o'clock, when the prince ſent to count d'Eſtrees to order him to make ſail, which he did till about one o'clock, and then laid his ſail to the maſt again, which gave a ſecond ſtop to the fleet, and obliged the prince to ſend him another meſſage. In thoſe days, when party-ſpirit ran very high, no body ever ſuſpected the count d'Eſtrees's courage, which was ſo well known, and ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed, as clearly to decypher his orders.

Theſe delays gave the Dutch admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect; but, early on the eleventh of Auguſt, bore down upon the confederates, as if he

[d] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 418. Le Clerc, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville, tome iv. liv. xv. ch. 3, 4, 6. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 420. [e] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 592. Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 422. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 894. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 403. A relation of the engagement of his majeſty's fleet with the enemy's on the 11th of Auguſt, 1673, as it has been repreſented by letters from the ſeveral ſquadrons. Publiſhed by authority, 1673, fol.

meant to force them to a battle; upon which his highneſs thought fit to tack, and thereby brought the fleet into good order. He put the French in the van, himſelf in the center, and Sir Edward Spragge in the rear; and in this diſpoſition the French lay fair to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, they neglected [f]. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of about ſixty men of war and frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of ſeventy or thereabouts; ſo that the royal fleets were indiſputably ſuperior to that of the republic [g].

De Ruyter, bearing down with his fleet in three ſquadrons, prepared to attack the prince himſelf, while Tromp engaged Spragge and the blue ſquadron, in which the Engliſh admiral obliged him, by laying his fore-top-ſail to his maſt, in order to ſtay for him, contrary to the expreſs order of the prince. This fondneſs for a point of honour proved fatal to himſelf, as well as diſadvantageous to the fleet. Bankert, with his Zealand ſquadron, ſhould have engaged the white, commanded by d'Eſtrees; but it ſeems the Dutch underſtood their temper better than to give themſelves much trouble about them, for Bankert contented himſelf with ſending eight men of war and three fire-ſhips to attack the rear-admiral de Martel, who ſeemed to be the only man that had any real deſign to fight; and then the reſt of the Zealand ſquadron united themſelves to de Ruyter, and fell together upon prince Rupert [h].

Rear-admiral de Martel, being left not only by the body of the French fleet, but even by the captains of his own diviſion, was attacked by five Dutch ſhips at once. He fought them for two hours, and that with ſuch courage and ſucceſs, that having diſabled one, the reſt were glad to ſheer off, and he rejoined the white ſquadron, where, expoſtulating with the captains of his own diviſion for deſerting him ſo baſely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the admiral not to obſerve his motions: and indeed, after he was in the fleet, though ſome opportunities

[f] An exact relation of the actions of the Engliſh fleet under the command of prince Rupert, p. 13. [g] Columna roſtrata, p. 242. Quincy hiſt. militaire de Louis XIV. tome i. p. 359. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 420. [h] An exact relation, &c. p. 14. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 343, 344. La vie de Ruyter, part ii. p. 152.

offered,

offered, he thought no more of fighting, and, on his return to France, was ſent to the Baſtile for what he had done[i].

The battle between de Ruyter and the red ſquadron began about eight o'clock in the morning, and a multitude of circumſtances concurred to threaten the Engliſh admiral with inevitable ruin. The French, not ſatisfied with being mere ſpectators of a very unequal combat from the beginning, ſuffered the ſhips, which had attacked de Martel, to paſs quietly to their own fleet; ſo that now de Ruyter's and Bankert's ſquadrons were both upon the red. Sir Edward Spragge, intent on his perſonal quarrel with Van Tromp, had fallen to the leeward ſeveral leagues with the blue ſquadron, and to complete prince Rupert's misfortune, the enemy found means to intercept his own rear-admiral, Sir John Chichele, with his diviſion; ſo that by noon his highneſs was wholly ſurrounded by the Dutch, being preſſed by de Ruyter and his diviſion on his lee-quarter, an admiral with two flags more on his weather-quarter, and the Zealand ſquadron on his broadſide to windward. Thus the Dutch wiſely employed their force againſt the enemy that would fight, and took no more notice of the French fleet, than the French did of them, or of prince Rupert[k].

His highneſs, in the midſt of theſe diſappointments, behaved with ſuch intrepidity, and encouraged all his officers ſo effectually by his own example, that, by degrees he cleared himſelf of his enemies, rejoined Sir John Chichele, and by two o'clock had time to think of the blue ſquadron, which was now at three leagues diſtance; and, not hearing their guns well plied, he made all the ſail he could towards them, in order to unite with and relieve them. De Ruyter, perceiving his highneſs's deſign, left firing, and bore away alſo with his whole force to the aſſiſt-

[i] The relation before cited, p. 15. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 76. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 894. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 423. We ſhall examine this more fully when we come to ſpeak of the conſequences of this battle.

[k] The exact relation, *&c.* In this piece we have not only the moſt authentic, but I believe the only authentic account of this engagement, now extant. Prince Rupert's letters were uſually publiſhed, but what he wrote on this occaſion was not judged convenient for the people's peruſal. The Dutch narrations were calculated to ſerve a turn, and that penned by M. de Martel for the information of the French king, was for many good reaſons ſuppreſſed.

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ance of Tromp; ſo that both fleets ran down ſide by ſide within range of cannon-ſhot, and yet without firing on either part. About four the prince joined the blue ſquadron, which he found in a very tattered condition [l].

At the beginning of the fight, Tromp in the Golden Lion, and Sir Edward Spragge in the Royal Prince, fought ſhip to ſhip. The Dutch admiral, however, would not come to a cloſe fight, which gave him a great advantage; for Spragge, who had more than his complement on board, ſuffered much by the enemies cannon, and, having the wind and ſmoke in his face, could not make ſo good uſe of his own, as he would otherwiſe have done. After three hours warm fight, the Royal Prince was ſo diſabled, that Sir Edward was forced to go on board the St. George, and Tromp quitted his Golden Lion to hoiſt his flag on board the Comet, where the battle was renewed with incredible fury. We have in reſpect to this, and it is to be wiſhed we had of every battle, a diſtinct relation of what was performed by each ſquadron, very particular and clear; and, from the relation of the blue ſquadron (compared with prince Rupert's) theſe facts are collected.

The great aim of the Dutch admiral was, to take or ſink the Royal Prince: but the earl of Oſſory, and Sir John Kempthorne, together with Spragge himſelf, ſo effectually protected the diſabled veſſel, that none of the enemy's fire-ſhips could come near her, though this was often attempted. At laſt, the St. George being terribly torn, and in a manner diſabled, Sir Edward Spragge deſigned to go on board a third ſhip, the Royal Charles; but, before he was got ten boats length, a ſhot, which paſſed through the St. George took his boat; and though they immediately rowed back, yet, before they could get within reach of the ropes that were thrown out from the St. George, the boat ſunk, and Sir Edward was drowned [m].

When prince Rupert drew near the blue ſquadron, he found the admiral diſabled, the vice-admiral lying to the windward, mending his ſails and rigging; the rear-admiral a-ſtern of the

l Philips, Kennet, Burchet. Annals of the univerſe, p. 302. m Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 156. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 324. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. ii. p. 420. Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 343. De Neuville, tom. iv. p. 300, 301. La vie de Ruyter, p. ii. p. 152.

Royal

Royal Prince, between her and the enemy, bending his new ſails, and mending his rigging. The firſt thing his highneſs did, was to ſend two frigates, to take the Royal Prince in tow. He then ſteered in between the enemy and the lame ſhips, and perceiving that Tromp had tacked, and was coming down again upon the blue ſquadron, he made a ſignal for all the ſhips of that ſquadron to join him: but it was in vain; for, except the two flags, Sir John Kempthorne and the earl of Oſſory, there was not one in a condition to move. The French ſtill continued to look on with all the coolneſs imaginable; and notwithſtanding the prince put out the blue flag upon the mizen-peek, which was the ſignal to attack, ſet down in the general inſtructions for fighting, and known not only to all the Engliſh captains but alſo to thoſe of the white ſquadron, yet they remained, as before, wholly inactive. But, to give ſome kind of colour to this conduct, the count d'Eſtrees, after the battle was in a manner over, ſent to know what this ſignal meant [n].

About five in the evening, De Ruyter, with all his flags and fleet, came cloſe up with the prince, and then began a very ſharp engagement. His highneſs had none to ſecond him but the vice and rear of the blue, Sir John Harman, captain Davis, and captain Stout, of his own diviſion, Sir John Holmes in the Rupert, captain Legge in the Royal Katharine, Sir John Berry in the Reſolution, Sir John Ernle in the Henry, Sir Roger Strickland in the Mary, and captain Carter in the Crown; in all about thirteen ſhips. The engagement was very cloſe and bloody till about ſeven o'clock, when his highneſs forced the Dutch fleet into great diſorder, and ſent in two fire-ſhips amongſt them to increaſe it, at the ſame time making a ſignal for the French to bear down; which, even then, if they had done, a total defeat muſt have followed: but, as they took no notice of it, and the

[n] An exact relation, *&c.* p 18, 19. where it is affirmed, that count d'Eſtrees ſent this meſſage after night had parted the fleets. The officer who wrote that account ſays very judiciouſly, that the ſending to inquire the meaning of the ſignal was cunningly done: but one of de Ruyter's ſailors ſeems to have had as much penetration as the French miniſtry had artifice; for, upon one of his companions aſking him what the French meant by keeping at ſuch a diſtance, "Why, "you fool," ſaid he, "they have hired the Engliſh to fight for them; and all "their buſineſs here, is to ſee that they earn their wages." So tranſparent to honeſt men are the boaſted politics of this court!

prince

prince ſaw that moſt of his ſhips were not in any condition to keep the ſea long, he wiſely provided for their ſafety, by making with an eaſy ſail towards our own coaſts [o].

This battle ended as doubtfully as any of the reſt; for the Dutch very loudly claimed the victory now, as they did before, and with full as much reaſon. The truth is, it ſeems to have been a drawn battle, ſince the Dutch, notwithſtanding all their advantages, did not take or ſink a ſingle Engliſh man of war, and killed but two captains, Sir William Reeves and captain Havard, beſides our gallant admiral Sir Edward Spragge, and no great number of private men. On their ſide they loſt two vice-admirals, Sweers and Liefde, three captains, and about one thouſand private men. The conſequences, indeed, which, from the prudence of the admiral, they drew from this battle, were exceeding great; for they opened their ports, which before were entirely blocked up, and put an end to all thoughts, by removing the poſſibility, of an invaſion [p].

It would be equally unſatisfactory and unjuſt to conclude this account of the laſt battle fought in this laſt Dutch war, without taking particular notice of the grounds upon which I have repreſented the conduct of the French in ſo bad a light. I muſt in the firſt place declare, that I have no intent to aſperſe the nation in general, much leſs to injure the particular character of the noble perſon who commanded, and who afterwards gave ſignal proofs of his true courage, and able conduct, as a ſea-officer, as in this engagement he gave undoubtedly the higheſt demonſtration of his ſteadineſs in obeying orders. Thoſe I blame are ſuch as drew up his inſtructions, and conſequently were alone anſwerable for his behaviour. The French were and are a brave nation; but it has been their great misfortune to ſuffer by perfidious miniſters, who have broke their national faith, both in war and peace, ſo often, that it is in a manner become proverbial, like the *fides Punica* of old. For the truth of what I have advanced in the preſent caſe, I have the teſtimony of friends and enemies, nay of themſelves too, which I think is ſufficient to put

[o] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 593. Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin. [p] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 420. Le Clerc, tome iii. p. 345. Quincy, tome i. p. 359. Neuville, tome iv. liv. xv. ch. 6. La vie de Ruyter, p. ii. p. 157—159.

the matter out of doubt. The conduct of Lewis XIV. is thus repreſented by honeſt Andrew Marvel. He firſt practiſed the ſame art at ſea, when he was in league with the Hollanders againſt us, his navy having never done them any ſervice; for his buſineſs was only to ſee us batter each other. Now he was on the Engliſh ſide, his buſineſs was to ſound our ſeas, to ſpy our ports, to learn our building, to contemplate our manner of fighting, to conſume ours, to preſerve his own navy, to increaſe his commerce, and to order all things ſo, that the two great naval powers of Europe being cruſhed together, he might remain arbitrator of the ocean.

This behaviour was complained of by prince Rupert in ſuch ſtrong terms, that his letter was ſuppreſſed, though at other times his accounts, which were conſtantly very plain and very modeſt, were inſtantly publiſhed [q]. All the Dutch writers agree in giving the ſame account; and indeed, if they did not, the conduct of their admirals might ſufficiently juſtify this to have been their ſenſe of the thing, ſince it is impoſſible to conceive, that admiral Bankert would have ſent eight ſmall ſhips to attack a ſquadron of thirty large ones, if from their former conduct, and their countenance then, he had not been well aſſured that fighting was not much their buſineſs [r].

Laſtly, poor admiral Martel, who was too much a man of honour to be in the French miniſters ſecrets, wrote a fair relation of the battle, and ſent it to the French court, concluding with theſe words: "That if count d'Eſtrees would have fallen "in with a fair wind upon de Ruyter and Bankert, at their firſt "engaging, when in numbers they much exceeded the prince; "they muſt of neceſſity have been incloſed between his high-"neſs and d'Eſtrees, and ſo the enemy would have been entire-"ly defeated [s]."

[q] Columna roſtrata, p. 243. Secret hiſtory of Europe, hiſtory of the Dutch war. [r] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 423. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 344, 345. Neuville, tome iv. p. 302.

[s] Exact relation, &c. p. 17. P. Daniel ſlurs over all theſe battles in his hiſt. de la milice Françoiſe, tom. ii. p. 489. and again in his hiſtoire de France, tom. x. p. 111. he crowds the three battles into a paragraph of ſo many lines, and ſays, they were fought with little order, and ſmall regard to reputation, by all parties.

Soon after this battle, the Engliſh fleet came into the Thames; and the French ſquadron, about the middle of September, ſailed home; but ſuffered ſo much by a ſtorm, that it was the middle of November before they reached Breſt. When prince Rupert returned to court, he joined his repreſentations to thoſe of other worthy patriots, who were deſirous that peace, as ſoon as poſſible, ſhould be reſtored, to which the king was, at this time, no longer averſe. There had, through the mediation of Sweden, been ſome conferences held at Cologne; but they had not proved ſo effectual as was expected: the ſtates-general alſo had written to his majeſty, but in terms that, inſtead of making things better, had rather widened the breach. After this battle, however, they condeſcended to write another letter, wherein they ſhewed their earneſt deſire of peace, and their true ſenſe of the obſtacles which had hitherto retarded it[t].

In this letter they ſpoke very freely to the king of his miniſters and of his ally: they ſhewed him how glorious, as well as how advantageous a ſtep a ſeparate peace muſt prove, which would give umbrage only to the French, and content to all the great powers of Europe beſide: and further to incline his majeſty to this, they ſuggeſted the baſe and inſidious behaviour of his allies in the late ſea-fights, and the offers that had been already made them by France of a ſeparate peace, without any reſpect had to his majeſty. Theſe, with the propounding of fair conditions, had ſuch a weight with the king, that he propoſed the terms offered to his parliament; and, on their paſſing a vote, "humbly deſiring him to proceed in a treaty with the ſtates, in order to a ſpeedy peace," he directed Sir William Temple to negotiate with the marquis del Freſno, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who was provided with full powers from the ſtates-general for that purpoſe; and, at three meetings, the treaty was concluded and ſigned, to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties[u].

While

[t] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 458—469. where theſe letters are inſerted. The earl of Shaftſbury was now diſgraced, the earl of Arlington was inclined to pacific meaſures, and the king ſoon ſaw this was his true intereſt.

[u] Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 459—467. Sir William Temple's letters to the prince of Orange, to the duke of Florence, and to Sir John Temple, in his works, vol. ii. p. 288—292, 294. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own time, p. 159.

While this treaty was upon the carpet at home, there happened an accident in the Mediterranean, which, though of little conſequence in itſelf, yet, from certain circumſtances that attended it, deſerves to be recorded. The Dutch admiral Evertz, being in thoſe ſeas with his ſquadron, it happened that captain de Witte, in a man of war called the Schaerlaes, which carried thirty-ſix pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty men, met with captain Harman, in the Tyger, a ſmall Engliſh frigate which had been careening at Tangier, and came with him into the harbour of Cadiz, where the Dutchman alſo careened. The Spaniards jeſting with captain de Witte, and telling him that he durſt not fight the Engliſh captain, and that this made them ſo good friends; admiral Evertz heard it, and thereupon told de Witte, that he muſt, for the honour of his nation, challenge captain Harman. He did ſo; and his admiral lent him, that he might come off with glory, ſixty mariners and ſeventy ſoldiers. Captain Harman had but one hundred eighty-four men in all; however, at a day's notice he ſtood to ſea, and fairly engaged the Dutch frigate, in ſight of the town [w].

Their ſhips were within piſtol-ſhot before either of them fired; and then captain Harman's broadſide brought the Dutchman's main-maſt by the board, and killed and wounded him fourſcore men. The Engliſh captain followed his advantage, entered the enemy's veſſel with his reſolute crew, and became maſter of the ſhip in an hour's time; but ſhe was quite diſabled, and had one hundred and forty men in her killed and wounded. The Engliſh had only nine killed, and fifteen wounded; amongſt whom was their brave captain, by a muſket-ſhot, which went in at his left eye, and out between the ear and the jaw-bone; of which wound he was well cured, and lived ſeveral years after [x]. Thus the maritime powers, though their intereſt was,

p. 159. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's memoirs, p. 236. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 458—470, 498. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xv. p. 338. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iv. lib. xv. ch. 10. p. 333.

[w] Lord Arlington's letters, vol. ii. p. 470. where his lordſhip, then ſecretary of ſtate, takes notice to Sir William Godolphin, our ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, that his majeſty had been acquainted with captain Harman's behaviour, and was extremely pleaſed with it.

[x] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 595.

and muſt ever be the ſame, did their utmoſt, from falſe notions of honour, to deſtroy each other, and anſwer the ends of their common enemy; till the voice of the people, both in England and Holland, rouzed their governors to a juſt ſenſe of their common danger, and procured thereby an alliance which has laſted ever ſince.

This treaty of peace was ſigned at London, February 9, 1674, and thereby thoſe differences were all adjuſted, which had ſo often and ſo long diſturbed both ſtates [y]. In the firſt place, the buſineſs of the flag was regulated according to the king's ſenſe of his rights, which the ſtates, till now, would never admit. In their treaty with Cromwell, they did indeed ſtipulate, that their ſhips ſhould ſalute the Engliſh; but then this was expreſſed in ſuch looſe terms, as afforded the Dutch room to ſuggeſt, that the doing it was no more than a point of civility. As the treaties of 1662, 1667, and 1668, were all, in a manner, built on this ſandy foundation, the caſe had been hitherto the ſame, and aſſerted ſo to be by the ſtates: but now the thing was put out of all diſpute; and what was before ſtyled courteſy, was here confeſſed to be a right. The extent of the Britiſh ſeas were particularly mentioned; and the ſtates undertook, that not only ſeparate ſhips, but whole fleets, ſhould ſtrike their ſails to any fleet, or ſingle ſhip, carrying the king's flag, as the cuſtom was, in the days of his anceſtors [z].

The Eaſt-India trade was likewiſe ſettled ſo as to prevent ſubſequent debates, and not leave either party at liberty to encroach on the other. As to leſſer matters, commiſſioners were to meet on both ſides at London to decide them; and, in caſe they did not agree in the ſpace of three months, then the queen of Spain was to arbitrate. Such of the planters as had been reſtrained by the Dutch at Surinam were to be left at their full liberty to retire, if they thought fit, with their effects. Places taken on

[y] See the propoſals from the ſtates-general to the king of Great Britain, printed by authority, 1673, 4to. Life of Sir William Temple, p. 200. Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tome vii. p. i. p. 253.

[z] The whole of this matter is very judiciouſly explained by biſhop Parker in his hiſtory of his own times, p. 159. and the entire article is to be found in the propoſals made by the ſtates themſelves, which ſhews how great a point was carried in the concluding this treaty.

both

both ſides were by this treaty to be reſtored, and the ſtates general were to pay his Majeſty eight hundred thouſand patacoons at four payments, the firſt immediately after the ratification of this treaty, and the other three by annual payments.

By a particular treaty it was agreed, that the Engliſh regiments in the French ſervice ſhould be ſuffered to wear out for want of recruits, and by a ſecret article it was ſettled, that neither ſide ſhould aſſiſt the enemies of the other either by land or ſea [a]. We may gueſs how acceptable this treaty was to the ſtates, by the preſent made to the Spaniſh ambaſſador for negociating it, which was ſixteen thouſand crowns, and the gratification of ſix thouſand, which were given to don Bernardo de Salinas [b]. Thus ended the laſt of our Dutch wars, which, though made againſt the intereſt and will of the people, terminated highly to their advantage, whereas the former war, though it was begun at the inſtance of the nation, ended but indifferently; ſo little correſpondence is there between the grounds and iſſues of things [c].

The corſairs of Tripoli having for ſome time committed great outrages on the Engliſh trade, Sir John Narborough was ſent, in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reaſon. The 14th of January following, Sir John came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, ſo that no ſhip

[a] I take what I have here given the reader from a very accurate and authentic writer, who has left us the beſt political memoirs of Europe that are extant; I mean the ſieur du Mont in his memoires pour ſervir a la hiſtoire de la paix de Ryſwick, tome ii. p. 272, *&c.*

[b] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 499. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. 15. Neuville hiſtoire de Hollande, tome iv. p. 333. It is proper to obſerve, that, though the treaty was negotioted by Sir William Temple, it was not ſigned by him, but by the following committee of council, *viz.* the lord-keeper Finch, the lord-treaſurer Latimer, (afterwards earl of Danby, and duke of Leeds), the duke of Monmouth, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Arlington, and ſecretary Coventry.

[c] In conſequence of this, a treaty of commerce was concluded between his majeſty and the ſtates-general at London, Dec. 1, 1674: by the eighth article of which (in purſuance of former treaties) free ſhips were to make free goods, which has made great noiſe of late. Upon this article two remarks may be made: 1ſt, That at this time it was in our favour; ſo that the king or his miniſters were not over-reached: 2dly, This clauſe extends only to ſuch places as either party might trade to in time of peace; but in time of peace the Dutch were not allowed to trade to the French iſlands, and therefore, by this treaty they can claim no ſuch liberty in time of war.

could

could go in or come out, he manned all his boats, and ſent them under the command of lieutenant Shovel (afterwards Sir Cloudeſley, the famous admiral) into the harbour, where he ſeized the guardſhip, and afterwards burnt the following veſſels, which were all that lay at that time in the harbour, *viz.* the White Eagle crowned, a fifty gun ſhip, the Looking-glaſs, which carried thirty-ſix, the Santa Clara of twenty-four, and a French veſſel of twenty; after which, he ſafely returned to the fleet without the loſs of a ſingle man. This extraordinary action ſtruck the Tripolines with amazement, and made them inſtantly ſue for peace, which, however, did not immediately take place, becauſe they abſolutely refuſed to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by the Engliſh. Sir John thereupon cannonaded the town, and, finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vaſt magazine of timber, which was to have ſerved for the building of ſhips. When all this failed of reducing theſe people, Sir John ſailed to Malta; and, after remaining there for ſome time, returned ſuddenly upon the enemy, and diſtreſſed them ſo much, that they were glad to ſubmit to a peace on the terms preſcribed [d].

However, ſoon after the concluſion of this treaty, ſome of their corſairs, returning into port, not only expreſſed a great diſlike thereto, but actually depoſed the Dey for making it; and, without any regard thereto, began to take all Engliſh ſhips as before. Sir John remaining ſtill in the Mediterranean, and having immediate notice of what paſſed, ſuddenly appeared with eight frigates before Tripoli, and began with ſuch violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and deliver up the authors of the late diſturbance to condign puniſhment [e].

In 1679, we had ſome differences with the Algerines on account of their making prize of Engliſh ſhips, under pretence that they were not furniſhed with proper paſſes. Upon this Sir John Narborough was ſent with a ſquadron to demand ſatisfaction; which he procured, as it muſt always be procured, by

[d] Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 335. Annals of the univerſe, p. 331, 347. Corps univerſel diplomatique, tome vii. part i. p. 319.
[e] Columna roſtrata, p. 252.

dint of force. This peace, however, did not laſt long; for, in a year or two, they committed the like outrages: upon which, commodore Herbert, afterwards ſo well known to the world by the title of earl of Torrington, went thither with a few ſhips, and compelled them to make ſatisfaction for what had paſſed, and to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their acting in another manner for the future. That expedition, which was performed in 1682, proved the laſt in this reign[f].

There is yet one tranſaction more which calls for our notice, and that is, the demolition of the ſtrong and expenſive fortreſs of Tangier. We have already ſhewed how that place came into the hands of the Engliſh, and what pains were taken to preſerve it. In the ſpace of twenty years it coſt the nation an immenſe ſum of money; and yet many doubted, all things conſidered, whether, after all, it was of any real uſe to us or not. When we firſt had it, the harbour was very dangerous; to remedy which there was a fine mole run out at a vaſt charge. Several ſocieties, or copartnerſhips, which undertook to perfect this work, raiſed great ſums for that purpoſe; and, after waſteing them, miſcarried. At laſt, however, all difficulties were in a manner overcome, and this work finiſhed in ſuch a manner, that it might be ſaid to vie with thoſe of the Romans. But the houſe of commons, in 1680, having expreſſed a diſlike to the management of the garriſon kept there, which they ſuſpected to be no better than a nurſery for a popiſh army; and diſcovering, withal, no thoughts of providing for it any longer, the king began, likewiſe, to entertain thoughts of quitting, deſtroying, and bringing home his forces from thence. He endeavoured to keep this as ſecret as poſſible; however, the lord Arlington is ſaid to have given ſome hint of his majeſty's intention to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who expreſſed great diſcontent thereat, and was very deſirous that it ſhould be again delivered into the hands of his maſter.

But king Charles doubting, not without reaſon, whether the king of Portugal would be able to maintain the poſſeſſion of it againſt the Moors, and foreſeeing the terrible conſequences of ſuch a port falling into their hands, notwithſtanding the offer of

[f] Annals of the univerſe, p. 269, 278. Columna roſtrata, p. 252. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 404, 405.

large

large ſums, perſiſted ſteadily in his firſt reſolution. In 1683, the lord Dartmouth was conſtituted captain-general of his majeſty's forces in Africa, and governor of Tangier, and ſent, as admiral of an Engliſh fleet, to demoliſh the works, blow up the mole, and bring home the garriſon from thence; all which he very effectually performed: ſo that the harbour is, at this time, entirely ſpoiled; and, though now in the hands of the Moors, is a very inconſiderable place. One circumſtance attending its demolition deſerves to be remarked, becauſe it ſhews the temper and ſpirit of the king. He directed a conſiderable number of new-coined crown-pieces to be buried in the ruins, that if (through the viciſſitudes of fortune, to which all ſublunary things are liable) this city ſhould ever be reſtored, there might remain ſome memorial of its having had once the honour of depending on the crown of Britain. Thus, through diſputes between the king and parliament, whatever party-ſuſpicions might ſuggeſt, the Britiſh nation loſt a place and port of great importance[g].

It is on all hands confeſſed, that never any Engliſh, perhaps I might, without diſtinction of countries, ſay, any prince, underſtood maritime concerns ſo well as Charles II. He piqued himſelf very much on making, as occaſion offered, minute inquiries into whatever regarded naval affairs: he underſtood ſhip-building perfectly, made draughts of veſſels with his own hands[h]; he was no ſtranger to the conveniencies and inconveniencies of every port in his dominions. He liſtened to propoſals for making a yard, dock, and arſenal, at Chriſtchurch in Hampſhire[i]. He once intended to reſtore and improve the haven at Dover[k]. He cauſed a ſurvey of Guernſey to be made; and had actually the plan drawn, of a harbour, mole, and citadel, which were to have been conſtructed in that iſland; and which would have

g Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 376, 408. Echard, p. 994, 1040. Burchet, p. 425. h See the duke of Buckinghamſhire's character of Charles II. Welwood's memoirs, p. 146. Biſhop of Rocheſter's hiſtory of the royal ſociety, p. 149, 150. i Captain Yarranton's England's improvement, vol. i. p. 41. If the Clarendon intereſt had continued, this, which was once ſtrongly in contemplation, would probably have been carried alſo into execution. k A diſcourſe of ſea-ports, principally of the port and haven of Dover; written by Sir W. Raleigh, and addreſſed to queen Eliſabeth. To which is added propoſals and remarks upon the ſame ſubject, written by command of Charles II. London, 1700, 4to.

been all of infinite uſe and benefit to this nation[1]: but he was ſo expenſive in his pleaſures, the jealouſies raiſed againſt him were ſo ſtrong, he was ſo much in the hands of favourites and miſtreſſes, he was ſo frequently and ſo egregiouſly betrayed by both, and his finances, through his whole reign, were ſo cramped, and in ſuch diſorder, that he was not able to accompliſh any one of theſe great deſigns; which, nevertheleſs, it is not improper ſhould be here ſuccinctly remembered.

But, in reſpect to the royal navy, which through his whole reign claimed his peculiar attention, he was more fortunate. On his entering into poſſeſſion of his kingdoms, it was commonly believed, from the fine appearance of the ſquadron that convoyed him from Holland, his marine was in excellent order; and, for reaſons of ſtate, the king himſelf encouraged and confirmed that opinion: but the fact, notwithſtanding this, was quite otherwiſe. After the death of Cromwell, the funds for the fleet were diverted to various other purpoſes; the ſtores were in a great meaſure exhauſted, in fitting out admiral Montague's ſquadron to the Baltick; the ſmall remains of arms and ammunition were iſſued, by the rump, for ſuppreſſing Sir George Booth; the confuſions that enſued, gave opportunities to embezzle what little matter was left, and there remained no authority to reſtrain, much leſs to repair theſe miſchiefs. This accounts for the king's finding things, in reference to the fleet and ordnance, in ſo weak and defenceleſs a condition; and explains likewiſe his conduct in covering it as carefully as it was poſſible, to prevent either domeſtic or foreign enemies (of both which he had enough) from availing themſelves of this his weak and diſtreſſed ſituation. It was to conceal this that he demanded nothing from parliament; but, putting both departments into the hands of thoſe in whom he could entirely confide, ſupplying them, from time to time, with ſuch ſums as he could borrow, he, with much ſilence and ſecrecy, rectified all things; ſo that, at the opening of the firſt Dutch war in his reign, the navy and ordnance both were in perfect order, and all parts of the ſer-

[1] The reverend Mr. Falle's account of Jerſey in the introduction, from the memoirs of the ſieur de Samarez.

vice provided for in an ample and regular manner[m]. But though this was truly the ſtate of ſhips and ſtores at his reſtoration, yet, in reſpect to men, it was far otherwiſe. The ſailors were numerous, brave, and well-diſciplined: as to commanders of every rank, no navy was ever better furniſhed, as they had been picked by the long parliament, trained under Blake, Monk, and Ayſcue; inured to hardſhips, fluſhed with victories, covetous of honour: the ſuperior officers were all of diſtinguiſhed merit, and abundance of very able men employed therein. It muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, to the honour of his government, that he preſerved them in their ſeveral poſts, without any reſpect to party: which, without queſtion, contributed not a little to the increaſe of our naval power[n].

How intent he was, for the firſt ten years of his reign, in promoting whatever had a tendency this way, appears from all the candid hiſtories of thoſe times, from the collections of orders, and other public papers relating to the direction of the navy while the duke of York was admiral, publiſhed of late years, and in every body's hands[o]; and, in a ſhort and narrow compaſs, from the ſpeech made by the lord-keeper Bridgman; who affirmed, that, from 1660 to 1670, the charge of the navy had never amounted to leſs than half a million a-year[p]. But, after the ſecond Dutch war, the king grew more ſaving in this

[m] Continuation of the life of Edward earl of Clarendon, p. 146. where the reader may meet with an ample, accurate, and authentic account of this matter.

[n] Such as Sir George Ayſcue, Sir William Batten, Sir John Lawſon, Sir Richard Stayner, Sir William Penn, and many others.

[o] The title of this book is, Memoirs of the Engliſh affairs, chiefly naval, from the year 1660 to 1673, by his royal highneſs James duke of York. London, 1729, 8vo.

[p] Happy future ſtate of England, by Sir Peter Pett, p. 185. The deſign of this ſpeech was to induce the houſe of commons to grant a ſupply for this particular ſervice of increaſing the royal navy; and, after having ſhewn the great importance of ſuch a proceeding, his lordſhip goes on thus: "My lords and gentlemen, his majeſty is confident, that you will not be contented to ſee him deprived of all the advantages which he might procure hereby to his kingdoms, nay, even to all Chriſtendom, in the repoſe and quiet of it; that you will not be content alone to ſee your neighbours ſtrengthening themſelves in ſhipping ſo much more than they were before, and at home to ſee the government ſtruggling every year with difficulties, and not able to keep up our navies equal with theirs. He finds that, by his accounts from the year 1660 to the late war, the ordinary charge of the fleet, *communibus annis*, came to about 500,000 l. a-year; and it cannot be ſupported with leſs."

article;

article; and yet, in 1678, when the nation in general expected a war with France, his navy was in excellent order. The judicious Mr. Pepys, ſecretary to the admiralty, has left us a particular account of its ſtate in the month of Auguſt that year; which, as it is very ſhort, I think it may not be amiſs to inſert it[q].

ABSTRACT of the FLEET.

Rates.	Number.	Men.
1	5	3135
2	4	1555
3	16	5010
4	33	6460
5	12	1400
6	7	423
Fire-ſhips,	6	340
Total,	83	18323

Of theſe ſeventy-ſix were in ſea-pay, the ſtore-houſes and magazines in complete order, and, which is ſtill more to the purpoſe, thirty capital ſhips were then actually in building, (eleven newly launched, and nineteen upon the ſtocks); and that the reader may frame a juſt notion of the increaſe of the navy, during this part of the king's reign, I muſt obſerve, that, at mid-ſummer 1660, the whole fleet of the nation conſiſted but of ſixty-five veſſels of all ſizes, as appears by an original letter under the hand of Mr. ſecretary Coventry[r]. But, after this period of time, I mean from the date of the liſt, the king finding himſelf extremely diſtreſſed at home, and, conſequently, in a ſituation perplexed enough abroad, was perſuaded, or rather compelled, to alter the management of his navy; which he did in 1679, in order to make himſelf eaſy in his civil government; Sir Anthony Deane, Mr. Pepys, and ſeveral other old officers of the navy,

[q] Memoirs relating to the ſtate of the royal navy for ten years, by Samuel Pepys, Eſq; p. 6. [r] Memoirs of Engliſh affairs, chiefly naval, p. 12.

having been ſo unfortunate to incur the diſpleaſure of the houſe of commons, by whom they were committed [s].

This new adminiſtration, with reſpect to naval affairs, ſubſiſted for about five years; and, if it had continued five years longer, would, in all probability, have remedied even the numerous and mighty evils it had introduced, by wearing out the whole royal navy, and ſo leaving no room for future miſtakes. It was a juſt ſenſe of this that induced the king, in 1684, to reſume the management of the fleet into his own hands, to reſtore again moſt of the old officers, and to undertake the bringing things once more into order: but before any conſiderable progreſs could be made in ſo great a work, his majeſty died, and left the care of it to his ſucceſſor [t].

The trade of the nation I have heretofore ſhewed to have been in a very declining ſituation at the time of the reſtoration; I have alſo obſerved, that it was much helped by ſeveral treaties of peace made ſoon after [u]; and though I am far from denying, that, through the king's too ſtrict intercourſe with France, his running counter, in many reſpects, to the intereſts as well as inclinations of his beſt ſubjects, and that diſſolute ſpirit of luxury and corruption, which, if not introduced, was at leaſt countenanced and encouraged by the king's temper and practice, might hinder our trade from reaching that height which otherwiſe it would have done [w].

Yet, upon the whole, I am fully perſuaded, that, during his whole reign, we were very great gainers thereby; and this, I think, I can make clearly appear. In the firſt place, the former Dutch war was moſt certainly undertaken for the ſake of trade; nor can it be conceived, that, in the ſecond, the Dutch would have puſhed as they did, from any other motive than an apprehenſion that, from rivals, we ſhould become their ſuperiors in commerce; to which, from the very genius of their ſtate, they could not patiently ſubmit. In the next place, let us conſider

[s] The hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of commons, printed for Richard Chandler, vol. i. p. 260. [t] Memoirs of the royal navy by Mr. Pepys, p. 10. [u] See p. 78, 85. [w] The world's miſtake in Oliver Cromwell, written by Slingſby Bethel, Eſq; who, in the latter end of the treatiſe, does juſtice to this king's adminiſtration in reſpect to commerce. Coke's detection of the four laſt reigns, p. iv. p. 205.

the

the mighty loſſes ſuſtained in the ſpace of fifteen years by the plague, the fire of London, and the two Dutch wars. They have been computed, by men much better ſkilled in political arithmetic than I pretend to be, at little leſs than twenty-ſeven millions [x].

But ſuppoſing them to have amounted only to twenty millions, the nation muſt have been reduced to the loweſt ebb of poverty and diſtreſs, if ſhe had not been relieved by the vaſt profits of her foreign trade. This it was that repaired the loſs of our people in a ſurpriſing manner, raiſed the city of London, like a phœnix, brighter and more beautiful for having been in flames, and increaſed our ſhipping to double what it was at the time of the king's coming in. Theſe are facts agreed on by the greateſt men that ever handled ſubjects of this nature, grounded on ſuch evidence as could not deceive them, and juſtified by effects which even poſterity may contemplate, and from thence diſcern the wiſdom and truth of their computations [y].

The Eaſt-India company were exceedingly favoured and protected, eſpecially in the beginning of this reign; the African company was in the zenith of its glory, and brought in vaſt profits to the proprietors and the nation [z]. Many of our plantations were ſettled by his majeſty's favour; ſuch as Pennſylvania, Carolina, &c. [a] Others were reſtored to this nation by his arms; ſuch as New-York, and the Jerſeys [b]; and all had ſuch encouragement, that they made quite another figure than in former times, as we may gueſs from what a modern writer (no way partial to this prince) ſays of Barbadoes; that, during his reign, it maintained four hundred ſail of ſhips, produced two hundred thouſand pounds a-year clear profit to this nation, and maintained one hundred thouſand people there and here [c].

[x] By Sir William Petty in his political arithmetic, who without queſtion underſtood the grounds of that art as well as ever any man did. Dr. Davenant alſo was of the ſame mind, and ſays expreſsly, that theſe loſſes might be computed at between twenty-four and twenty-ſeven millions. Diſcourſes on the public revenue and trade of England, vol. ii. p. 44. [y] See Pett's happy future ſtate of England, Sir William Petty's political arithmetic, and his eſſays, Dr. Davenant's book before cited, and his eſſay upon the probable methods of making people gainers in the balance of trade. [z] See a general treatiſe of naval trade and commerce, vol. ii. chap. 5. [a] Curſon's compendium of the laws and government of England, p. 512. [b] See the Britiſh empire in America, under thoſe titles. [c] Ibid. p. 166, 167.

Theſe

Theſe are high calculations; but I believe the perſon who made them is able to juſtify them, and therefore I make no queſtion that Sir William Petty was in the right, when he calculated our exports at ten millions *per annum*[d]. This agrees very well with the ſtate of our cuſtoms, which fell then little ſhort of a million, though in 1660 they were farmed for four hundred thouſand pounds, as they were once let by queen Eliſabeth at thirty-ſix thouſand. Dr. Davenant, an excellent judge in theſe matters, having duly weighed all the calculations I have mentioned, and compared them with all the lights he had received from long experience, pronounces the balance of trade to have been in our favour, in this reign, two millions a-year; and leſs, I think, it could not well be[e]. The bounds preſcribed to this work will not allow me to ſay more on this ſubject, and I muſt have violated the duty I owe to truth and my country, if I had ſaid leſs.

We are now to ſpeak particularly of the moſt remarkable among thoſe illuſtrious perſons, whoſe gallant actions at ſea have been already occaſionally mentioned in this hiſtory; men, who, in point of military and civil virtue, have deſerved as well of their country as men could do, and whoſe fame, therefore, ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity with due reſpect. Amongſt theſe, in the firſt place, let us take notice of him to whoſe loyalty we owe the virtues and ſervices of all the reſt.

MEMOIRS of General GEORGE MONK, Duke of Albemarle, and Knight of the garter.

IF the intrinſic worth of a man's actions were ſufficient to ſecure the applauſe of ſucceeding times, there would be little occaſion to enter minutely into the memoirs of this great ſoldier and ſeaman; and, on the other hand, if there be any thing laudable in removing thoſe ſhades which the envious are always labouring to throw over the reputation of the worthy, then certainly no man's life would claim greater attention than his of

[d] Political arithmetic, p. 244.

[e] Diſcourſes on the public revenues and trade of England, vol. ii. p. 47.

whom

whom I am ſpeaking, the merit of whoſe ſervices ſcarce raiſed him more friends, than the glory of them excited detractors.

He was by birth a gentleman, deſcended on the father's ſide from an ancient and honourable family, ſettled from the time of Henry III. at Potheridge in Devonſhire; and, by the female line, ſprung from the victorious Edward IV.[f] He was the ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas Monk, a man whoſe qualities and virtues deſerved a better fortune; for time, in doing honour to his family, had almoſt worn out his eſtate. His ſon George was born on the 6th of December, 1608; and his father, having not much wealth to give, intended him from his childhood for the ſword, and therefore beſtowed on him ſuch an education as was requiſite to qualify him for the profeſſion of arms, for which he gave a proof of his capacity when he was ſcarce able to wield them[g].

In the firſt year of the reign of king Charles I. his majeſty, who had then in view a war with Spain, came down to Plymouth, in order to inſpect the naval preparations that were making there. Sir Thomas Monk had a mind to pay his duty to his prince, though his debts (derived rather from his anceſtors extravagance than his own) made him ſomewhat afraid of the law. To remedy this evil, he ſent his ſon George to the under-ſheriff of Devonſhire with a conſiderable preſent, deſiring that, on ſo extraordinary an occaſion, he might be ſafe from any inſult while he attended the king. The ſheriff took the preſent, and granted his requeſt, but, ſoon after receiving a larger from

f The firſt notice that I believe the world ever had of this matter, was from a pamphlet, printed in 1659, entitled, "The pedigree and deſcent of his excel-"lency general Monk, ſetting forth how he is deſcended from king Edward III. "by a branch and ſlip of the white roſe, the houſe of York, and likewiſe his ex-"traction from Richard king of the Romans." This was publiſhed with a view, I ſuppoſe, to countenance a deſign ſome people had entertained of inclining the general to aſſume the crown himſelf, inſtead of reſtoring the king. The fact, however, is true as to his deſcent, which may be ſeen in Dugdale and other authors. But this deſcent could not poſſibly give him any title to the crown, ſince the lady Frances Plantagenet was firſt married into the family of Baſſet, and had iſſue of that marriage; and, which is ſtill more to the purpoſe, her father Arthur, viſcount L'Iſle, was only natural ſon to Edward IV. We cannot wonder, therefore, that ſo thinking a man as general Monk deſpiſed ſuch a pitiful ſtrain of flattery on a circumſtance otherwiſe very honourable to his family.

g Theſe particulars are taken from the life of general Monk, written by Dr. Gumble, his life by Dr. Skinner, and what is ſaid of him in Prince's worthies of Devon.

one

one of his creditors, took him in execution in the face of the county. George Monk, whoſe youth led him to think this a ſtrange action, went to Exeter, and after expoſtulating with the pettifogger, who was altogether inſenſible as to reproaches, took his leave of him in a more intelligible language, and caned him ſo heartily, that he left him in no condition of following him. This adventure ſent him on board the fleet, which, under the command of lord Wimbleton, ſhortly after ſailed for Cadiz, when he was in the ſeventeenth year of his age: and thus he began, as he ended, his ſervice to his country at ſea [h].

In this voyage he ſerved as a volunteer under his near relation, Sir Richard Greenvile: the next year we find him with a pair of colours, under the brave Sir John Burroughs, in the unfortunate expedition to the iſle of Rhe. Such unlucky beginnings would certainly have daunted a leſs reſolute mind than that of Mr. Monk, who was diſtinguiſhed, in his youth, by a ſteadineſs of temper which he maintained to his dying hour, and which was equally incapable of being heated by paſſion, or chilled by fear.

In 1628, being then completely of age, he went over to Holland, and ſerved in the regiment of the earl of Oxford, and afterwards in that of the lord Goring, who gave him the command of his own company, before he was thirty years of age. In this ſervice, Mr. Monk was preſent in ſeveral ſieges and battles, and purſuing ſteadily the ſtudy of his profeſſion, became a complete maſter therein. In the laſt year of his ſtay in Holland, his winter-quarters were aſſigned him in Dort, where the magiſtrates puniſhing ſome of his ſoldiers, for matters rather proper for the inſpection of a court-martial, captain Monk expoſtulated the matter ſo warmly, that the point came to be decided by the prince of Orange, who, though he in a like caſe had given judgment in favour of Sir Richard Cave, (and thereby miſled the captain), now, to gratify the people, gave it for the burghers; which ſo diſguſted Monk, who under a calm behaviour concealed a very high ſpirit, that he ſoon after threw up his commiſſion, and never ſaw the Dutch more as a friend [i].

On

[h] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 11. [i] Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 4. Journal of the expedition to the iſle of Rhe, in lord Lanſdown's works,

On his return home, he found his country in great confuſion, a war newly broke out with the rebellious Scots, and an army raiſing to chaſtiſe them, in which he ſerved as a lieutenant-colonel, under the earl of Newport; and, if his advice had been taken, things had not ended as they did[k]. When the war blazed out in Ireland, in 1641, he, through the favour of his couſin, the earl of Leiceſter, then lord-lieutenant, was appointed to command his own regiment; in which poſt he did great ſervice, and might have been governor of Dublin, but for the jealouſy of the earl of Ormonde[l].

In 1643, he returned into England to ſerve his majeſty, to whom he was introduced at Oxford, and honoured with a conference which laſted ſome time, and which ſatisfied the king how ill he had been uſed by his miniſters, who, upon ſome dirty intelligence from Dublin, prevailed upon his majeſty to take away his regiment, and give it to major Warren; a man of ſo much honour, that they found no ſmall difficulty in prevailing on him to accept it. To make colonel Monk ſome amends, the king conſtituted him a major-general of the Iriſh brigade, and then ſent him to his command; which he had not enjoyed long, before he, with many other officers, were ſurprized by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and ſent priſoners to Hull; from whence, by ſpecial direction of the parliament, he was transferred to the Tower of London, where he remained ſeveral years a priſoner, in circumſtances narrow enough; though his brother, who was a

works, vol. iii. p. 253. in which is the following paſſage: "July 28. The day "following Mr. Monk came from England through the main, (paſſing the army "which lay before Rochelle with great hazard of his life), and brought a meſſage "by word of mouth, from the king to my lord duke, with intelligence of thirty "or forty ſail of ſhips, with three or four thouſand men, preparing in France." Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 102. Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 699.

[k] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 18. where he aſſerts, that lieutenant Monk was one of the few officers who ſeconded the earl of Strafford in his deſire of fighting the Scots, inſtead of treating with them, which at all events muſt have ſerved the king's purpoſe: but his tenderneſs for his countrymen ruined him, and, by bearing ſo much from rebels in one kingdom, he invited a rebellion in another.

[l] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 21. Ludlow tells us in his memoirs, p. 77. that, when Ormonde ſent him over, he ordered him to be confined in the ſhip, becauſe he had made a ſcruple of ſerving againſt the parliament with forces raiſed by their authority. This ſhews, that general Monk was not ſuch a ſoldier of fortune as Burnet and ſome other writers would make him, but that he had always a great reſpect to principle.

royaliſt, and conſequently the leſs able, did what he could for him, and his generous maſter ſent him from Oxford one hundred pounds in gold; which was a large ſum out of ſo low an exchequer [m].

In 1646-7, when the fury of the civil war was over, by the total ruin of the king's affairs, colonel Monk accepted a commiſſion under his relation the lord L'Iſle, whom the parliament had appointed to the government of Ireland. When, in conſequence of this, he obtained his liberty, he went, before he left the Tower, to pay his reſpects to the venerable doctor Matthew Wren, lord biſhop of Ely; and, having received his bleſſing, the colonel took his leave in theſe words: "My lord, I am "now going to ſerve the king, the beſt I may, againſt his "bloody rebels in Ireland; and I hope I ſhall one day live to "do further ſervice to the royal cauſe in England [n]." At this time, however, he was not very fortunate; for, after a ſhort ſtay in that kingdom, he returned with lord L'Iſle, whoſe difference with the marquis of Ormonde hindered either of them from ſerving their country effectually: but colonel Monk did not long remain idle in England; for the parliament knew his abilities too well, and had too quick a ſenſe of the ſtate of Iriſh affairs, not to employ him in the only ſervice to which he was inclined: and thus he returned a third time into Ireland, with the title of commander in chief of the Engliſh forces in the north [o]; where, in conjunction with colonel Jones and Sir Charles Coote, he took Athboy, Portleſter, Ballyſannon, Nabber, and Ballyho. Afterwards, with the aſſiſtance of Sir Price Coghrun, and lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, he ſurpriſed Car-

[m] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 25. See alſo the preface by Dr. Webſter, where there is a letter from Mr. Monk to his elder brother, dated from the Tower, Nov. 6, 1644, acknowledging the receipt of 50 l. and deſiring the like ſum. [n] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 28. PARENTALIA, or memoirs of the family of the Wrens, *viz.* of Matthew biſhop of Ely, Chriſtopher dean of Windſor, but chiefly of Sir Chriſtopher Wren, late ſurveyor-general of the royal buildings, *&c.* compiled by his ſon Chriſtopher, and publiſhed by his grandſon Stephen Wren, Eſq; fol. London, 1750, p. 27. where this remarkable incident is related at large. See alſo Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 48. who ſays he had it from that reverend prelate's own mouth. [o] Heath's chronicle, p. 123. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 227. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 25. Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 319.

rickfergus,

rickfergus, the head of the Scots quarters in that kingdom, and in it major-general Monroe and his troops, who was drawing them out, with an intention to join the forces of his nephew, Sir George Monroe, in Scotland[p]. This action and ſucceſs, ſays Whitlocke[q], was one of the firſt that brought colonel Monk into extraordinary favour with the parliament, who began to have more confidence in him than they had formerly, ſince his revolt to them. A letter of thanks was ſent to Monk, his officers, and ſoldiers; he was likewiſe appointed governor of Carrickfergus, and five hundred pounds were ordered him, as a reward for his good ſervices. As to major-general Monroe, he was conducted to England, where, upon his arrival, he was committed to the Fleet; the officer, major Brough, who had the care of him, receiving two hundred pounds, by command of the parliament, for his attention in that particular.

As for our colonel, he purſued the path he was in with patience; and though it was a very difficult thing to manage ſuch a divided authority, yet the prudence of Monk enabled him to ſurmount this difficulty, and many others, ſome of which were yet greater. He was forced to make war without money, which he did ſo effectually, as to reduce Owen Roe O Neile to the utmoſt diſtreſs, by carrying off proviſions where that was practicable, and burning them where it was not. Yet, in the ſpring of the year 1649, colonel Monk found himſelf in ſo weak a condition, by the deſertion brought on his army through the deteſtation the ſoldiers had of the king's murder, that he was conſtrained to enter into a treaty with this Owen Roe O Neile; which certainly ſaved the few troops he had under his command, and thereby preſerved the parliament's intereſt in that country[r]. However, it gave ſuch offence, that, on his return, he was ſubjected to a ſtrict inquiry by the houſe of commons; who, after a very full hearing of the matter, came to a reſolu-

[p] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 275, 339. Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 196, 203. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 27. [q] Memorials, p. 339, 341. See alſo Carte's collection of original letters and papers reſpecting the affairs of England, from the papers of the Ormond family. London, 1739, 8vo, 2 vols. vol. i. p. 172.
[r] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 359. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 391. Heath's chronicle, p. 238, 239. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars of Great Britain and Ireland, ch. xc. The moderate intelligencer, N° 221.

tion againſt the treaty, but in juſtification of Monk's intention therein, which, though but a partial cenſure, ſome think the general never forgot [s].

I muſt own, this appears to me one of the darkeſt parts of his hiſtory; but what I find moſt probable is, that the parliament's reſolution was intended purely to wipe off the odium of having treated with an Iriſh papiſt, and that colonel Monk did nothing therein but under direction: and this, I think, ſufficiently appears from the parliament's having carried on a private treaty with an agent of O Neile at London [t], and from the ſtyle of their reſolution, in which, though they declare the fact to be criminal, yet they admit the man to be innocent; which I conceive he could not well be, unleſs he had known their intentions [u].

Oliver Cromwell was now intruſted with the ſole direction of the Iriſh war, and Monk was out of all employment; which might have ſtraitened him in his private fortune, if his elder brother had not died without iſſue-male, by which he inherited the eſtate of the family. About this time alſo he declared his marriage, or perhaps ſomewhat later; for it ſeems he did not care the world ſhould know he had a wife, till he was in poſſeſſion of a competent fortune to maintain her [w]. His repoſe was of no long continuance; for, in the year 1650, Cromwell, when he was about to march into Scotland againſt the king, engaged him to accept of a new commiſſion.

Skinner and ſome other writers talk, upon this occaſion, of a ſecret fate which over-ruled him in this action [x]; nay, ſome of

[s] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 419. Moderate intelligencer, from June 7 to 14, 1649, N° 221. Hiſtory of Independency, p. ii. p. 226. Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 5. [t] Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 294, 295.

[u] The reſolution is in theſe words: "That this houſe doth utterly diſapprove "of the proceedings of colonel Monk in the treaty and ceſſation made between "him and Owen Roe O Neile; and that this houſe doth deteſt the thoughts of "cloſing with any party of Popiſh rebels there, who have had their hands in "ſhedding Engliſh blood. Nevertheleſs, the houſe being ſatisfied, that what the "ſaid colonel Monk did therein was, in his apprehenſion, neceſſary for the pre"ſervation of the parliament of England's intereſt; that the houſe is content the "farther conſideration thereof, as to him, be laid aſide, and ſhall not at any time "hereafter be called in queſtion."

[w] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 33. Lives Engliſh and foreign. Thurloe's papers, vol. i. p. 470. [x] Life of general Monk, p. 36.

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them would insinuate, that it was purely to revenge the treason of the Scots against king Charles I. that he took arms against them now, when they were fighting to restore king Charles II.[y] But I must freely own, that it appears to me the highest impiety to charge upon the providence of God what would be thought weakness in man, as, on the other hand, I see no reason why we should sacrifice truth to our zeal for any person, or any cause. I revere Monk as much as any man, and yet I must speak it as my opinion, that he deserted his principles upon this occasion, that he might gratify his ambition. Cromwell was so sensible of his merit, that he took a very unusual way to provide him with a regiment, by drawing six companies out of Sir Arthur Hasle-rig's, and six out of colonel Fenwick's; and, to secure him still farther, he made him lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and thus he was again embarked with the parliament through the interest of their general[z].

In this expedition Cromwell, though he was a very knowing and great officer, certainly run into a dangerous error, which he discovered somewhat of the latest, and then began to retreat towards Dunbar, the Scots pressing hard upon his rear. Finding himself distressed, he called a council of war, in which opinions were divided, till general Monk delivered his in these words: "Sir, the Scots have numbers and the hills; those are their "advantages: we have discipline and despair, two things that "will make soldiers fight; and these are ours. My advice, "therefore, is, to attack them immediately; which if you fol-"low, I am ready to command the van." His proposal being accepted, he began the attack, and, as Ludlow acknowledges, was the sole instrument of that victory which gained Cromwell so great reputation[a].

The following summer he spent in reducing the best part of Scotland, and particularly the town of Dundee, which made a good defence; he took it, notwithstanding, by storm, put six hundred of the garrison to the sword, and committed other acts of severity, which, however necessary they might be to his private interest, were certainly detrimental enough to his public

[y] Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 34, 35. [z] Heath's chronicle, p. 274. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 327. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 466.
[a] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 38. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 328.

character,

character, the thing itſelf rendering him terrible to the royaliſts; and the manner of it gave diſtaſte to general Ludlow, and all the ſober men of that party [b]. The fatigue of ſo much buſineſs, and perhaps ſome extraordinary agitations of mind, threw him into a dangerous fit of ſickneſs: upon this he applied for leave to return into England; which having obtained, he went to Bath, recovered his health, and, coming to London, found himſelf named a commiſſioner for bringing about an union between Scotland and England, in which, without doubt, he was properly employed, ſince few people at that time knew the intereſt of both nations better than he did [c].

The Dutch war gave a new occaſion for removing general Monk from his command in Scotland, to employ him on board the fleet. The death of colonel Popham made way for this: it was neceſſary to ſupply his loſs, by ſending an experienced officer in his ſtead, and this induced the parliament to caſt their eyes upon Monk. He was now near forty-five years of age, which ſeemed a little of the lateſt to bring a man into a new ſcene of life: yet it muſt be remembered, that he was bred in a maritime county, and had ſerved at ſea in his youth; ſo that the preferment was not abſolutely out of his way; or, if it was, he ſoon made it appear, that he could eaſily accommodate himſelf to any ſervice that might be beneficial to his country.

We find him with the fleet in May 1653, and on the ſecond of June he engaged that of the Dutch, being on board the Reſolution with admiral Deane, who, in the beginning of the action, was killed by a chain-ſhot, a new invention generally aſcribed to de Witte [d]. Monk with great preſence of mind threw his cloak

[b] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 40. where he ſlips over the matter without any particular notice. Lives Engliſh and foreign, p. 137. where it is expreſsly ſaid, that he put the governor Robert Lumſdale, and eight hundred of his garriſon, to the ſword. Sir Philip Warwick in his memoirs, p. 361. ſays, the governor was barbarouſly ſhot, after quarter given, by a fanatic officer. General Ludlow in his memoirs, vol. i. p. 366. affirms quite the contrary, *viz.* that he ſtormed Dundee, and, being entered, put five or ſix hundred to the ſword, and commanded the governor, with divers others, to be killed in cold blood. Unjuſtifiable ſeverity to men engaged upon principle! [c] Gumble's and Skinner's life of Monk. [d] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 45. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 557. Lives Engliſh and foreign, p. 139. Mercurius politicus, N° 158 p. 2515.

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over the body, and having fetched two or three turns, and encouraged the men to do their duty, ordered it to be removed into his cabin. The diſpute continued two days, and ended at laſt in a complete victory gained by the Engliſh. The Dutch, it is true, denied this, and the ſtates went ſo far as to ſend a letter to their foreign miniſters, directing them to aſſert, that it was but a drawn battle[e]: yet Van Tromp in his letter acknowledges the contrary, and lays the blame on the want of ammunition, and the baſe behaviour of many of his captains[f]. This is certain, that Monk diſcovered, upon this occaſion, ſuch a ſpirit of puſhing things to the utmoſt, as gave him great reputation.

He ſoon increaſed this, by engaging the Dutch again on the 29th of July, where he likewiſe fought two days, and gained a ſecond complete victory, as we have elſewhere ſhewn[g], and ſhall therefore inſiſt only on a few particulars relating to his perſonal conduct in this place. The Dutch fleet was far ſuperior to his, and yet he not only attacked them, but engaged with thirty ſail of light frigates, while the reſt of the fleet were aſtern, and could not get up. The 30th proved a foul day, and ſo prevented any further fighting; on the 31ſt the Dutch had a ſupply of twenty-five large ſhips, which did not hinder Monk (who now commanded in chief) from attacking them, though he knew they had another great advantage, *viz.* a number of fire-ſhips, whereas he had none: nay, as if he had been ſecure of victory, he gave orders that no ſhip ſhould be taken, or quarter given; for he ſaw that ſending off ſhips to convoy them weakened his own fleet, and thereby leſſened the effects of their victories[h]. His judgment appeared to be right, from the conſequence of this battle, in which the loſs of the Dutch, eſpecially that of their gallant admiral Van Tromp, was ſo great, that it would not admit of any diſguiſe; but the ſtates were forced

[e] The reader may find this letter in Thurloe's papers, vol. i. p. 273. [f] This letter is alſo printed in the ſame collection, vol. i. p. 270. [g] See p. 35.
[h] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 240. Heath's chronicle, p. 348.

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to ſend their miniſters hither, to conclude a peace upon any terms that could be got [i].

After this, he was ſent upon the coaſt of Holland, to deſtroy all the pretences of the Dutch, in caſe they had ſet up any, and to make their people ſenſible that they were thoroughly beaten. On his return to London, he found the little parliament ſitting, by the authority of general Cromwell, which aſſembly treated Monk, however, ſo kindly, that the general began to be jealous of him, till, upon repeated converſations, he was thoroughly perſuaded that Monk thought them, what he was willing every body ſhould think them, a crew of ignorant enthuſiaſts; and then he became perfectly eaſy, and took Monk into his favour; who, notwithſtanding all this kindneſs, declared himſelf againſt the peace intended with the Dutch; which Cromwell, nevertheleſs, made, having, in order to that, taken upon him the title of Protector.

To this great change the ſtates contributed not a little by their ambaſſadors, who repreſented to general Cromwell, that the parliament he had been pleaſed to call were a ſet of men fitter for Bedlam than the government of a ſtate, with whom it was impoſſible to treat or conclude any thing; but that, if he would aſſume the government, they would ſubmit to any terms he ſhould think reaſonable [k]. When he was once fixed in his protectorate, and felt the weight of governing three kingdoms, he began to think of eaſing himſelf, by ſending proper officers into two of them: and, in this partition, Scotland fell to the ſhare of general Monk. It was in the ſpring of the year 1654 that Cromwell took this reſolution, and Monk, readily accepting the commiſſion, went down thither in the month of April the ſame year [l].

He found the kingdom in the utmoſt confuſion, the Engliſh army very ſmall, and very ill governed, being under the com-

i Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome ii. liv. 12. Neuville, tome iii. liv. x. ch. 11, 12. Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 489. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 469. k Heath's chronicle, p. 349—353. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, ch. 99. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 51. See Cromwell's commiſſion to general Monk, dated April 28, 1654, in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. ii. p. 222. l Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 494. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 504. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 589.

mand of colonel Deane, a timorous man, and one that knew not how to direct any thing in such a critical conjuncture. A great part of the nobility were in arms for the king; and as to the rest of the people, they were split into innumerable parties, by quarrels amongst their ministers [m]. The general shewed himself a true servant of Cromwell; he not only pursued the business of the war indefatigably, but, by setting a price on the heads of the principal cavaliers, filled their minds with such distrusts, that they ever after acted in such a manner as shewed they were in confusion [n]. He settled garrisons and magazines in the most distant parts of the nation, using such severity towards all who resisted, and such lenity to all who submitted, that in a very short time he subdued the whole kingdom.

When the war was once over, he fixed himself at the house of the countess of Buccleugh, at Dalkieth, within four miles of Edinburgh; where, while he governed the kingdom more absolutely than most of its monarchs had done, he lived with all the moderation of a private man, and made husbandry and gardening his sole amusements [o]. Cromwell sent down a commission, empowering certain persons to direct civil affairs, under the title of a Council of State, consisting of the lord Broghill, who was president, colonel Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle, colonel William Lockhart, colonel Adrian Scroop, colonel John Wethum, and major-general Disbrow [p]. The majority of this council concurred with Monk in every thing; so that, in the main, the civil as well as military power was in his hands: and he managed it in such a manner, that the people had not either reason or inclination to complain; but, on the

[m] Heath's chronicle, p. 360, 361. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 590, 591, 592, 597. Davies's history of the civil wars, p. 342, 343.

[n] See this proclamation, signed G. Monk, and dated at Dalkeith, May 4, 1654. In it he mentions major-general Middleton, the earl of Athol, the earl of Seaforth, the lord-viscount Kenmure, and major-general Dalziel, for the killing of whom, or bringing them in prisoners to an English garrison, he offered 200 pounds a head. This proclamation is in the late collection of Thurloe's state papers, vol. ii. p. 261.

[o] Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 103. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 86, 87. Ld. Clarendon's hist. of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 505. [p] Heath's chronicle, p. 374. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 69. Thurloe's state papers, vol. iii. p. 711, 727.

contrary, were very thankful and contented. He ſeems, however, by his letters, to have been ſtrongly and ſteadily attached to Cromwell; ſince we find, that he not only communicated to him all that he could diſcover of the king's intelligence there with others, but ſent him alſo the copy of a letter, written by king Charles II. to himſelf; which hitherto has been always mentioned as a proof of Monk's early affection for the king's ſervice, on a ſuppoſition, that, though he did not anſwer, he concealed it; which ſuppoſition is now clearly and abſolutely overturned [q]. Yet all his precaution did not ſecure him from the jealouſy of the protector, who was actually contriving how to remove him, when death put a period to his projects. A little before his end, however, he wrote the general a long letter, concluding with the following poſtſcript, which, I conceive, affords us a better picture of Oliver than is any where to be met with, and, which is no leſs ſingular, drawn by his own hand [r].

P. S.

"There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fel-
"low in SCOTLAND, called GEORGE MONK, who is ſaid to
"lie in wait there, to introduce CHARLES STUART. I pray
"you uſe your diligence to apprehend him, and ſend him up
"to me."

Yet, as a creature of Cromwell's, he was hated by the commonwealth party, and a conſpiracy had been formed againſt him by colonel Overton, in which Sindercome had undertaken to murder the general, who afterwards made a like attempt upon Cromwell; but Monk having diſcovered and diſappointed the plot, contented himſelf with ſending the authors of it up to London [s]. The principal cauſe of the protector's jealouſy was, the kindneſs ſhewn by the general to the Scots, for finding them

[q] This letter of king Charles II. to Monk is dated Colen, Aug. 12, 1655, and was communicated to Dr. Peter Barwick by Monk's ſon, as a proof of his father's early loyalty: but it appears from Thurloe's papers, that Monk gave an account of every thing that paſſed in Scotland, and particularly ſent him up this very letter, with many others.

[r] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 72. The myſtery and method of his majeſty's happy reſtoration laid open to public view. Lond. 1680, 8vo, p. 12. [s] Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iv. p. 132.

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of his own temper, that is to ſay, of a civil, though reſerved nature, he admitted them freely to his preſence, of what party ſoever they were.

Immediately on Oliver's death he proclaimed Richard, from whom he received a very kind letter, which contained a fact not likely to be true, *viz.* that his father had directed him to be governed chiefly by Monk's advice; whereas he was ſcarce in his ſenſes, when he appointed him to the ſucceſſion [t]. This, however, was very well judged in the new protector, and ſeemed to beſpeak his advice in ſuch a manner, as that he could not, conſiſtent with the deep regard he profeſſed for his father, refuſe giving it him; and therefore the general, ſome time after, ſent it by his brother-in-law. The paper is yet remaining [u], and will convince whoever reads it, that Monk, though a very plain man, was a very ſound politician, and, like an honeſt and ſenſible counſel, gave the cleareſt and beſt opinion, upon his intricate and perplexed caſe, that it would bear. If Richard could have ſupported himſelf at all, it would have rivetted Monk in his favour; who, however, might doubt the poſſibility of that, when he gave it. He judged rightly, that, if things went well, it would do him much good; and, if they went ill, it could do him no hurt. The further to conciliate Monk's friendſhip, the protector ſent down commiſſary Clarges, brother to lady Monk, laden with promiſes: which, however, had no effect upon the wary general, who received his commands reſpectfully, wrote a civil anſwer to Thurloe's ſmooth letter, and took all the care he could to ſecure his command in Scotland, till he ſaw what turn things in England would take; it having been his opinion, that, if Oliver had lived much longer, he would have been ſhaken in his ſeat [w].

The ſucceeding troubles in England, therefore, were very far from ſurpriſing him: on the contrary, they were preciſely what

[t] Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vii. p. 363, 372. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 94, 95. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 75. [u] Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vii. p. 387. [w] See the character of the protector, as drawn by the noble hiſtorian in his hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 646. Diſcourſe concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell, by Abraham Cowley, in the 2d volume of his works. The world's miſtake in Oliver Cromwell, by Slingſby Bethel, Eſq. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 95. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 68.

he looked for and expected; and it was very eaſy to foreſee, that, in conſequence of them, ſome attempts might be made to reſtore the king. It would be beſide the deſign of this treatiſe; it would require much more room than we have to ſpare; and, after all, it would be in a great meaſure needleſs, conſidering what has been already written on the ſubject, for us to enter minutely into the intrigues that were uſed, while general Monk was in Scotland, to bring him into that intereſt [x]: we ſhall content ourſelves, therefore, with ſaying, that he acted in this matter with the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection; ſo that what the earl of Clarendon and biſhop Burnet have ſuggeſted, that he was a man of ſlow parts and ſlender abilities, ought to be conſidered rather as the effect of their prejudices, than of the general's conduct [y].

The truth is, they were both out of this ſecret; that is to ſay, the former had no hand in it, and the latter never ſo much as heard of it; which was reaſon enough for them to write as they did. The general's council conſiſted chiefly of ladies. He correſponded in England with the lady Savile; he managed all Scotland by the aſſiſtance of the counteſs of Buccleugh, and conſulted much, in regard to his perſonal conduct, with his wife, a woman of quick parts, and a thorough royaliſt. He had, beſides, ſome confidents, who will appear to poſterity more worthy of the truſt he repoſed in them, for having never boaſted of the aſſiſtance they gave him, as others did, who afforded him much leſs. Among the firſt, I reckon his wife's brother Dr. Clarges,

[x] The curious reader may conſult the life of dean Barwick, wherein he will find the beſt accounts that were ever publiſhed of this matter; and yet the earl of Clarendon ſays nothing of the ſervices of this Dr. John Barwick, though no man was better acquainted with them than himſelf; which ſhews, that there are ſome things in which that hiſtory is not altogether to be depended on.

[y] It is clear from what lord Clarendon ſays, that he was altogether unacquainted with the general's intentions, and could only collect his deſign from his manner of acting. His reſervedneſs, therefore, to ſo haughty a man, might well enough induce him to ſpeak ſo coldly as he does of the general's performances. Yet he does not pretend to enter deeply into his character, as Burnet does, who muſt know much leſs of it, and that only from converſation in a court where Monk's patriotiſm, and ſeverity of morals, had left him few friends, and created him many enemies.

colonel

colonel Cloberry, and general Morgan; amongſt the latter, his chaplains Price and Gumble, with many others [z].

In the management of all great undertakings, the ſureſt ſigns of a true genius is, the diſpoſition of its ſeveral parts. This ſhews the firſt mover; this marks the ruling character, that ſuperiority of ſkill and conduct which denominates a man truly wiſe and great. Let us ſee, then, what it was Monk was to overthrow, what to eſtabliſh, and what force he had to do it with. He was to change a ſettlement, new indeed in itſelf, but in appearance ſo much the ſtronger, having all the authority in the three kingdoms, a veteran army of upwards of thirty thouſand men in England and Ireland, and a victorious fleet on its ſide. He was to reſtore a loſt cauſe, in the opinion of its beſt friends; a cauſe which he durſt not ſo much as own; a cauſe againſt which himſelf had done much, and the troops he commanded more; all which he was to do with a body of between five and ſix thouſand men, which were ſo far from being better troops than thoſe they were to oppoſe, that, in reality, they were not their equals. Yet, with the bleſſing of GOD, he performed what he propoſed, he triumphed over all theſe difficulties, and he did this by a juſt diſtribution of the ſeveral parts of his ſcheme, any one of which, had it been omitted or miſplaced, had ruined the whole.

He ſecured Scotland behind him, raiſed a ſufficient ſum of money to put the firſt ſprings in motion, and excited ſuch a ſpirit in his army, as fitted it for the preſent work [a]. Next, he took care to ſtir the humours in the body-politic, to rouze and animate all the parties in the nation, that they might move, act, and ſhew their humours and their ſtrength. He ſet up Fairfax againſt Lambert, and broke his veteran army by ſhewing them

[z] The capital ſecret of the reſtoration was, the general's forming the deſign of it, which he did in Scotland, and, by the aſſiſtance of the counteſs of Buccleugh, drew all the loyal nobility to confide in him; a thing of which biſhop Burnet knew nothing, though it was in truth the great ſpring of the affair, and the cleareſt proof, that the general acted ſincerely and uniformly through the whole expedition.

[a] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 702. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 809. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 222, 223.

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their old general [b]. He made uſe of honeſt Dr. Price to feed the royaliſts with hopes, while his own actions could give them none [c]. By the talkative Mr. Gumble he wrought upon the commonwealth's men: by gracious and yet general anſwers he kept himſelf well with all parties, without declaring for any [d]. He prevailed with the parliament to part with a better army than his own, merely from the opinion of his being their beſt friend [e]: when he came to London, he ſhewed himſelf the very beſt of their ſervants, by obſequiouſly performing the dirtieſt of their work, and, proving them thereby to be the worſt of maſters, he paved the way for outing them of their authority [f]. Thus he went beyond them in their own arts, outſtripped them in cunning, and having the city and the country, as well as the fleet and the army, on his ſide, he gave law to thoſe who had been ſo long dictators [g].

By recalling the ſecluded members, he of a rump made them a houſe, and, by their own conſent, fairly diſſolved that long parliament, which might otherwiſe have been everlaſting [h]. After doing all this, he did ſtill more: he refuſed the kingdom, when it was offered him by the diſtracted republicans, to keep it from its right owner; and then our old enemies the French would have lent him their aſſiſtance to have hindered the return of a monarch, who they foreſaw, unleſs they miſled him, muſt be the firſt in Europe; and this they did as politicians, though that monarch was a grandſon of France [i]. But Monk generouſly deſpiſed

b Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 412. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 139. MS. papers of Sir Philip Monckton in the poſſeſſion of his worthy deſcendant the right honourable the lord viſcount Galway. Parliamentary intelligencer, N° 6. p. 65. c Myſtery and method of his majeſty's happy reſtoration, p. 84. d Mr. Gumble had a hundred pounds given him for bringing Monk's letter from Newcaſtle, and was recommended alſo by the houſe of commons to be a fellow of Eaton college. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 692, 693. Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, and other writers. e Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. iii. p. 27. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 375. f Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 236. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's memoirs, p. 209. Heath's chronicle, p. 437. Mercurius politicus, N° 607. g See the authors laſt cited, as alſo Kennet, Echard, Rapin, and all our hiſtorians. h Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 720, 721. Heath's chronicle, p. 438, 439. Public intelligence by order of parliament, N° 608, 609. A perfect diurnal of every day's proceedings in parliament N° 1, 2, 3. Mercurius publicus, 4to, N° 612.

i Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 693. Sir Arthur Haſelrig offered to procure a hundred thouſand hands to ſubſcribe to his title, if he would aſſume

deſpiſed a diadem to which he had no right, and, with equal greatneſs of mind, refuſed to make any terms with him to whom it belonged [k]. He ſaw the folly of cobling conſtitutions, and pretending to take power from one ſet of men to give it to another: he choſe therefore, like a wiſe and honeſt man, to fix things upon their old bottom, and to leave the king's power, and the people's freedom, to be diſcuſſed in the only aſſembly that could have a right to meddle with them [l].

Thus was the reſtoration begun, proſecuted, and perfected, by Monk; who received, as favours from the king, his titles, preferments, and fortune; all which, to be ſure, he might have had in another way. And yet this is the man whom almoſt all our hiſtories treat as having only ſecond-rate parts, acting as he was prompted by men of briſker tempers, and invited by favourable occaſions; as a horrid diſſembler, though he refuſed to take the engagement, and was never concerned in the war againſt Charles I.; as an avaricious all-graſping perſon, though it is confeſſed that he aſked NOTHING from his ſovereign, to whom he gave ALL; as a man utterly unfit for buſineſs, who yet had ſhewn himſelf a great captain in Ireland, an excellent governor in Scotland, and a profound ſtateſman in England, not to mention his reputation as an admiral, acquired by humbling Holland: but it is one thing to merit a character, and another to purchaſe it. The latter was not Monk's talent: he provided for his relations and friends, but he was no encourager of flatterers; and, withal, being a bad courtier, he was ſeldom called for after the reſtoration, but when he was neceſſary; and this happening

aſſume the government. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 252. Price's hiſtory of the reſtoration, p. 128. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 426.

[k] Mr. Locke, on the credit of the earl of Shaftſbury, has publiſhed a very ſtrange ſtory in relation to the conduct of this great man, as if he had agreed with the French ambaſſador to take upon him the government; which ſtory is reported at large by Echard in his hiſtory, p. 757. But this, as it is incredible in its nature, ſo it is improbable in its circumſtances, and ſupported by no authority in the world but that of a vain man, who was deſirous of taking the merit of the reſtoration to himſelf.

[l] The very enemies of Monk have always allowed him this eminent ſervice of reſtoring the king without conditions, to which we owed that ten years calm ſucceeding the king's return; whereas, if he had ſubmitted to conditions, we muſt, from the nature of things, have relapſed into confuſion immediately.

pretty

pretty often, leads us to the reſt of his hiſtory; in which we ſhall ſtill find him appear with honour, and perform with ſucceſs.

The command of the army was continued to the duke of Albemarle, as long as there was, properly ſpeaking, an army to command: he was, likewiſe, made maſter of the horſe, and one of the king's bed-chamber [m]. Biſhop Burnet, as alſo the noble hiſtorian, have ſaid abundance of invidious things of him; and this will make it neceſſary to ſhew how falſe they are, and how little credit is due to their inſinuations againſt this great man's character. The former ſays he was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature; (bad words theſe in a biſhop's mouth, who at other times could ſay ſoft things of the ladies); and adds, that he ſoon loſt all perſonal regard, by becoming uſeleſs [n]. When he was created a duke [o], the king ſettled ſeven thouſand pounds a-year on him, though one hundred thouſand pounds a-year had been propoſed before the reſtoration took place [p]. When he was called up by writ to the houſe of lords, he was attended by almoſt the whole houſe of commons to the door: a very unuſual mark of reſpect, which could only be due to extraordinary merit, and muſt have flowed from their ſenſe of it [q]. Various plots were framed, immediately after the king's return; and, in all theſe, the duke of Albemarle's life was particularly aimed at: this ſeems to be a ſtrong proof of his conſequence; and, if we were to demand another, we cannot deſire a better than what all the hiſtories of thoſe times tell us; *viz.* that theſe inſurrections were chiefly ſuppreſſed by his activity, at the head of his own faithful regiment [r].

[m] Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 712. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 312. [n] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 98. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 46.

[o] His elevation to the peerage was ſo acceptable to that auguſt body, that, upon notice given of it to the houſe by the lord chancellor, they ordered the lord great chamberlain of England, and the lord Berkeley, to wait upon his majeſty to return him their thanks for the honours he had been pleaſed to confer upon the duke of Albemarle. Journal of the houſe of lords.

[p] Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 396. Price's hiſtory of the reſtoration, p. 9. Ld. Lanſdown's works, vol. ii. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 272. [q] Heath's chron. p. 455. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 314. Kennet, Echard. [r] Heath's chronicle, p. 471, 472, 512. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. 73. Biſhop Parker's hiſt. of his own time, p. 11—20. Philips's continuat. of Baker's chron. p. 734. Mercurius politicus, N° 3. Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 135.

His ſucceſs, in this reſpect, gave him an opportunity of deſerving as much from the nation by his patriotiſm, as ever he did from the king by his loyalty. It was ſuggeſted in council, that theſe tumults ſhewed how little uſe could be made of trained bands; and therefore, that it was fit a part of the army ſhould be kept up. The duke ſaid, "this could not be done without "giving the people a jealouſy of the king; and that the beſt "way to gain their affections, was to rely upon them[s]." I leave the reader to judge, with what decency this man could be ſaid to forfeit all perſonal regard, and to become in a ſhort time uſeleſs.

But the biſhop is not content with barely characteriſing this noble perſon; he charges him with three glaring crimes, which, as they relate to the moſt eminent actions of his life, we ſhall briefly conſider. The firſt is, the murder of the marquis of Argyle. This nobleman was queſtioned, before the parliament of Scotland, for concurring with the late rebellious powers: he pleaded, that he complied with them only, and made a very ſtrong defence[t]; but the biſhop ſays, that Monk having ſeveral letters of his, which fully ſhewed that his inclinations, as well as his actions, were with the prevailing party, he ſent theſe down, which were read in parliament; and, by this breach of private friendſhip, he brought the marquis to the block[u].

Now, to this I ſay, that the fact cannot be true, for many reaſons. I ſhall mention only a few. 1. The marquis, in his defence, complains, that he was ſurpriſed into being preſent at Oliver's proclamation, as protector, by general Monk's ſending for him to the council, without letting him know what was to be done. Would he have complained of this, and have paſſed by the letters; or would not this complaint have been ridiculous, if there had been any ſuch letters[w]? 2. The marquis died with an appeal to God for the ſincerity of his defence, and wrote a letter to the king, affirming the ſame thing, a copy of which I have ſeen[x]. Would ſo wiſe a man, as the marquis certainly

[s] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 322. [t] The proceedings againſt him may be found in the 2d volume of ſtate trials, p. 417. [u] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 125. [w] State trials, vol. ii. p. 431.

[x] By the favour of his nephew, the honourable Mr. Archibald Campbell. In this letter the marquis inſiſts on his loyalty in very high terms; and indeed there

certainly was, have done this, if, as Burnet ſays, his own letters had made the thing ſo plain, that his friends had nothing to ſay? 3. This does not at all agree with Monk's character. He was an advocate for mercy to the regicides in the houſe of lords; he was ſilent on the bench at the Old-Bailey, when commiſſioned to try them; and, which is much more to the purpoſe, he ſaved Sir Arthur Haſelrig's life and eſtate, (the bittereſt perſonal enemy he had in the world), by owning a promiſe to him, which ſome ſay he never made. This ſeems to ſhew him of no betraying ſpirit [y]. 4. There was no occaſion for Argyle to write any ſuch letters, for Monk never was in England after Oliver became protector: and it is hard to underſtand, why the marquis ſhould apply to him in Scotland, when he could ſo eaſily have an audience of Cromwell in London, where he often was [z]. 5. The thing is now out of all doubt; for, by the publication of Thurloe's papers, it appears that Monk never conſidered the marquis in this light, but always repreſented him as a ſecret friend to the king, and an active enemy to the protector's government [a].

The ſecond imputation on the duke of Albemarle's conduct is, his recommending the match with Portugal [b]. It is admitted, that this propoſition might poſſibly be made by the Portugueſe ambaſſador to the duke of Albemarle, before the king's actual return to his dominions, and that he propoſed it to his majeſty as a meaſure proper for extending the trade, and increaſing the influence of his ſubjects abroad. It is likewiſe true,

is all the reaſon in the world to believe he never meant any thing more, in his proceedings in Scotland, than to reſtrain the power of the crown within due bounds.

[y] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 319, 320. [z] Ibid. ch. 7.

[a] See the correſpondences of Argyle and Monk in the iiid, ivth, and vth volumes of Thurloe's ſtate papers; and thence it will plainly appear, that there was no harmony between them, and conſequently no ground to ſuppoſe, that the marquis would lay himſelf open to him by his letters.

[b] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 166. Coke's detection of the four laſt reigns, book iv. ch. i. p. 8. Echard's hiſt. of England, from a MS. of Sir Robert Southwell, p 800. The points inſiſted on are, 1. That the firſt motion came from general Monk, who conſtantly promoted this marriage; 2. That the chancellor had inconteſtible intelligence of the infanta's incapacity of having children; 3. That upon this he warmly and paſſionately oppoſed it in a cabinet-council, which he prevailed on the king to call upon this ſubject.

that

that his grace thought the acquiſition of Tangier a very conſiderable thing; which will be the leſs wondered at, if we conſider that, in Cromwell's time, there was a project of getting it into our poſſeſſion. If, therefore, the duke of Albemarle was for this match from right motives, and with a view to the intereſt of his king and country, as it is plain he was, it is very hard to arraign his behaviour upon conſequences, which, it is certain, he could not foreſee, and very probably had never conſidered.

Beſides, another queen might have been childleſs as well as Catherine, and have brought the nation no advantage at all; whereas it is certain, that our cloſe conjunction with Portugal has been very beneficial to us as a trading people, and that our acquiſitions of Bombay and Tangier became uſeleſs, or at leaſt inconſiderable, entirely through our own fault, from the perpetual ſtruggle of factions amongſt us, which have been always our greateſt misfortune; and therefore, to attribute theſe to the conduct of Monk, or to condemn him for adviſing a treaty of marriage, which was thoroughly canvaſſed in, and approved by the parliament, is as unreaſonable as it is unjuſt [c].

Thus the thing ſtood in the firſt edition of this work; but we are now in a condition to clear up all difficulties, from the authority of the noble perſon, in the needleſs juſtification of whoſe character that of the duke of Albemarle has been unjuſtly aſperſed [d]. We are aſſured by him, that the firſt overture in relation to the infanta of Portugal, was made to his majeſty by the lord chamberlain, that is, the earl of Mancheſter; and, it ſeems, from the beginning was well received. The king next conſulted with the chancellor himſelf, and afterwards with a private committee, of which the duke of Albemarle was no member [e]. There that buſineſs came to ſuch maturity, that the Conde de Mello, the Portugueſe miniſter, was ſent home, in

[c] This matter was warmly, and, as moſt people thought, fully diſcuſſed in three quarto pamphlets by the ingenious lord Lanſdown, the indefatigable Mr. Oldmixon, and the learned Dr. Colebatch of Trinity college in Cambridge, all of which I peruſed attentively, that I might do no injuſtice to any.

[d] Earl of Clarendon's life, p. 78. of the folio edition.

[e] This committee was compoſed of the chancellor, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Mancheſter, and ſecretary Nicholas; and therein his majeſty declared, he had conſulted the earl of Sandwich, and Sir John Lawſon, as to the ſituation and importance of Tangier.

order to bring with him thoſe ſecurities and aſſurances that were neceſſary to the concluſion of the treaty. It was during his abſence that an oppoſition was ſet on foot by baron Batteville, or, as his countrymen the Flemings call him, baron Watteville, the Spaniſh miniſter, and his friend the earl of Briſtol, who prevailed upon the king to give him a commiſſion to go in ſearch of a princeſs worthy the king's bed, to ſome of the courts of Italy [f]. Upon the return of the Portugueſe miniſter, with the title of marquis de Sande, the negociation was renewed; and the Spaniſh miniſter, who had been imprudent enough to publiſh aſperſions on the infanta of Portugal, in the Engliſh language, and even to throw them out of his window amongſt the guards, was ordered to quit the kingdom [g]. The matter was then laid before the whole privy-council, where, without doubt, the duke of Albemarle was preſent; and then it was unanimouſly approved. This unanimity ſo much pleaſed the king, that he took notice of it as a good omen, in his ſpeech from the throne, at the opening of the next ſeſſions of parliament, and was congratulated upon it by both houſes [h]. Hence it is evident, that the duke of Albemarle had no particular concern in this buſineſs; that the chancellor was very early conſulted; that he conſidered the inſinuation to the prejudice of the infanta as an invention of the Spaniſh miniſter [i], and was ſo far from proteſting againſt this marriage, that he promoted it; and, whatever calumny might afterwards ſuggeſt, promoted it, no doubt, from very juſt and laudable motives [k].

f The count d'Eſtrades, though ſo well acquainted with the intrigues of this court, thought the earl of Briſtol was ſent on this idle errand by the chancellor, in order to get him out of his way; but the fact was quite otherwiſe.

g The indiſcreet conduct of this miniſter was the ſource of the greateſt diſgrace, and ſome of the heavieſt misfortunes, the court of Spain ever received. So true it is, that the honour always, and often the ſafety, of every ſtate, is intruſted to every ambaſſador ſhe ſends.

h Baker's chronicle, p. 749. This ſpeech was made May 8, 1661.

i Earl of Clarendon's life, p. 437. mentions the queen's miſcarrying twice; the firſt time (as the king affirmed, of his own knowledge, to the queen his mother) of a ſon. Lady Wyche, who attended near her perſon, aſſerted, ſhe was able to have born children at the king's death.

k The circumſtance of the duke of York's having children by the chancellor's daughter, gave a colour to the aſperſions on the chancellor for promoting the king's marriage, and the deſire of vindicating him has been the motive to aſperſing other characters.

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The laſt point to which we are to ſpeak, regards the ſale of Dunkirk, in which the biſhop aſſures us [l], that the cenſure thrown upon the lord-chancellor Clarendon was unjuſt, ſince he relied entirely upon the ſentiments of Monk. In this he does not, however, go ſo far as another writer; who affirms, that the chancellor and the treaſurer proteſted againſt it; which, he ſays, is a point that may be cleared by inſpecting the council-books [m]. Echard ſeems to lay the blame upon the earl of Sandwich [n], and is alſo poſitive, that the chancellor and treaſurer were the two miniſters who oppoſed the meaſure. Monſieur d'Eſtrades, the French plenipotentiary, who tranſacted this important affair, on the part of his maſter, and who, in his letters to Louis XIV. at the time, gives a very diſtinct and particular account of what happened through the whole of the negociation, ſets things in a very different light [o]. He produces a letter from the chancellor, dated June 29, 1662, delivered to him by Mr.

[l] In all altercations of this ſort, it is but juſt to let men ſpeak for themſelves. Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 172, 173. the biſhop ſays, "The "matter under debate was, whether this place [Dunkirk] ought to be kept or "ſold. The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by France, ſaid, "the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the king to a "great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the coſt of keeping it. The "earl of Clarendon ſaid, he underſtood not thoſe matters, but appealed to "Monk's judgment, who did poſitively adviſe letting it go for the money "that France offered.—So it was ſold; and all the money that was paid for it "was immediately ſquandered away amongſt the miſtreſs's creatures." The facts are, 1. That the military men acted as if corrupted by France. 2. The chancellor Clarendon was paſſive, relying on Monk's opinion. 3. His opinion was poſitive, to let it go for what France offered. 4. Upon his advice it was ſold. 5. And the money ſquandered amongſt the counteſs of Caſtlemain's creatures.

[m] Coke's detection of the four laſt reigns, book iv. p. 8. and upon his authority biſhop Kennet relies; complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 255. See alſo his own account of the ſale of Dunkirk, and by whom charged upon Clarendon, p. 259. [n] Hiſtory of England, p. 781, 801. [o] This is a quite different book from the lettres, memoires, et negotiations de monſieur le comte d'Eſtrades, in five vols. 12mo, printed at Bruſſels 1709, which were ſtole out of the French king's library by John Aymond, and which contain letters and diſpatches from 1663 to 1668. The work here referred to is entitled, ambaſſades et negotiations de monſieur le comte d'Eſtrades, en Italie, en Angleterre, et en Hollande, depuis l'annee 1637 juſqu' en l'annee 1662. A Amſterdam, chez J. F. Bernard, 1718, 12mo. An Engliſh tranſlation of which appeared in 1753 in 8vo, printed for R. Willock in Cornhill, and contains many curious and important paſſages relating to England.

Beling,

Beling[p], who was to explain to him that noble perſon's intention, the king and his lordſhip having both written, two days before, to invite him to take England in his way to Holland, where he was then going ambaſſador[q]. Upon his arrival, he was informed, that the motive of deſiring his preſence was, to enter into a treaty for the ſale of Dunkirk. He ſays expreſly, that the chancellor told him, that the king's neceſſities obliged him to this ſtep; that he was the only perſon of the council in that ſentiment: that he was to bring over MONK, the treaſurer, and the earl of Sandwich, which he could not hope to do, if a round ſum was not offered[r]. The French king, in a letter to d'Eſtrades, expreſſes great uneaſineſs at the ſecret's being communicated to the other lords[s]. At length, when the treaty was advanced, the king of England, on the firſt of September, gave full powers, under his hand, to the chancellor, the treaſurer, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, to proceed therein, and to conclude it[t]. It was ſigned, accordingly, on the 27th of October, 1662, by the commiſſioners on both ſides; and, in a letter dated November 6, count d'Eſtrades tells the king, his maſter, that king Charles, the duke of York, and the chancellor, were the only perſons from whom he had met with no oppoſition; and, in conſequence of this, and much more to the ſame purpoſe, that monarch wrote a letter to his brother of England, and another to the chancellor, to thank them for their obliging conduct in that affair[u].

The chancellor himſelf, who beſt knew his own thoughts, and who could certainly give the cleareſt account of his own

[p] This Mr. Beling, though a Papiſt, was in great confidence with chancellor Clarendon, acted as interpreter between him and count d'Eſtrades, was in the whole ſecret of this negotiation, and for this was recommended by his miniſter, to Lewis XIV. for a preſent which he received. [q] Ambaſſades d'Eſtrades, p. 387. Engliſh tranſlation, p. 228.

[r] An incautious writer might cite this as a proof out of the chancellor's own mouth, that he alone was the author of this meaſure, and not either the general, the treaſurer, or the earl of Sandwich. But, though the chancellor might ſay ſo, it was not true, at leaſt if we believe his own account, but was thrown out partly to force d'Eſtrades to make a greater offer. The chancellor did not want addreſs, but d'Eſtrades had more.

[s] Ambaſſades d'Eſtrades, p. 430, 431. Engliſh tranſlation, p. 241, 252. [t] Kennet's chronicle, p. 760. where the commiſſion is preſerved. [u] Ambaſſades d'Eſtrades, p. 508. Engliſh tranſlation, p. 297.

actions,

actions, places the whole of this affair in another point of view[w]. He aſcribes the original motion, for the ſale of Dunkirk, to the French king, to the lord high-treaſurer Southampton; and, upon his communicating it to the chancellor, he expreſſed himſelf very warmly againſt the propoſition. He next informs us, that a cabinet-council was called, at which his majeſty, the duke of York, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, were preſent as well as himſelf and the treaſurer, at whoſe requeſt this meeting was appointed, and who humourouſly adviſed his majeſty to take away the chancellor's ſtaff, for fear he ſhould make a rough uſe of it when he knew the ſubject they were met upon. In this cabinet-council the ſale of Dunkirk was debated, and reſolved for the reaſons which the chancellor mentions in his memoirs[x]. This was previous to the inviting over d'Eſtrades, who had been in England, and treated with the chancellor upon affairs of ſtate before, and had ſo far recommended himſelf to the king and the chancellor, as he was indeed a miniſter of great addreſs, that they were both deſirous of treating with him again. What the chancellor ſaid to d'Eſtrades, was to engage him to raiſe his price; for he at firſt talked only of two millions, becauſe that was the ſum at which it had been valued by Cromwell, as has been mentioned in another place[y]; however, he was afterwards brought to offer three millions, and at laſt to add two millions more for the artillery, ammunition, military ſtores, and the materials for building; which ſum, it appears, that all the commiſſioners, except the chancellor, thought too little, and upon that account concluded the bargain with reluctance[z]. This drew an immediate odium upon the chancellor. His bittereſt enemy, the earl of Briſtol, put it the next year into his accuſa-

[w] The earl of Clarendon wrote a vindication of his own conduct againſt the accuſation of the houſe of commons, dated at Montpelier, July 24, 1668. This may be found in his tracts, and his account of this tranſaction, p. 33. See alſo his memoirs, p. 201. [x] The reaſons are inſerted alſo in the vindication, and in effect were theſe: 1. That the place, being no harbour, was of little utility; 2. That the charge of keeping it was more than the crown could afford; 3. That the keeping it would neceſſarily involve the nation in a war. [y] See p. 21. in the notes.

[z] So the count d'Eſtrades ſays expreſsly, and complains extremely of the trouble given him in wording the treaty by the other commiſſioners, and commending highly the aſſiduity of the chancellor, though he knew it rendered him obnoxious.

tion againſt him: the people called the houſe he was building DUNKIRK HOUSE; and it was mentioned afreſh in the articles that were framed againſt him, by the houſe of commons, upon his diſgrace[a].

The diſcuſſing this matter having led me ſo far, I think myſelf obliged to go a little farther, that I may not ſeem to have exculpated the duke of Albemarle at the expence of other counſellors, who, in my conſcience, I think as innocent as he. The true ſtate then of the matter, at leaſt to me, appears to have been this: The revenue ſettled upon the king, in cuſtoms, exciſe, and hearth-money, amounted to one million two hundred thouſand pounds, and the conſtant ſtated expence of the king's government to upwards of one million four hundred thouſand pounds, though that of his houſhold came but to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds[b]. There was conſquently a deficiency of upwards of two hundred thouſand pounds a-year[c]. The weight of this, as the chancellor well obſerves, being chiefly felt by the treaſurer, ſuggeſted to him the inquiry into the utility and worth of Dunkirk; and finding, or believing he had found, good reaſons for the parting with it, he was thereby led to make the propoſal, as it would take away one half of the annual exceeding, and, at the ſame time, furniſh the king with a large ſum of money, of which he was then in the greateſt want[d]. This meaſure ſeems to have been taken about a year after the king's reſtoration; and, we may be ſure, was taken without any ſiniſter or iniquitous views, ſince it came from the great and good earl of Southampton, whoſe character was never yet aſperſed[e]. It has, indeed, been ſaid, that the king was

[a] See the earl of Briſtol's articles in the complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 265. Echard, p. 809. See alſo Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 249. Proceedings in the caſe of Edward earl of Clarendon, 1700, 8vo.

[b] See this ſtated at large from the earl of Halifax's MSS. in Ralph's hiſtory, vol. i. p. 89.

[c] This would have been the caſe, if the funds, given by parliament, had actually produced what they were given for; whereas they fell ſhort no leſs than three hundred thouſand pounds.

[d] Earl of Clarendon's life, p. 202.

[e] The king, at the inſtance of general Monk, made Sir Edward Harley governor of Dunkirk immediately after his return, and would have conſtituted him governor for life, conſequently had then no thoughts of ſelling it. When he had, he removed him by warrant, dated May 22, 1661.

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moved to it chiefly out of conſideration for certain ladies; and, perhaps, when this comes to be explained, there will not appear to be any great harm in that: for theſe ladies were, the queen his mother, the queen his conſort, and the princeſs Henrietta Maria his ſiſter, who was to be married to the duke of Orleans, and for whom a portion was to be provided out of this money [f].

If the reader is deſirous of knowing how this came to be afterwards conſidered in ſo foul a light, and why ſo much pains had been taken to ſhift the odium from one miniſter upon another, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that, at the time of the tranſaction, there were no very loud complaints, but they grew up afterwards from a variety of cauſes. 1. The cabal formed againſt the earl of Clarendon repreſented this as a baſe and corrupt meaſure, becauſe they were pleaſed to ſtyle it his meaſure: and every miniſter that is to be removed by a faction, muſt firſt be placed in the blackeſt light [g]. 2. The Spaniſh party joined themſelves to theſe: they did not conſider whether the meaſure was right or wrong, as it regarded England; but they knew that it was injurious to Spain, and therefore they heartily joined in decrying the miniſter, to whoſe account it was placed [h]. 3. The French court, though at the time the bargain was made they had pretended a perfect indifference, whether Dunkirk was delivered up to Spain, annexed to the crown of England, or

[f] Upon reviewing this evidence, it appears, 1. That the French king was diſpleaſed at the negotiations being communicated to the military men, and conſequently had not corrupted them. 2. The chancellor managed the whole tranſaction, brought it to bear, and for this had the thanks of the French king. 3. Monk was not ſatisfied with the price, or privy to the ſale, till the price was ſettled. 4. Upon the treaſurer's propoſal, the deſign of ſelling Dunkirk was taken up, carried on, and concluded, not by Monk, but the chancellor. 5 The money was carefully expended, and not ſquandered. Clarendon's life, p. 205.

[g] See the earl of Clarendon's vindication againſt the eleventh article of the charge againſt him by the houſe of commons. Coke, Kennet, Echard, Burnet as before cited. Sir Thomas Oſborne, who was afterwards duke of Leeds, affirmed, on the authority of a great lord whom he did not name, that the chancellor made a bargain for the ſale of Dunkirk nine months before it was known. See Chandler's debates of the houſe of commons, vol. i. p. 108.

[h] It appears evidently from d'Eſtrade's letters, and indeed from all the authentic papers of that time, the chancellor was puſhed by the Spaniſh party, who had the earl of Briſtol at their head, a man of great parts, and who was particularly able in intrigue.

demoliſhed, yet, after they were once poſſeſſed of it, they magnified its importance, and the great policy of their monarch in procuring it [i]. 4. The Dunkirk that was thus ſold, was by no means the Dunkirk that it afterwards was: Lewis XIV. ſpent many millions ſterling [k] in improving and fortifying it; not becauſe the place deſerved it, but that it was the only port by which he could annoy us [l]. 5. After it was thus improved and fortified, all thoſe inconveniencies taken away which made it uſeleſs in our hands, and a multitude of works raiſed, for which England would never have been at the expence; it became ſuch a thorn in our ſides, and we were made ſo thoroughly ſenſible of its importance, in the ſituation it then ſtood, that it is no wonder at all poſterity believed whatever they were told, of the iniquity of ſelling this place, and heartily deteſted the miniſters, whoever they were, by whom the meaſure was taken; though certainly they did not, indeed could not, perceive the conſequences.

But, however, the ſtate of the king's affairs, the difficulty and expence of keeping the place, and the impoſſibility of foreſeeing then what afterwards happened, taking in alſo the known characters of the perſons concerned; may excuſe them from any ſuſpicion of corruption, or ill intention in this tranſaction: yet the ſale of Dunkirk to the French is a thing never to be vindicated. For it was not acquired by the king's arms; and, therefore, whatever right he might have to reſtore, it is not eaſy to diſcern how he could have any to ſell it. In the next, the houſe

i As much indifference as the French king expreſſed about the place, while the negotiation was depending, he vaunted ſufficiently the advantage accruing to him from the bargain, as ſoon as it was made. His troops took poſſeſſion November 28, 1662. He made his public entry, and cauſed TE DEUM to be ſung in his preſence on the 2d of December. He cauſed two medals to be inſtantly ſtruck. On the reverſe of the firſt was, *Providentia principis Dunquerka recuperata; i.e.* "By the ſkill of the prince Dunkirk recovered:" on the reverſe of the ſecond (a jetton or counter) a brazen tower with a golden ſhower falling on it, with theſe word; *Sic vincit amicos; i. e.* "Thus we get the better of our friends." As if this had not been inſulting enough, a third was ſtruck the next year, with the brazen tower and golden ſhower again, with this legend; *Ictu fulmineo potentior; i. e.* "By a ſtroke ſurpaſſing thunder:" on the reverſe, Juſtice menacing two harpies with her ſword, and theſe words; *Harpyas pellere regno.* See Gerard van Loon hiſt. metallique, tome ii. p. 489.

k Boulainvilliers etat de la France, tome i. p. 347. l See the importance of Dunkirk conſidered, and other tracts in the reign of queen Anne.

of

of commons had prepared and paſſed a bill for annexing it to the crown of England, which would have thrown the charge of maintaining it upon them: and though it is true, that the motive to this bill has been miſrepreſented, by ſuppoſing it was meant to hinder what afterwards happened, whereas, in fact, it took its riſe from the Spaniſh ambaſſador's demanding it, in a prempTory manner; yet, aſſuredly, it ſhewed the ſenſe of the nation was for preſerving it. Laſtly, the merchants, even at the time it was ſold, expreſſed great apprehenſions of the miſchiefs that might be done to trade, by privateers fitted out from thence: and theſe were reaſons ſufficient to have deterred the king, and his miniſters, from parting with it, unleſs by conſent of parliament; which, if we conſider what afterwards happened in regard to Tangier, it will not appear impoſſible that they might have obtained; and, whether they could or not, they ought at leaſt to have deſired.

When the firſt Dutch war broke out in 1664, we find the duke of Albemarle's name among the lords of the council ſubſcribing the proclamation [m]: and there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt, that he was very hearty in that meaſure: whereas the chancellor, and the treaſurer, were both extremely againſt it [n]. The duke of York, as we have before ſeen, at the commencement of the war, commanded the fleet in perſon: and, upon this occaſion, he devolved the whole adminiſtration of the admiralty on the duke of Albemarle; and this with ſuch circumſtances of confidence, as evidently demonſtrated his ſenſe of his grace's capacity and fidelity [o]. This, added to all his former employments,

[m] The reader will find the proclamation at large in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 272.

[n] Life of the earl of Clarendon, p. 200.

[o] This epiſtle deſerves the reader's peruſal, becauſe it is a direct proof of the falſehood of the aſſertion, that the duke of Albemarle loſt his credit ſoon after the reſtoration. It runs thus: "My lord-duke of ALBEMARLE, having formerly "by the king's approbation deſired you to take the care of giving all neceſſary "orders for the affairs of the navy during my abſence, in the ſame manner as I "ought to do if preſent, I ſhould not now need to repeat it to you, were it not "to acquaint you, that I have not only by word of mouth, but alſo by writing, "given the principal officers and commanders of his majeſty's navy directions "to execute all your commands. I deſire you, if you find any commanders or "other officers negligent in the deſpatch expected from them for his majeſty's "ſervice, not to be ſparing in uſing your authority for their puniſhment, whe-"ther by diſplacing them, or ſuch other way as you ſhall think fit. I have com-

employments, might have ſufficiently marked the confidence repoſed in him, and have even rendered the conferring on him any other charge, a thing not at all expected: and yet, when the plague broke out in the ſucceeding year, and the king ſaw himſelf obliged to leave his capital, he entruſted the care of it, of his ſubjects, and the chief concerns of his kingdom, to this good duke, who reſided at the Cock-pit near Whitehall, and, with the aſſiſtance of the earl of Craven, and ſome other public-ſpirited perſons of diſtinction, took care of the health, the properties, and the government of the inhabitants of this great city; diſtributing daily the vaſt charities that were raiſed for the ſupply of the diſtreſſed: giving audience to all who had any buſineſs with him, directing the affairs of the navy, while we were engaged in a war of ſuch conſequence, and giving a conſtant account of whatever happened to the king and his miniſters at Oxford [p]. Such was the courage, ſuch were the labours, of this great man, who, in the midſt of devouring infection, did, in a manner, the whole buſineſs of the nation: and yet this is he who is ſaid to have forfeited all perſonal regard, and to have become uſeleſs in a ſhort time after the reſtoration.

While he was ſtill charged with all theſe fatiguing offices, the king, in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, ſent for him ſuddenly to Oxford. He went thither poſt; and on his arrival, after paying his compliments to his majeſty, and giving him a ſuccinct account of the poſture in which he had left affairs at London, he was told, that the intent of ſending for him thither was, to make him joint admiral of the fleet with prince Rupert; and that he muſt immediately prepare to go to ſea. He deſired a day's time to conſider of it; in which ſpace he conſulted with his friends, who were almoſt unanimouſly againſt his accepting

" manded my ſecretary to leave with you all ſuch things as may be neceſſary " for your information; if any thing be wanting, upon the leaſt intimation it " ſhall be ſupplied So bidding you heartily farewel, I am, &c.

" March 22, 1664-5. JAMES."

This letter was tranſcribed from a MS. in the hands of the late lord Frederick Howard.

[p] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 331—333. Gumble's life of Monk, p. 414—420. The earl of Clarendon gives quite another account of this matter, and aſſures us, that, being informed it was highly for the king's ſervice, the duke of Albemarle accepted at once, and even offered (if it was thought neceſſary) to ſerve under prince Rupert.

that

that command. They ſaid, that he had already eſtabliſhed his character as a ſoldier, ſeaman, and ſtateſman; and that it was unreaſonable, as his time of life, for him to ſtake all the honours he had won on the fortune of a day: that the Dutch were already driven into that fury which made them moſt dangerous at ſea; and that attacking them now was quite another thing than it was at the beginning of the war: that, in ſhort, the loſs of a battle would exceedingly tarniſh his reputation; whereas a victory gained could add very little thereto.

The duke thanked them for the reſpect they had ſhewn for his perſon and character, but at the ſame time added, "theſe "were out of the caſe; that he valued neither farther than they "were uſeful to his country; and that he was determined to "obey the king's commands, ſince he was ſure he either ſhould "accompliſh them, or die in the attempt[q]." Having accepted this commiſſion, he returned to London the third day; and though the war and the plague had both made great havock amongſt the ſeamen, yet it was no ſooner known, that the duke of Albemarle was to command the fleet, than great numbers offered themſelves to the ſervice, becauſe, as they phraſed it, they were ſure, "honeſt George" (for ſo they called the duke) "would ſee them well fed, and juſtly paid[r]."

His grace, in conjunction with prince Rupert, uſed ſuch diligence in equipping the fleet, that on the 25th of April, being St. George's day, they took leave of the king, and fell down the river in one of the royal barges to join the fleet. When they arrived in the Downs, the king received intelligence, that the French had fitted out a ſtout ſquadron to join with the navy of the ſtates; upon which he was prevailed upon to ſend down poſitive orders to prince Rupert to ſail, with twenty of the beſt frigates in the fleet, to fight the French ſquadron before it could join the Dutch. This, without queſtion, had been a right meaſure, if the king's intelligence had been well founded; but, as in truth there was no ſuch French ſquadron, ſo the taking away ſo great a part of the fleet expoſed the remainder exceedingly. Some have ſuggeſted, that there was treachery in this; and in-

[q] Memoirs of the Dutch wars. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 335. Prince's worthies of Devon, p. 471. [r] Memoirs of the Dutch wars, p. 39.

deed,

deed, from Sir John Harman's letter, giving an account of the battle which enſued, one would apprehend, that he was of this opinion[s]. It is, however, eaſy to account for the thing otherwiſe; and, by laying all circumſtances together, I muſt own myſelf perſuaded, that this intelligence proceeded from the arts of the French, who, by pretending to equip a great ſquadron, and to ſend it early to ſea, thought to amuſe both us and the Dutch, and engage us, by dint of theſe preparations, to take falſe meaſures, in which they ſucceeded; for the Dutch fleet actually expected to be joined by them, as certainly as prince Rupert did to meet them[t].

The duke of Albemarle, commanding now alone, diſcovered on the 1ſt of June the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of about ſeventy-ſix ſail of large ſhips; whereas his grace had not more than fifty. We have already given an account of this battle[u], and ſhall here therefore confine ourſelves to ſuch circumſtances as concern the duke's perſonal behaviour. He immediately called a council of war, compoſed of ſome of the gallanteſt men that ever bore commands in the Engliſh navy; and there, "In regard ſeveral "good ſhips, beſides the Royal Sovereign, then at anchor in the "Gun-fleet, (neither fully manned nor ready), would, upon "their retreat, be in danger of a ſurprizal by the enemy, and "that ſuch a courſe might make ſome impreſſion upon the ſpirit "and courage of the ſeamen, who had not been accuſtomed to "decline fighting with the Dutch, it was at laſt unanimouſly "reſolved to abide them, and that the fleet ſhould preſently be "put in readineſs to fall into a line[w]." Thus it appears, that this was an act done by the whole council of war, and upon very rational motives; ſo that to charge the duke with running too great a hazard, from his contempt of the Dutch, is treating his memory ill, without any juſt grounds[x]. The firſt day the enemy

s Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 281. t Le Clerc, tome iii. p. 138. De Neuville vie de Ruyter. u See p. 107. w Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 340.

x Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the Engliſh fleet, by the end of the fight, was quite unrigged, and were in no condition to work themſelves off; ſo that they muſt have been all taken, ſunk, or burnt, if prince Rupert had not come in good time.—The court gave out that it was a victory, and public thankſgivings were ordered; which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had

enemy gained little or no advantage, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority, this was entirely owing to the duke's example, who, though he was once obliged to be towed out of the line, yet, after making the neceſſary repairs in his rigging, bore into the center of the Dutch fleet, where he engaged de Ruyter with incredible fury[y], hoping his own ſucceſs might have opened a path to victory.

The next morning the duke called a ſecond council of war, in which he delivered himſelf thus: "If we had dreaded the "number of our enemies, we ſhould have fled yeſterday; but, "though we are inferior to them in ſhips, we are in all things "elſe ſuperior. Force gives them courage; let us, if we need "it, borrow reſolution from the thoughts of what we have for-"merly performed. Let the enemy feel, that, though our fleet "be divided, our ſpirit is entire. At the worſt, it will be more "honourable to die bravely here on our own element, than to be "made ſpectacles to the Dutch. To be overcome is the fortune "of war, but to fly is the faſhion of cowards. Let us teach "the world, that Engliſhmen had rather be acquainted with "death than with fear[z]."

The engagement began about eight, and continued till it was night; but our fleet ſuffered ſo much, that in a council of war, held in the afternoon, it was reſolved to make a fair retreat, which the duke performed the next day with great prudence and honour. In the evening of that day, prince Rupert with his ſquadron came in; and the duke's fleet endeavouring to join it, the Royal Prince, commanded by Sir George Ayſcue, ran a-ground, and was burnt by the enemy. Before night, however, the Engliſh fleets joined; and then it was unanimouſly reſolved in a council of war, that it would be injurious to his majeſty's honour, and the reputation of the Britiſh fleet, to ſuffer the

had in one reſpect reaſon to thank God, that we had not loſt our whole fleet. Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 377, 378. This account is viſibly falſe; for if the Dutch could have deſtroyed our whole fleet, and were forced to ſheer off without doing it, this was a victory, the enemy's purpoſe being defeated. But the Dutch admiral owned the fact to be otherwiſe, and that the duke with the Engliſh fleet (before prince Rupert's arrival) were aggreſſors, to the laſt.

[y] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 341. [z] See his hiſtory of the compoſing the affairs of England by the reſtoration, &c. p. 88. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 830.

Dutch

Dutch to return with any appearance of an advantage, and that therefore they ſhould attack them the next day as early as poſſible, which was accordingly done, when the duke, notwithſtanding his hard ſervice in the three former engagements, paſſed, in conjunction with the prince, five times through the enemy's fleet, and had in all probability beat them at laſt, if by an unlucky accident the prince's ſhip had not been diſabled, and ſoon after the duke's, which, however, did not hinder their firing upon the Dutch till it was dark [a].

Two days after, the fleet returned to our own coaſt, and the prince and duke to London. On the report of this extraordinary action, many took the liberty, as his friends foreſaw they would, to cenſure the duke of Albemarle's conduct; but the king, having thoroughly examined the matter, declared himſelf fully ſatisfied with his behaviour: adding, that it was grounded upon reaſon and neceſſity; and that the honour of the nation was deeply concerned in it: that he had thereby given the greateſt inſtance of his own, and of the Engliſh valour; and had raiſed the reputation of our naval force to ſuch a height of glory as would render it for ever terrible to its enemies, as well as relied on and reſpected by its friends [b].

The Dutch fleet, having ſuffered leſs, was again very ſoon at ſea; but they had not been long upon our coaſt, before, to their amazement, the Engliſh fleet came out of the Thames, and then they ſtood over to their own. On the 24th of July, both fleets were in ſight of each other; and the next day, by ſix in the morning, a bloody battle began, wherein the Engliſh gained a clear and complete victory, and the Dutch were driven into their ports. Upon this there followed the burning of the town of Brandaris, as our people called it, by Sir Robert Holmes; where the enemy's loſs, as Mr. Echard tells us, on the authority of a good MS. in the paper-office, fell very little ſhort of a million ſterling [c]. This was the laſt great action performed at ſea by the duke of Albemarle.

On his return, he found the city of London lying in aſhes; a misfortune which, however, redounded to his reputation; ſince the people ſaid openly in the ſtreets, as he paſſed, that "if

[a] See p. 110. [b] See before, p. 111. [c] Hiſtory of England, p. 831.

"his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt:" which is ſuch an extravagant mark of veneration and affection for his perſon, as could ariſe only from their perfect ſatisfaction in regard to what he had formerly performed: and it muſt alſo add much to his character, in the opinion of all true judges of merit, that he was recalled from the command of the fleet by his majeſty, purely to quiet the minds of the people upon this misfortune[d].

In the ſpring of the year 1667, the king had ſome new advices given him, in regard to the management of his navy, which were by no means approved by the duke of Albemarle. The drift of them was this: that, as the Dutch were chiefly ſupported by trade, as the ſupply of their navy depended upon trade, and, as experience ſhewed, nothing provoked the people ſo much as injuring their trade; his majeſty ſhould therefore apply himſelf to this, which would effectually humble them, at the ſame time that it would leſs exhauſt us, than fitting out ſuch mighty fleets as had hitherto kept the ſea every ſummer.

Sir John Lawſon was particularly fond of this doctrine, which, by degrees, grew acceptable to the king; not ſo much from a perſuaſion of its being juſt and reaſonable, as from a ſenſe that it ſuited with his own condition; the vaſt expences of his court rendering it very difficult to raiſe ſuch ſums as were requiſite to keep up the navy. Beſides, there was a peace then treating, and the king had the ſtrongeſt aſſurances given him from the French court, (on purpoſe to betray and miſlead him), that the Dutch would fit out no fleet that ſummer; and, upon theſe motives, the king took a fatal reſolution of laying up his great ſhips, and keeping only a few frigates on the cruize[e].

The de Wittes, who had perfect intelligence of all that paſſed here, and who, perhaps, wanted not ſome friends to propound ſuch deſtructive meaſures as were then purſued, immediately availed themſelves of this opportunity; and, having firſt amuſed the king with an attempt in Scotland, grounded on their reſent-

[d] See Dr. Seth Ward, biſhop of Saliſbury, his ſermon, entitled, The Chriſtian's victory over death, preached at the duke of Albemarle's funeral the 30th of April, 1670, in St. Peter's church in the abbey of Weſtminſter. London, 1670, 4to, p. 12. Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 366.

[e] See p. 121, 122.

ment, as it was ſaid, for the injuries done their trade by privateers from thence; they, in the midſt of ſummer, came with a formidable fleet, piloted by our own traitors, into the mouth of the Thames, and on Thurſday the 11th of June, 1667, appeared before Chatham [f]. In this trying circumſtance, the moſt diſhonourable to the Engliſh nation that perhaps ever happened in any reign, the duke of Albemarle was immediately thought of as the fitteſt perſon to raiſe the ſpirits of the people by his preſence, and to defeat the enemy's deſigns by his conduct. He did all, and even more than could be expected from him, to fruſtrate the ſcheme of the de Wittes; but ſuch a panic had ſtruck the people, and ſuch a want of capacity was viſible in thoſe who had the direction of the king's yards, that his orders were very indifferently obeyed [g].

He cauſed, however, ſeveral ſhips to be ſunk in the narrow paſſage by the Muſſel-Bank, and took ſuch other precautions as were of much ſervice; and, had he been well ſeconded, there is the greateſt reaſon in the world to believe the Dutch had reaped no great credit from this undertaking; at leaſt, this was the opinion of the parliament, who highly approved the duke's conduct; and, on the narrative he preſented them in relation to this affair, they impeached commiſſioner Pett, relying implicitly, as to facts, on the credit of what his grace was pleaſed to tell them [h]: ſo that it was a juſt obſervation, and, at the ſame time, a well-turned panegyric, of a learned prelate, when he ſaid of the duke's behaviour in this unlucky buſineſs, "That even where "the iſſue of the whole matter was not very proſperous, God "was pleaſed to order his part ſo, that he came off with im-"mortal honour and reputation [i]."

After the Dutch war was over, and the king much inclined to do his people a pleaſure, he thought fit, on the deceaſe of the earl of Southampton, to put the treaſury into commiſſion: yet, that it might not be ſurmiſed the public was in any danger from the loſs of ſo great and ſo good a man as the treaſurer was uni-

f See p. 124. g See his grace's account of this matter preſented to parliament, which may be found in ſeveral books, but particularly in the hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of commons, printed for Chandler, vol. i. p. 114.
h See the heads of this impeachment in Echard, p. 853. i Dr. Seth Ward, biſhop of Saliſbury, in his funeral ſermon on the duke of Albemarle.

verſally

verſally allowed to be, the duke of Albemarle was put at the head of that commiſſion: and this was the laſt mark of royal favour in this kind which he received; for loſing his health ſuddenly, (that till then he had ſurpriſingly retained, in the midſt of ſo many and ſo great fatigues), he choſe to retire from public buſineſs, and to ſpend the remainder of his time in attending that diſſolution which appeared to be at no great diſtance[k].

Yet, having ſome relief from his diſtemper, which was a dropſy, by the aſſiſtance of one Dr. Sermon of Briſtol, and, when he relapſed again, continuing long in a declining way, he ſtill ſhewed much loyalty to the king, and a very warm affection for his country. Many viſits he received from his majeſty and the duke of York in his laſt ſickneſs, whom he always entertained with ſtrong and plain, but, at the ſame time, decent diſcourſes on the impoſſibility of ſupporting the royal authority any other way than by purſuing the true intereſt of the nation. He was likewiſe attended by the moſt conſiderable perſons in both houſes of parliament, whom he exhorted to maintain, in their legiſlative capacities, a good correſpondence with the crown and with each other. This, he ſaid, was the only way to ſerve the people: for if once the paſſions of private men, or, which was the ſame thing in another dreſs, the particular intereſt of parties came to influence their debates, the public would reap no good fruits from them. With the ſame preſence of mind he regulated the private concerns of his family, cauſing his only ſon to be married to the daughter of lord Ogle in his chamber, on the 30th of December 1669, and on the 3d of January following he quietly yielded up his breath ſitting in his chair, when he had lived near threeſcore and two years[l].

After ſpeaking of him ſo fully in his public, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of ſo great a man in his private capacity, the temper of his mind, and his abilities natural and acquired. As to his perſon, he was a ſtrong well-built man, of a good

[k] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 369. [l] Gumble's life of Monk, p. 461, 464. Annals of the univerſe, p. 235. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 863. Lord Arlington in his letter to Sir William Temple, dated January 7, 1670, ſays, the gazette will tell you of the loſs we have had of my lord-general, and the reſentment his majeſty hath of it. I pray God we may not need the wiſhing him alive again.

preſence, and very able to endure fatigue. The advantages he derived from nature were much ſtrengthened by his manner of living. He was always an early riſer; his private devotions, and whatever domeſtic concerns he had to manage, being conſtantly attended to, and deſpatched by ſeven o'clock; when he gave audience, without diſtinction, to all who deſired it, and conſtantly made an end (if it was in his power) of every poor man's buſineſs on the ſpot. He was an enemy to all oppreſſion in the army, and uſed frequently to ſay, that his officers ſhould have power to command and to protect, but not to terrify or pillage the ſoldiers [m]. He was a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, of which he gave a ſignal inſtance at the end of the firſt Dutch war in Cromwell's time. The ſeamen came to the navy-office in crowds to demand their prize-money: he told them, that there were fifteen hundred ſhips to be ſold, and that, as ſoon as they were ſold, they ſhould have their money, with which they ſeemed to be ſatisfied; but in the afternoon there came four or five thouſand of them armed towards Whitehall, which Monk hearing, met them at Charing-croſs in company with Cromwell and ſome other officers, where, without much expoſtulation, he drew his ſword, and wounded ſeveral of them, upbraiding them with not depending on his word, who never broke it; which had ſuch an effect upon them, that, forgetting their former fury, they tamely retired, and were afterwards very honeſtly paid [n].

He was extremely moderate in his way of living, eating but one meal a-day, and that homely, and heartily. He deſpiſed and hated drinking; and having ſettled his affections on the woman he married, was a tender and conſtant huſband through the courſe of his life. As a father, he ſhewed more of paſſion than in any part of his character; for, on the loſs of his ſecond ſon George, in Scotland, he gave way to his grief to ſuch a degree, as ſurpriſed all who were acquainted with the firmneſs of his temper in other reſpects [o]. His valour was very ſingular, for he was fierce without loſing his temper, and had an extra-

[m] See Gumble's life of Monk, p. 467. which, in theſe circumſtances, deſerves the more to be depended on, ſince the author was a conſtant eye-witneſs of what he wrote. [n] Lives Engliſh and foreign, p. 144. where it is ſaid he cut off a man's noſe, and gave him 10 l. as a ſatisfaction. [o] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 70. Gumble, p. 475.

ordinary

ordinary meaſure of patience, joined with boundleſs courage; and theſe qualities he poſſeſſed as much as ever, even in the decline of life. In the ſecond Dutch war a chain-ſhot took away his breeches, yet he never altered his countenance or his place [p]. In the Chatham buſineſs, apprehending the Dutch would land, he expoſed himſelf in the midſt of their cannon-ſhot, that his example might keep others to their duty, and defeat the deſign of the enemy, as it did: and when a perſon of diſtinction expoſtulated with him on this head, and would have perſuaded him to retire; he anſwered very coolly, "Sir, if I had been "afraid of bullets, I ſhould have quitted this trade of a ſoldier "long ago [q]."

His capital virtues were, prudence and modeſty: the former enabled him to perform the great things he did, and the latter reſtrained him from ever valuing himſelf on the great things he had done. He was equally dear to the king, and to the nation; and it was his peculiar felicity, that he had the affection of both without incurring the jealouſy of either. He would have retired immediately after the reſtoration, if his country could have ſpared him; and when he ſaw it could not, he ſerved it as cheerfully as before. He ſerved it, in how many capacities? He commanded the army in chief, when the king and the nation's ſafety depended upon that command. He was put at the head of a commiſſion for managing the treaſury, or rather ſettling it. His activity was neceſſary for ſuppreſſing all inſurrections; his preſence was thought requiſite in the higheſt courts of juſtice. If he was entruſted by the king with the army, he was likewiſe entruſted by the duke with the fleet. He had the care of the city, when viſited with the plague; the command of the navy when we made war with France and Holland at the ſame time. He was ſent for to recover the minds of the citizens after the fire; he was ſent to meet the threatening invaſion of the Dutch;

[p] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 550. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 342. The duke of Buckinghamſhire gives us a much ſtronger proof of his reſolution, on his own knowledge; for he ſays the duke of Albemarle declared, at the beginning of the action, that he was ſure of one thing, *viz* that he would not be taken, and that he ſaw him charge a little pocket-piſtol with powder, which his grace believed he would have fired into the powder-room, in caſe the Dutch had boarded him. See his memoirs, prefixed to his works, p. 6.

[q] Gumble's life of Monk, p. 150.

and

and as he made way for the treaſurer Southampton, ſo, on his death, he was thought the only man that could replace him. Well, then, might ſecretary Nicholas, that able and faithful ſervant of the crown, ſay, (and he ſaid it when the duke had done a few only of theſe great things), "That, independent of his "merit in the reſtoration, the duke of Albemarle, by his inde- "fatigable zeal, and ſucceſsful ſervices afterwards, had merited "more than his prince could do for him[r]." Such was the man whom his maſter was not aſhamed to call his FATHER; becauſe, indeed, he was the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY[s]!

When his ſon went to wait upon the king with the enſigns of the order of the garter, his majeſty was pleaſed to reſtore them to him; the king likewiſe directed the duke's body to be removed to Somerſet-houſe, where it lay for many weeks in ſtate, and on the laſt day of April was removed, with great funeral pomp, to Weſtminſter-abbey, and there interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel[t]. Yet, as if his fame had ſtood in need of no ſuch ſupport, a monument was neglected; only thoſe who have the care of the place preſerve his figure in wax, and think it ſufficient, to raiſe the admiration of every loyal ſpectator, to ſay, "This is general MONK!"

He left behind him an only ſon, Chriſtopher duke of Albemarle, to whom both king Charles and king James ſhewed great reſpect. It muſt be confeſſed, that he had not his father's abilities either in the cabinet or in the field; but he was a generous, good-natured man, and leſſened conſiderably the very large eſtate

[r] Gumble's life of Monk, p. 407. Skinner's life of Monk, p. 318. Lord Lanſdown's works, vol. ii. p. 267. The reader will obſerve, that ſecretary Nicholas was a ſtrict dependant on the chancellor Clarendon, who had no great love for the duke of Albemarle.

[s] Lives Engliſh and foreign, p. 188. It was ſaid of him after his deceaſe by the king, that the duke of Albemarle never over-valued the ſervices of general Monk. What thoſe ſervices were, appears in the preambles to the patents of the duke of Albemarle and the earl of Bath, where the reſtoration is aſcribed to them by the king himſelf.

[t] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 297. Hiſtorian's guide, p. 77. The biſhop of Saliſbury's ſermon before cited. It may perhaps deſerve the reader's notice, if we remark, that his grace John, duke of Marlborough, then enſign Churchill, attended at this funeral, and is the laſt perſon mentioned in the London Gazette, which deſcribes that ſolemnity.

that

that was left him, by indulging pleaſures his father deſpiſed [u]: yet he had many good qualities, and particularly that of ſheltering and encouraging merit in diſtreſs. He gave a ſingular inſtance of this in ſupporting captain Phipps, afterwards Sir William Phipps, and governor of New-England. He came over to make a propoſal for fiſhing on a wreck on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and made the deſign appear ſo highly probable, and at the ſame time ſo practicable, that king Charles the Second granted him a ſhip called the Algier Roſe, and furniſhed him with whatever was thought neceſſary for the undertaking; which, however, failed of ſucceſs, and captain Phipps returned as poor and as poſitive as ever [w].

He endeavoured to obtain from king James II. (who by this time was on the throne) another ſhip, but to no purpoſe; afterwards he ſet on foot a propoſal for making it a private adventure, for which he was at firſt laughed at, till the duke of Albemarle engaged in the deſign, and advanced a conſiderable ſum of money towards fitting him out. He quickly completed the reſt, and in the year 1687 ſailed in the Bridgewater Merchant, a ſhip of two hundred tons, on the ſame ſcheme, propoſing to make an equal diſtribution of the profits on twenty ſhares, into which the expence of the undertaking was divided [x].

He was more lucky in his ſecond enterprize, though not till his patience was almoſt worn out, and afterwards proſecuted his deſign with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a ſhort ſpace he returned to England with three hundred thouſand pounds in ſilver. On his arrival there wanted not ſome who would have perſuaded the king to ſeize his ſhip and cargo, under pretence that captain Phipps had not given an exact information, when he applied for his licence, and the royal aſſiſtance: but his majeſty generouſly anſwered, that he knew the captain to be an honeſt man, and a man of honour, and that, if he had brought home twice as much treaſure, his proprietors ſhould divide it. His majeſty farther expreſſed his ſatisfaction, by knighting him [y]. The duke of

[u] Lives Engliſh and foreign, p. 196. [w] Life of Sir William Phipps, Knt. by Increaſe Mather, London, 1697, 12mo, § v. p. 10. [x] Lives Engliſh and foreign, p. 196. [y] Life of king James II. p. 392.

Albemarle

Albemarle had for his ſhare ninety thouſand pounds, and Sir William about twenty thouſand pounds [z].

This piece of good fortune is thought to have engaged the duke of Albemarle to aſk king James for the government of Jamaica, which he obtained: but, if it was with a view to reap farther advantages from that or other wrecks, he was diſappointed; for whether it was that the treaſure was exhauſted, or that, the ſhip being broken up, the ſea by degrees diſſipated its contents, certain it is, that nothing of conſequence could afterwards be obtained from that wreck [a]. His grace's free way of living, eſpecially in regard to the bottle, rendered that a very unfit climate for him to live in; and therefore we need not wonder, that he did not long enjoy his government, but died in the year following without iſſue; and ſo this noble family became extinct [b].

MEMOIRS of Admiral MONTAGUE, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, and Knight of the garter.

FAME belongs of right to all thoſe who have deſerved well of ſociety; but the ſupreme degree of glory ought to wait on the memory of ſuch illuſtrious perſons as have been martyrs for their country, and voluntarily died either to ſerve or to preſerve it. If this be a juſt poſition, as muſt be allowed by every man who thinks, then the noble perſon, whoſe memoirs are at preſent to employ our care, ought ever to be revered by Britons. His life was an uniform ſcene of patriotiſm and public ſpirit; his death ſo extraordinary a ſtrain of exalted courage, that, as few facts in modern hiſtory come near it, ſo none in more ancient and leſs corrupted times can be juſtly ſaid to exceed it.

[z] There was on this occaſion a fine medallion ſtruck, with the faces of the king and queen on one ſide, with their titles, and on the reverſe a ſhip at anchor, and the boats fiſhing on the wreck: the inſcription, *Semper tibi pendeat hamus*; the ſenſe is, "Always watch, you'll ſomething catch:" the exergue, "*Naufragia reperata; i. e.* "the ſhipwreck repaired." The duke of Albemarle, to ſhew his ſenſe of Sir William's integrity, gave lady Phipps a cup of gold worth a thouſand pounds.

[a] Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 319. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 1094. [b] Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 320.

To ſpeak of the antiquity or nobility of this family, would be an idle waſte of words; the very name of Montague is ſufficient to inform every intelligent reader of all that I could ſay on that ſubject.

Mr. Edward Montague was the only ſurviving ſon of Sir Sidney Montague, the youngeſt of ſix ſons of Edward lord Montague of Boughton [c]. He was born July 27, 1625 [d], and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could beſtow, came very early into the world, and into buſineſs; eſpecially if we conſider the times in which he lived, and the qualities neceſſary for men to be diſtinguiſhed in them.

He married, when little above ſeventeen, the daughter of Mr. Crew, afterwards lord Crew of Stene [e]; and being thought more warmly affected to the cauſe of the parliament than his father Sir Sidney Montague was, who had been expelled his ſeat for refuſing to take an oath to live and die with the earl of Eſſex, and giving ſuch a reaſon for it as it was eaſier to puniſh than anſwer [f], received a commiſſion, dated Auguſt 20, 1643, to raiſe and command a regiment under the earl before mentioned. This colonel Montague, though but eighteen, performed; and, the intereſt of his family being very extenſive, he took the field in ſix weeks.

He was preſent at the ſtorming of Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmeſt actions in the courſe of that lamentable war. He was likewiſe in the battle of Marſton-moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the ſame year, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; inſomuch that ſoon after, when the city of York demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for ſettling the articles; which muſt

[c] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 729. Warwick's memoirs, p. 221. [d] Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 280. [e] Dugdale's baronage, vol. iii. p. 482. [f] Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 281. He told the ſpeaker, "he would not ſwear to live with that nobleman, becauſe he was "an old man, and might die before him, nor would he ſwear to die with him, "ſince the earl was going with an army againſt the king, which he did not know "how to free from treaſon, and therefore could not tell what end that great "man might come to." Warwick's memoirs, p. 221. The parliament's expelling this gentleman merely for declaring his ſentiment is complained of in one of the king's declarations as a moſt arbitrary proceeding. Clarendon's hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 106.

have been the pure effects of perſonal merit, ſince he was then but in his nineteenth year [g]. We find him the next in the battle of Naſeby, and in the month of July, 1645, he ſtormed the town of Bridgwater [h]. In September he commanded a brigade in the ſtorm of Briſtol, where he performed very remarkable ſervice; and, on the 10th of September, 1645, ſubſcribed the articles of the capitulation, granted to prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament [i]; the news of which, in conjunction with colonel Hammond, he was appointed to carry; for which a thankſgiving was ordered [k].

But after all this warm ſervice in the army, at an age when few people have ſeen one, he ſhewed no inclination to make the ſword the ſupreme power; but when, by the artifices of their leaders, the ſoldiers declared againſt the parliament, and in June 1647 impeached eleven of its moſt worthy members, he forbore going to the houſe, where, when choſen, he ſat as knight for Huntingdonſhire. His acquaintance, however, with Cromwell, the court paid him by that artful man, and his own generous unſuſpecting temper, drew him in to accept a ſeat at the board of treaſury, and into a ſhare of the tranſactions in thoſe times, with which he was very much diſſatisfied upon reflection. After the Dutch war was over, he was brought into a command of the fleet, and was made choice of by the protector to be joined with Blake, in his expedition into the Mediterranean [l].

Admiral Montague found abundance of difficulties to ſtruggle with, at the very entrance on this affair; many of the officers being diſpleaſed with the ſervice in which they were to be engaged, and not a few, influenced by their ſcruples, inſiſted on laying down their commiſſions. He managed this intricate buſineſs with great prudence and dexterity, ſo as to ſhew a due and ſteady regard to diſcipline, without, however, running into any acts of ſeverity: and this had a very happy effect; ſince, by that time he came to ſail, the fleet was pretty well ſettled, and the officers in general diſpoſed to act in obedience to orders [m].

[g] Ruſhworth's hiſtorical collections, vol. v. p. 637. [h] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 56. [i] Heath's chronicle, p. 86. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 164. Ruſhworth's collections under the year 1645. p. 83, 86. [k] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 166. [l] Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iv. p. 443. See p. 53, 54. [m] Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol iv. p. 570, 571, 589, 594.

In

In the ſpring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, where himſelf and his colleague, Blake, meditated many great things. They once thought of attacking the Spaniſh fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but, after attentively conſidering the port, it was reſolved, in a council of war, that ſuch an attempt was impracticable. Then Gibraltar was mentioned, as a place that would be of great utility, in caſe it could be reduced. Admiral Montague, in a letter to ſecretary Thurloe, gave his judgment of this project with great ſagacity. According to his ſentiments, the only method of taking that fortreſs was, to land a body of forces on the iſthmus, and thereby cut off the communication of the town with the main; and, in this ſituation, to make a briſk attempt upon the place. Yet, as a proof of the fallibility of human underſtanding, we find, in this very letter, a propoſal for ſending five thouſand land-forces, on account of the haſty diſpoſition of the ſeamen, which rendered them unfit to perform any effectual ſervice on ſhore[n]. When this place, however, long after, was actually taken, it was wholly owing to the vigour and activity of the ſailors, and to that impetuoſity in particular which admiral Montague imagined would be a hindrance in any enterprize of this kind.

When cruizing before Cadiz appeared to be of no great advantage, the fleet ſtood over to the oppoſite ſhore of Barbary, in order to repreſs the inſolence of the Tripoli and Sallee rovers, which was found no very eaſy taſk; and therefore admiral Montague could not forbear intimating his deſire, that we ſhould have ſome good port in Africa, which he believed might anſwer various ends, and eſpecially conduce to the preſervation and augmentation of our trade in the Levant. Hence, I ſuppoſe, grew the firſt notion of getting Tangier into our hands, of which, a year or two after, there was great diſcourſe, as well as of the benefits that would redound to the nation from the poſſeſſing it; and this in all probability might recommend the Portugal match ſo much to the favour of the earl of Mancheſter, who, it is likely, depended therein on the judgment of admiral Montague. At this time, however, we find our admiral more inclined to take that or ſome other place from the Portugueſe by force; for he enter-

[n] Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. v. p. 67—69.

tained a very bad opinion of their ſincerity, though at laſt the terror of the Engliſh fleet compelled them to make ſuch a compoſition as ſatisfied the protector, and diſappointed Montague in his favourite deſign of attacking their Braſil fleet [o].

The warmth he expreſſed in the diſcharge of his command, did not hinder the admiral from perceiving the great prejudice done to our trade by the carrying on the Spaniſh war, of which he gives a fair and clear account in one of his deſpatches to the ſecretary, wherein he complains, that he ſaw the Dutch, Hamburghers, and Genoeſe, carrying on a mighty trade with Spain, which, as he obſerves, it was impoſſible for them to hinder, without engaging the ſtate in a war with all the world, and therefore propoſed, that a ſquadron of light frigates only might be kept in thoſe ſeas, and that the fleet ſhould be employed ſomewhere elſe to more advantage [p].

However, the protector's orders being poſitive, they returned towards autumn into the road of Cadiz, where, in September following, captain Stayner made prize of the galleons. A full account of their ſtrength, and the money on board them, admiral Montague ſent into England as ſoon as they were taken; and, when he afterwards received directions to convoy the prizes home, he ſent another account of the ſilver on board them, deſiring at the ſame time, that ſome perſons might be ſent down to meet the fleet at Portſmouth, in order to take charge of the ſilver, and to make a farther ſearch into the contents of the galleons [q].

o Thurloe's papers, vol. v. p. 194, 195. p Ibid. vol. v. p. 170.

q This letter is directed to ſecretary Thurloe, and dated aboard the Naſeby, at ſea, off the Lizard, October 22, 1656. In it he ſays, "There have been "ſome miſcarriages, by the ſhips that did take the ſhips of Spain; but I ſhall "delay to tell of them here; and I judge the beſt way to improve mercies of "this kind is, to look forward: however, that is my buſineſs at this time. The "ſilver they brought, is on board this ſhip, and the vice-admiral; in the admi-"ral, we have five hundred and fifty ſous of ſilver, and boxes of plate, and "nine pieces of ſilver not well refined, like ſugar-loaves. In the vice admiral "there is a hundred and twenty-four ſous of ſilver, all which we judge may "produce near two hundred thouſand pounds: I hope I ſpeak the leaſt, and "that it will make much more. In the galleons holds, alſo, there is that ſpace "between the main maſt and the bulk-head of the bread-room not yet rumma-"ged." Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. v. p. 509.

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The money, thus taken from the Spaniards, was, though undeſervedly, the moſt popular act in all Cromwell's adminiſtration, and therefore the utmoſt pains were taken to give the populace a very high idea of this advantage. The ſilver was carried in open carts, and ammunition waggons, through Southwark, to the Tower of London; and, to make a ſhew of entire confidence in the people, theſe waggons had no greater guard than ten ſoldiers[r]. As for admiral Montague, he had all the compliments paid him, upon this occaſion, that it was poſſible for him to deſire; the protector careſſed him exceedingly; the parliament, as we have elſewhere obſerved, returned him thanks by their ſpeaker, and ſome other honours he had received, if with induſtry he had not declined them[s].

In 1657 he was appointed to command the fleet in the Downs, and went accordingly on board it in the latter end of the month of July. The deſign of this fleet was to watch the Dutch, to carry on the war with Spain, and facilitate the enterprize on Dunkirk; and in all theſe he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of the marſhal de Turenne, where he had a conference with him, in order to determine the propereſt method of carrying on the war, and then returned on board the fleet, which cruized in the channel till the beginning of winter[t]. All this time he ſeems to have been in the higheſt favour with the protector, and to have had the ſtricteſt intimacy with his family; and yet, even then, the admiral entertained ſerious thoughts of retiring from public buſineſs. What the reaſon of this was cannot, at this diſtance of time, be certainly recovered; but, in all probability, the ſenſe he had of the ſtrange ſervice he was put upon in aſſiſting the French, and diſtreſſing the trade of all the reſt of the world, made him uneaſy[u]. One thing is remarkable, that, how much ſoever he diſliked the orders that were ſent him, he executed them with the utmoſt punctuality; ſo that

[r] This appears from a letter of the Dutch ambaſſador Nieuport, to the ſtates-general, dated Nov. 17, N. S. 1656. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. v. p. 269. [s] Lord Sandwich's journal, MS. See alſo p. 54. in the notes. [t] Theſe facts are collected from various letters in the ſixth volume of Thurloe's ſtate papers. [u] We have theſe particulars in a very curious letter from lord Broghill to Mr. Montague, diſſuading him from retiring. Dated from Youghall, Nov. 20, 1657. Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vi. p. 622.

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the Dutch, whoſe ſhips he ſearched for ſilver, made a heavy complaint againſt him [w].

We may likewiſe gather, from his letters to Cromwell, and the inſtructions he received, that he was not a little embarraſſed about the protector's future deſigns; and yet it is plain enough, that Richard deſired the admiral ſhould rather regulate things by his own diſcretion, than be able to juſtify himſelf, in reſpect to his conduct, from the letter of his orders. This particularly appears in the buſineſs of the flag; upon which that protector wrote him an epiſtle with his own hand, commanding, in expreſs terms, that he ſhould inſiſt upon the honour of the flag from all nations, within the limits of the Britiſh ſeas, and yet telling him as expreſly, that he knew not what thoſe limits were; adding, at the ſame time, that he was to execute theſe orders with caution, ſince peace and war depended on them [x].

After the death of Oliver, and the ſetting up of Richard, admiral Montague was fixed upon to command the great fleet ſent to the north, which, as it was in itſelf the wiſeſt and beſt meaſure entered upon in thoſe times, ſo this fleet was beyond compariſon the moſt conſiderable that had been fitted out ſince the Dutch war; and therefore I think myſelf obliged to give a ſhort account of it [y]. The Naſeby, on board which the admiral hoiſted his flag, carried ſeventy guns, and ſix hundred men; the Reſolution had the like number of men, and eighty guns; there were fourteen ſhips carrying each fifty pieces of cannon and upwards, twenty-eight forty gun ſhips, or near it, four of thirty guns, beſides twelve ſmaller veſſels, carrying from twenty-two to twenty-eight pieces of cannon; in all ſixty ſhips, and on board them eleven thouſand eight hundred and twenty men [z].

The admiral went on board in the ſpring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of April he wrote to the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the Dutch admiral Opdam, to inform

[w] Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vii. p. 256. [x] Ibid. p. 633. where the reader may find Richard Cromwell's letter, of five lines, on this important ſubject. [y] As to the true grounds of fitting out this fleet, and the ends it was intended to anſwer, conſult Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 730. Heath's chronicle, p. 416. Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 363. Bates's elencus motuum, p. ii. p. 229, 230. [z] This account I take from two liſts in Thurloe's collection, and from one in MS.

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them of the motives that had induced the protector to ſend ſo ſtrong a fleet into the Baltic, and that his inſtructions were not to reſpect the private advantage of England by making war, but the public tranquillity of Europe, by engaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace [a].

Before the admiral ſailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very ſtrict inſtructions, which left him no real power, but obliged him to act in conjunction with their commiſſioners, colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon; and at the ſame time they took an occaſion to ſhew they had no great kindneſs for him, by giving away his regiment of horſe; ſo that we may ſuppoſe he left England in none of the warmeſt diſpoſitions for their ſervice [b]. When he arrived in the Sound, he took his ſhare with other miniſters in negotiation, and made it ſufficiently evident, that he had a genius as capable of ſhining in the cabinet, as of commanding at ſea or on ſhore. While he was thus employed, king Charles, being very well informed as to his temper, principles, and ſtrict conjunction with the protector's family, thought this a proper time (that family being entirely laid aſide) to make a trial of his affections, and therefore ſent a perſon with two letters, one from himſelf, and the other from chancellor Hyde, to be delivered to him, if poſſible, without the privity of his collegues.

The ſcheme was rational, and well laid, but the meſſenger very indifferently choſen. He was one whoſe loyalty was apt to dance upon his tongue in thoſe perilous times, when wiſe men kept it cloſe in their hearts; and it was with ſome difficulty that the admiral preſerved him from ſuffering by his indiſcretion. Yet theſe letters, and the perſuaſions of a near relation of his, who undertook to ſtate the merits of the royal cauſe fairly, had ſuch an effect on admiral Montague's mind, that he returned immediately to his duty, and returned with all that warmth and ſincerity incident to great minds, conſcious of former failings. The ſervice the king expected from him was ſailing ſpeedily back to England, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other perſons of diſtinction, who were diſpoſed to hazard their lives for the ſervice of their coun-

[a] Theſe letters are in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vii. and in lord Sandwich's journal. [b] Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vii. p. 680, 681.

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try; on weighing which propoſal, Mr. Montague found it ſo plauſible, that he reſolved to run any hazard, rather than not contribute as much as in him lay to put it in execution, conceiving that, if this opportunity was miſſed, another equally promiſing might not quickly happen [c].

Colonel Algernon Sidney was a man of quick parts, and deep penetration: he ſoon diſcerned ſome change in Mr. Montague's conduct, and purſued his diſcoveries ſo cloſely, that he miſſed very little of coming at his whole ſecret. The admiral, obſerving his ſuſpicions, called a council of war, and therein made a clear and cloſe ſpeech, in which he ſhewed them plainly the little hope there was of doing any thing for the honour of England, by remaining where they were; that to fight they had no authority, and, if they were to remain neuter, they might as well ſail home. He then laid before them the accounts he had received from his and their native country of the great ſtruggles between the army and the parliament, whence he took occaſion to hint, that themſelves had a great ſtake there, and that, if a new government was to be ſettled, ſome reſpect ought to be had to the fleet. He concluded with ſaying, that he readily ſubmitted his ſentiments to a free debate, and that he was determined to act according to their judgment: but that one thing muſt be noted, proviſions were already become ſcarce, it was very difficult to obtain ſupplies; and therefore, if they reſolved to ſtay, they muſt reſolve alſo to live at ſhort allowance.

The queſtion was ſoon decided; and, in conſequence of the council's opinion, admiral Montague weighed immediately, and ſailed to England [d]. On his arrival he found things in a very unexpected and diſagreeable ſituation; Sir George Booth cloſe priſoner in the Tower, the parliament reſtored to their authority, and a warm charge againſt himſelf come to hand from colonel Sidney. Immediately on his arrival he ſet out for London, attended the parliament, and gave there an account of his conduct with ſo much wiſdom and eloquence, that even ſuch as diſliked it knew not what to object, and were therefore very well ſatisfied with diſmiſſing him from his command, to which Lawſon

[c] Clarendon's hiſtory, vol. vi. p. 730, 731.

[d] Heath's chronicle, p. 426. Memoirs of the reſtoration, a MS.

was appointed, a rigid Anabaptiſt, and one in whom they had the greateſt confidence [e].

After ſuch an eſcape, Mr. Montague, as it was very natural, withdrew to his own eſtate, with a deſign to enjoy, in privacy and peace, the remainder of his life: this made him concern himſelf very little, if at all, in the following public tranſactions before Monk's coming into England. After this, when that general ſhewed a deſire that admiral Montague ſhould be reſtored to his command, he ſent privately to the king for his approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he ſent his majeſty a liſt of ſuch officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of ſuch as he apprehended muſt be reduced by force. He likewiſe deſired to know, whether the king had any aſſurance of the general; but was, at the ſame time ſo cautious, as to deſire no notice might be taken to his excellency how his inclinations ſtood [f].

On his coming on board the fleet, he found things ſtrangely altered; for Lawſon, from whom he expected moſt oppoſition, was become as ready to ſerve the king as himſelf: upon which he laid by all reſerve; and, as ſoon as he received his majeſty's letter, directed to himſelf and general Monk, he ſailed with the fleet to Holland, leaving only two or three ſhips to attend the parliament-commiſſioners. This was a very warm teſtimony of his affection for the king's ſervice, and as ſuch was received by his majeſty: but when it was obſerved, that the parliament-commiſſioners looked upon it as a mark of diſreſpect, the king was pleaſed to cover Mr. Montague, by ſending him an order that was antedated. Soon after, he had the honour to convoy his majeſty to England, who, within two days from his landing at Dover, ſent Sir Edward Walker, garter king at arms, to deliver him his declaratory letters, with the ribband and George of the moſt noble order of the garter, which he preſented him on the 28th of May, in the morning, in his ſhip, then riding in the Downs [g].

Among the honours conferred on ſuch as had been particularly inſtrumental in reſtoring his majeſty to his juſt rights, our

[e] See p. 60. [f] Clarendon's hiſtory, vol. vi. p. 764. [g] Walker's hiſtorical account of the knights of the garter, a MS. p. 104. penes Joh. Anſtis arm. See alſo p. 61.

admiral had his ſhare; and by letters patent, dated the 12th July 1660, he was created baron Montague of St. Neots, in the county of Huntingdon, viſcount Hinchinbrooke, in the ſame county, and earl of Sandwich in Kent, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, made maſter of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow ſeas, and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of York, as lord high-admiral of England. At his majeſty's coronation his lordſhip carried St. Edward's ſtaff, and was now looked upon as one of the king's principal miniſters, as well as the perſon chiefly entruſted with the care of the fleet[h]. He conſtantly attended the council, when any tranſactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate, and always gave his opinion like a good ſubject and a true patriot. When the marriage with the infanta was concluded, he brought her majeſty over, and performed other ſervices, as has been already mentioned[i].

His lordſhip has been aſperſed for joining, as is ſurmiſed, with the duke of Albemarle, in the project for giving up Dunkirk to the French. I have already examined this affair ſo fully, that I ſhall ſay but little of it here, and only as it relates to this noble perſon. The thing was propoſed but by halves at the council; and, at firſt, the ſtrength and importance of the place was only canvaſſed: upon which the earl of Sandwich (who knew it as well as any man) ſaid, that the coaſt of Dunkirk was generally ſo tempeſtuous, and the ground ſo rolling, upon every ſtorm, that there never could be any certain ſteerage to the port[k]. This was the truth, and nothing more; yet was the earl far from propoſing that it ſhould be put into the hands of the French, though he judged it too expenſive for his maſter to keep; and therefore he declared for demoliſhing it[l]. How this propoſition came to be rejected, I cannot ſay; but it is plain, that though the earl of Sandwich did not ſet a higher value up-

[h] Pat. 12 Car. II. Philips's continuation of Baker's chronicle, p. 738, 739. Kennet's chronicle, p. 417. in which there is a complete relation of the coronation; at which ceremony his lordſhip, in conjunction with the dukes of Buckingham and Albemarle, and the earl of Berkſhire, aſſiſted in holding a rich pall, of cloth of gold, over the king's head, during the time that prince was anointing by the archbiſhop. [i] See p. 83. [k] Which is the expreſſion mentioned by Echard. [l] The French king takes notice of this, in his anſwer to count d'Eſtrades of Auguſt 27.

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on Dunkirk, than, in the condition it was then, the place deſerved; yet he never deſired to ſee it fall into the hands of the French, as has been very falſely, and, I very much ſuſpect, maliciouſly aſſerted.

When the Dutch war began, in 1664, the earl of Sandwich went heartily into the meaſure, as conceiving it for the honour and intereſt of England; and when the duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as high-admiral, his lordſhip commanded the blue ſquadron; and, by his induſtry and care, abundance of the enemy's ſhips were taken, and the beſt part of their Bourdeaux fleet [m]. In the great battle fought on the 3d of June 1665, wherein the Dutch loſt their admiral Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen deſtroyed, a large ſhare of the honour of the victory was juſtly given to the conduct of the earl of Sandwich; who, about noon, fell with the blue ſquadron into the centre of the enemy's fleet, and thereby began that confuſion, which ended ſoon after in a plain flight [n]. Moſt of our hiſtorians agree, that if this victory had been properly purſued, the Dutch fleet had been totally ruined; and the neglect of this advantage is, as I have elſewhere obſerved [o], by ſome, without juſt grounds, charged on the duke of York. On the return of the Engliſh navy, his majeſty, at the requeſt of the queen-mother, declared the duke ſhould not expoſe his perſon again on board the fleet; but that the command of it ſhould be left to the earl of Sandwich; who was ordered to employ his utmoſt diligence to put it, as ſpeedily as poſſible, in a condition to return to the Dutch coaſt; which he accordingly performed [p].

The earl of Sandwich ſailed on the 5th of July with ſixty men of war to the coaſt of Holland, wearing the royal ſtandard of England, and having under him ſeveral of the braveſt ſeamen that perhaps ever bore the Engliſh flags. Finding the Dutch fleet not at ſea, and having information that both their Eaſt-India and Smyrna fleets were to return north about, he reſolved to ſteer

[m] See p. 92. [n] See p. 95. [o] See p. 99—101. where this affair is treated very copiouſly. [p] Philips, Kennet, Echard. In the earl of Clarendon's ſpeech, as chancellor, to the parliament at Oxford, October 10, 1665, the keeping the duke at home is repreſented as a mark of the king's tenderneſs for his royal highneſs's perſon.

for the coaſt of Norway, in hopes of meeting with them: nor was this a difficult thing, ſince it was ſoon after known, that they had taken ſhelter in the port of Berghen [q]. We have already given ſome account of this action, but reſerved a more particular detail of it for this place, to which it properly belongs, the rather, becauſe the attempt on the Dutch fleet in the harbour of Berghen was the occaſion of our war with Denmark, which ſome have ventured to charge on the earl of Sandwich, as brought about by his ill management; whereas, in truth, he did every thing that could be expected from an experienced officer, and a man of honour, as we ſhall ſhew in few words, becauſe our naval hiſtorians are very unaccountably ſilent on this head.

Sir Gilbert Talbot was then envoy at the court of the king of Denmark; and he, finding a diſpoſition in that prince to fill his coffers at the expence of the Dutch, propoſed to him, as the moſt effectual way of doing it, ſeizing on their fleets in his harbour, which would indemnify him for all the loſſes he complained of, and bring into his treaſury many millions of dollars. The king of Denmark readily embraced the project, and inſiſted only on one objection, which was, his own want of force to execute it. Sir Gilbert immediately anſwered this by ſaying, that he did not doubt but the king of England would furniſh him with a fleet ſufficient to make prize of all the Dutch ſhips, on condition that the profit of the enterprize ſhould be divided between them; to which his Daniſh majeſty very readily aſſented [r]. This propoſal, being tranſmitted to the Engliſh court, was as willingly cloſed with, and advice thereof ſent to the earl of Sandwich. As this was a tranſaction very little to the king of Denmark's honour, ſo he inſiſted upon it, that the agreement ſhould not be put into writing: and this nicety it was that ſpoiled the whole affair; for, when the earl of Sandwich had intelligence of de Ruyter's being

[q] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 541. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 277. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 399. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. liv. xiv.

[r] "A true and perfect narrative of the late ſecret negotiation in Denmark, by Sir Gilbert Talbot, MS." This piece was in the hands both of biſhop Burnet and Mr. Echard, who have made uſe of it in their hiſtories. I have likewiſe conſulted another piece, publiſhed by authority, entitled, "A true deduction of all the tranſactions between "his majeſty of Great Britain, and the king of Denmark;" which differs, in many reſpects, from Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation.

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retired with the East-India fleet into Berghen, he resolved not to slip so fair an opportunity, but to sail thither with the utmost expedition. He sent, however, Mr. Worden, a gentleman of distinction, to Sir Gilbert Talbot, to inform him, that he was determined not to lose the opportunity of attacking the Dutch fleet, and therefore desired that he would send him a distinct account of the nature of the king of Denmark's engagements, that he might the better know what he was doing. Sir Gilbert took some pains to comply with this request, but by various unlucky accidents they were all frustrated, and the earl of Sandwich arrived in those seas, without hearing any thing from the envoy[s].

Sir Thomas Tyddiman, being sent with a stout squadron to block up the port of Berghen, appeared before it on the 1st of August, 1665. The first thing he did was to send a gentleman to the governor, to inform him of the design, and to inquire what orders he had. To this the governor answered, that as yet he had none, but that he expected them by the post in two or three days, and therefore desired the English would desist from making any attempt for that time. The same evening, however, the castle fired upon the English fleet, and did some mischief; and the Dutch were suffered by the governor to bring seventy pieces of cannon on shore to fortify their line. Admiral Tyddiman, perceiving this, immediately called a council of war, wherein he laid the whole matter before his officers, who, after a full and free debate, resolved to lose no time, but to attack the Dutch fleet the next morning; and this for three reasons. 1. Because the Danish governor had not given them any direct answer, or promised them any sort of favour or assistance. 2. If the Dutch had farther time given them to fortify themselves, an attempt might become impracticable. 3. That the grand Dutch fleet was now at sea, and might probably come in to their relief[t], before the Danish governor would acknowledge his receiving orders.

This resolution taken, Sir Thomas Tyddiman gave all his captains strict charge, that they should not fire against the castles or ports, and should also be very careful to direct all their

[s] Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation before cited. [t] Deduction of all transactions between his majesty of Great Britain, &c. p. 11.

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ſhot low at the hulls of the Dutch ſhips, to prevent, as far as they could, any damage happening to the town that lay behind the ſhips; both which orders all the ſeamen did unanimouſly agree were performed, according as, in the ſeveral conferences with the governor, thoſe directions were promiſed to be given. The diſpute continued till near eight of the clock, during which time, it is true, the caſtle hung out a white flag, but to what intent the Engliſh could not gueſs; for the ſeamen, whoſe ſtation was neareſt to it, agreed alſo in this point, that the caſtle never left firing from ſome quarter or other. They were led to imagine from thence, that the Dutchmen, who might have been taken in for the ſtrengthening the caſtle, had fired againſt the general's orders during the time of hanging out the white flag, as indeed it proved; for there were at leaſt three hundred of them there.

The greateſt miſchief that the Engliſh received was from the artillery in the caſtle, which by accidental ſhots cut ſome hawſers that kept the firſt line together: and ſo, to avoid falling foul one on another, they were forced from their ſtations, and, when they were out of the reach of the Dutch guns, the fort upon the outmoſt point on the ſtarboard ſide played upon them afreſh, the guns of which the Engliſh had once ſilenced during the engagement; but, being remounted, they, in their going off, had many of their men killed by them: notwithſtanding which, the Engliſh came that day to anchor within the rocks of Norway, five leagues diſtant from Berghen, having no pilots that could ſhew them anchoring hold nearer for ſo many ſhips together.

While the Engliſh were repairing their ſhips, the Daniſh governor endeavoured to draw them into a new negotiation, affirming, that now he had received his maſter's orders, and was content to afford them what aſſiſtance he could. But, after mature deliberation, it was not thought proper to truſt to theſe promiſes[u]; and therefore, on the laſt of Auguſt, the earl ſailed with the

[u] True deduction of the tranſactions between his majeſty of Great Britain, &c. p. 11, 12. It muſt be allowed, that theſe facts are contradicted by the MS. account of Sir Gilbert Talbot, to which both Echard and Burnet have adhered, and, conſequently, lay all the blame on Sir Thomas Tyddiman and the earl of Sandwich. But, beſides the Deduction's being a public paper, owned by king Charles II. and conſequently more authentic than Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation, there

the reſt of his fleet towards the coaſt of Holland; but, ſuffering much by a ſtorm, his ſhips were forced back again to the northward; and on the 4th of September he met with four Dutch Eaſt-Indiamen, and ſeveral other of their merchant-ſhips under a good convoy; and, though the ſtormy weather favoured their eſcape, yet he took eight men of war, two of their richeſt Eaſt-India ſhips, and twenty ſail of their merchantmen. On the 9th alſo a part of our fleet fell in with eighteen ſail of the enemy, the greateſt part of which they took, with four men of war, and above a thouſand priſoners [w].

On his return the earl was received by the king with diſtinguiſhed marks of favour; but his royal highneſs's conduct in the great engagement on the 3d of June being much cenſured, and the king declaring the duke of York ſhould go no more to ſea, as the earl's behaviour in the ſame action had been much applauded, leſt his continuance in the ſole command of the fleet might be interpreted to the diſadvantage of the duke, and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary embaſſy to be ſent into that kingdom, his majeſty deſpatched the earl of Sandwich to the court of Madrid to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal [x]. This negotiation was a work of equal difficulty and importance: we had many things to aſk from Spain in favour of trade, and there was nothing to which the Spaniards were leſs inclined than to make peace with Portugal, and, in order to that, to own it for an independent kingdom. The earl of Sandwich, however, managed his buſineſs with ſuch addreſs, that he concluded a moſt advantageous treaty for us with the court of Spain, conſiſting of forty articles, and this too in a ſurpriſing ſhort ſpace of time, if we conſider the nature of Spaniſh

there is in the former a copy of the governor's letter, which flatly contradicts the ſubſtance of the ſame letter given in Sir Gilbert's account, which I take to be, at bottom, rather an apology for his own conduct. The truth ſeems to be, that the earl of Sandwich conſidered this whole negotiation as a diſhonourable thing; and indeed it is very apparent, that if no reſpect at all had been had to this agreement, but the Engliſh had attacked the enemy's fleet without giving them time to fortify themſelves, the whole, or at leaſt the greateſt part, muſt have been either ſunk or taken.

[w] See p. 104. [x] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 545, 566.

nego-

negotiations; for his lordſhip arrived at Madrid on the 28th of May, 1666, and the treaty was ſigned the 13th of May, 1667[y].

His lordſhip applied himſelf next to the other part of his commiſſion, and by inſiſting principally on the intereſts of Spain, and making it evident that the continuance of the Portugal war would be the total ruin of their affairs, and that a peace might be made without the leaſt prejudice to their honour, at that juncture, he ſo far prevailed as to gain the queen of Spain's conſent, that a treaty ſhould be ſet on foot under the mediation of the crown of Great Britain. The great and unuſual confidence, repoſed in him upon this occaſion, was managed with ſuch dexterity by the earl of Sandwich, that, in three weeks after his arrival at Liſbon, he concluded a peace between the two nations to their mutual ſatisfaction. This treaty was ſigned the 13th of February, 1668[z]; and as it was extremely advantageous to the Portugueſe, (who, conſidering the diſtracted ſtate of their government, had very little reaſon to expect ſo fortunate an event), it was no leſs honourable in the mediation to the crown of Great Britain.

Upon the concluſion of theſe treaties, the earl of Sandwich was complimented both by the king and duke under their hands, and his great ſervices acknowledged in ſuch terms as they moſt certainly deſerved; which letters do no leſs honour to the memory of the princes who wrote them, than his to whom they were written. Many of the deſpatches, penned by his lordſhip in this embaſſy, have been made public, and remain ſo many indelible marks of his wiſdom, integrity, and public ſpirit. They ſerve alſo to ſhew how unneceſſary a qualification cunning is in a public miniſter; for they are written with a plainneſs that cannot be counterfeited, and manifeſt in their compoſition a ſtrength of genius capable of carrying its point, by ſetting truth in a ſtrong as well as proper light, without the aſſiſtance of any of thoſe little arts, which are ſo much and ſo undeſervedly admired in modern politicians.

As he was too quick-ſighted to be deceived, he had too much candour to impoſe on any with whom he tranſacted; and, when this temper of his became thoroughly known, he was able to do all things in Spain: for, being well informed of the nobility of

[y] See p. 131. [z] Ibid.

his birth, and his great actions at ſea, and having themſelves received repeated proofs of his ſtrict regard to honour, they readily believed every thing he ſaid, and willingly aſſented to whatever he propoſed. After the concluſion of the treaty with Portugal, he returned again to Madrid, where he ſpent ſome time in ſettling affairs, and confirming that court in the opinion, that Britain was its moſt uſeful and natural ally, and, then taking his leave, arrived September 19, 1668, at Portſmouth [a]. On his return to court, he was received with all imaginable teſtimonies of reſpect by the king and duke, who were equally ſolicitous in fixing him to a good opinion of thoſe meaſures upon which they were then entering.

The intercourſe with our colonies by this time was become very conſiderable: and, growing daily more and more advantageous to the nation, his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to erect a council for inſpecting matters relating to trade, and for the ſpecial encouragement of the plantations. As this was in itſelf a very popular act, ſo king Charles, who knew as well as any prince the art of pleaſing his ſubjects, when he thought fit to practiſe it, judged it convenient to put at the head of this new council a man as acceptable in his character, as the project was in its nature; and this determined him to the choice of the earl of Sandwich, who, Auguſt 3, 1670, was ſworn preſident of the council of plantations; and in that quality he ſwore the duke of York, prince Rupert, the duke of Buckingham, and other perſons of the higheſt quality, who were declared members thereof [b]. In this capacity, as well as in that of vice-admiral and privy-counſellor, he gave no ſmall diſturbance to the CABAL: for, in the firſt place, he was a ſincere and zealous Proteſtant; next, he was a true Engliſhman, loyal to his prince, but ſteady in the cauſe of his country, an enemy alike to faction, and to every thing that looked like arbitrary power. He was beſides for regarding no qualification but merit in the preferments of the navy, declaring upon all occaſions againſt ſhewing favour to the relations of peers, or other perſons of diſtinction, to the prejudice of ſuch as had ſerved longer or better. This rendered him

[a] Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. i. p. 226. [b] See the gazette of that date.

the darling of the fleet, who, after the death of the duke of Albemarle, looked upon him as their father and protector; which, however, gained him a great many enemies amongſt ſuch as could not bear the thwarting of their private intereſts, though for the ſake of the public good. The ſecret hiſtories of thoſe times (to which I muſt own I do not always give credit) inſinuate, that his royal highneſs the duke of York was diſpleaſed with him: but, however that might be, it is very certain, that the king had always a juſt ſenſe of the earl of Sandwich's ſervices, and ſhewed him, upon every occaſion, as much favour and eſteem as he did to any of his ſubjects [c].

On the breaking out of the third and laſt Dutch war, his lordſhip went to ſea with the duke of York, and commanded the blue ſquadron, the French admiral, count d'Eſtrees, commanding the white. The fleet was at ſea in the beginning of the month of May, and towards the end of that month came to an anchor in Southwold bay, in order to take in water. We are told, that on the 27th, which was Whitmonday, there was great merry-making on board the fleet, and many officers and ſeamen were permitted to go on ſhore, and were at Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldborough. Things being in this ſituation, and the weather withal very hazy, the earl of Sandwich delivered it as his opinion, at a council held in the evening, that, the wind ſtanding as it did, the fleet rode in danger of being ſurpriſed by the Dutch, and therefore he thought it adviſeable to weigh anchor, and get out to ſea: to this the duke of York, it is ſaid, made ſuch an anſwer as ſeemed to hint, that the earl ſpoke out of fear; which inſinuation, if really made, was certainly both barbarous and unjuſt [d]. I cannot ſay who it was that firſt reported this ſtory; but of this we may be poſitive, that, as it is reported by a certain author, it could not poſſibly be true [e].

Several

[c] Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 151. [d] See Echard's hiſtory, p. 883. Columna roſtrata, p. 217.

[e] This author is biſhop Burnet, who, in the hiſtory of his own times, ſays, "I ſay nothing of the ſea-fight in Solbay, in which de Ruyter had the glory of "ſurpriſing the Engliſh fleet, when they were thinking leſs of engaging the ene-"my, than of an extravagant preparation for the uſual diſorders of the 29th of "May; which he prevented, by engaging them on the 28th."—It is an odd whim of this prelate, that, becauſe people might be diſpoſed to be drunk on the 29th, they ſhould be out of their wits on the 28th. Now the truth of the matter

Several very judicious perſons have inclined to think, that it was framed long after the tranſaction, in order to heighten ſome circumſtances which we ſhall preſently relate.

On the 28th of May, between two and three in the morning, the fleet was informed of the approach of the Dutch; upon which his royal highneſs made the ſignal for weighing anchor, and getting out to ſea; and, the occaſion being of ſo preſſing a nature, many of the captains were obliged to cut their cables. The blue ſquadron, however, was out firſt, and in good order, the red next, and the white, in its proper ſtation, much a-ſtern[f]. The earl of Sandwich, in his fine ſhip the Royal James, which carried one hundred pieces of cannon and about eight hundred men, began the fight, and fell furiouſly on the ſquadron of van Ghent: this he did, not from a principle of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by an act of heroic valour; for he knew his character was too well eſtabliſhed to need that; his view was, to give the reſt of the fleet time to form; and in this he carried his point. Captain Brakel, in the great Holland, a ſixty-gun ſhip, depending on the aſſiſtance of his ſquadron, attacked the Royal James, but was ſoon diſabled, as were ſeveral other men of war; and three fire-ſhips were ſunk. By this time moſt of his men were killed, and the hull of the Royal James ſo pierced with ſhot, that it was impoſſible to carry her off.

ter was, that the feaſting happened on the 27th, becauſe it was the Monday in Whitſun-week; but ſome people have a great mind to ſet a black mark upon the 29th of May, and on the character of general Monk for the ſame reaſon. Yet let us once more hear his lordſhip:—"The admiral of the blue ſquadron was "burnt by a fire-ſhip, after a long engagement with a Dutch ſhip, much inferior "to him in ſtrength. In it the earl of Sandwich periſhed, with a great many "about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ſhip, by a "piece of obſtinate courage, to which he was provoked by an innocent reflec-"tion the duke made on an advice he had offered, of drawing near the ſhore, "and avoiding an engagement; as if in that he took more care of himſelf than "of the king's honour."—We have ſeen above, that the earl's advice was, to put to ſea, that they might engage the ſooner, and not be ſurpriſed. The Dutch gazette treated the earl's memory better than this biſhop; for in it we find, "The earl of Sandwich engaged for ſeveral hours with many of our men of "war, diſabled ſeven of our ſhips, among which was lieutenant-admiral Van "Ghent's, vice-admiral Van Neſſe's, and captain Brakel's; and after putting "off three fire-ſhips, was at laſt burnt by the fourth."

[f] I take this from Mr. Savile's letter to the earl of Arlington, then ſecretary of ſtate, and publiſhed by authority.

In this diſtreſs he might have been relieved by his vice-admiral, Sir Joſeph Jordan, if that gentleman had not been more ſolicitous about aſſiſting the duke: when, therefore, he ſaw him ſail by, heedleſs of the condition in which he lay, he ſaid to thoſe who were about him, "There is nothing left for us now, "but to defend the ſhip to the laſt man:" and thoſe who knew him readily underſtood, that, by the laſt man, he meant himſelf. When a fourth fire-ſhip had grappled him, he begged his captain, Sir Richard Haddock, and all his ſervants, to get into the boat, and ſave themſelves; which they did: yet ſome of the ſailors would not quit the admiral, but ſtaid, and endeavoured at his command to put out the fire, which, in ſpite of all their efforts, they could not do; and ſo they periſhed together, the ſhip blowing up about noon[g]. The Dutch writers give a different account of this matter: they ſay, that the earl, and one of his ſons, were ſmothered in the long-boat, by the crew jumping in upon them[h]; which cannot be true, ſince the genuine cauſe of the earl's remaining on board was, his apprehenſion that he might be taken in the long-boat, and made a ſpectacle to the Dutch; the ſame thought which occurred to the duke of Albemarle, and determined him, in caſe no other way was left, to blow up his ſhip and himſelf.

Such as aſcribe this reſolution to the reſentment of what his royal highneſs had ſaid the evening before, aſperſe one great man's character, in order to tarniſh another's. It is a ſtrange pleaſure that ſome malevolent people take, in attributing the nobleſt actions to the worſt motives, and always preſuming that to be the ſpring of a man's conduct, which ſeems leaſt fit to be ſo. In this caſe, from the temper of the perſon, and the circumſtances attending his death, there is the higheſt reaſon in the world to preſume, that he ſacrificed himſelf from a principle of public ſpirit. Why, then, ſhould we be ſo inhuman, as to fancy he did it from private pique? The ancient Romans would have had nobler notions: they would have ſaid, he devoted himſelf for his country, and merited, by his manner of dying, the victory which enſued.

g Gazette, May 30, 1672. See alſo p. 112. h Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tom. ii. p. 208. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tom. iii. p. 325.

His

His lordſhip's body was found, near a fortnight afterwards; and the king teſtified, by the honours he paid to the corpſe, how much he admired the man, how ſenſible of his hard fate, and how willing he was to mingle with the duſt of his anceſtors, the remains of ſuch as died glorioufly in their country's ſervice. The fact ſtands thus in the Gazette.

Harwich, June 10.

"This day the body of the right honourable Edward earl "of Sandwich, being, by the order upon his coat, diſcovered "floating on the ſea, by one of his majeſty's ketches, was taken "up, and brought into this port; where Sir Charles Littleton, "the governor, receiving it, took immediate care for its em- "balming, and honourable diſpoſing, till his majeſty's pleaſure "ſhould be known concerning it; for the obtaining of which, "his majeſty was attended at Whitehall, the next day, by the "maſter of the ſaid veſſel, who, by Sir Charles Littleton's "order, was ſent to preſent his majeſty with the George found "about the body of the ſaid earl, which remained, at the time "of its taking up, in every part unblemiſhed, ſaving ſome im- "preſſions made by the fire upon his face and breaſt: upon "which his majeſty, out of his princely regard to the great "deſervings of the ſaid earl, and his unexampled performances "in this laſt act of his life, hath reſolved to have his body "brought up to London, there, at his charge, to receive the "rites of funeral due to his great quality and merits[i].

"The earl of Sandwich's body being taken out of one of his "majeſty's yachts at Deptford on the 3d of July, 1672, and "laid in the moſt ſolemn manner in a ſumptuous barge, pro- "ceeded by water to Weſtminſter-bridge, attended by the king's "barges, his royal highneſs the duke of York's, as alſo with "the ſeveral barges of the nobility, lord-mayor, and the ſeve- "ral companies of the city of London, adorned ſuitable to the "melancholy occaſion, with trumpets and other muſic, that "ſounded the deepeſt notes. On paſſing by the Tower, the "great guns there were diſcharged, as well as at Whitehall; "and, about five o'clock in the evening, the body being taken "out of the barge at Weſtminſter-bridge, there was a proceſſion

i Gazette, June 13, 1672.

"to

" to the abbey-church with the higheſt magnificence. Eight " earls were aſſiſtant to his ſon Edward, earl of Sandwich, chief " mourner, and moſt of the nobility and perſons of quality in " town gave their aſſiſtance to his interment in the duke of Al- " bemarle's vault, in the north ſide of king Henry VII.'s cha- " pel, where his remains are depoſited." [k]

After this account of the reſpect ſhewn by his ſovereign to his dead body, it may not be amiſs to ſubjoin ſome inſtances of the tribute paid by illuſtrious perſons to his memory. We will begin with the late duke of Buckinghamſhire, who, having given us an account of the battle in Southwold-bay, concludes it thus: " The enemy had no ſucceſs to boaſt, except the burning our " Royal James, which, having on board her not only a thou- " ſand of our beſt men, but the earl of Sandwich himſelf, vice- " admiral of England, was enough almoſt to ſtyle it a victory " on their ſide, ſince his merit as to ſea affairs was moſt extra- " ordinary in all kinds." [l] Biſhop Parker, after a pompous detail of this bloody diſpute, proceeds in theſe words: " The " Engliſh loſt many volunteers, and ten captains of ſhips: " amongſt theſe were the earl of Sandwich, and Digby ſon of " the earl of Briſtol, who almoſt alone fought with the third " ſquadron of the Dutch: yet at length, when Digby was ſhot " through the heart, and the ſhip that he commanded was " bored through with innumerable ſhot, the ſeamen with diffi- " culty brought her into the harbour; but Sandwich, having " miſerably ſhattered ſeven of their ſhips, and beat off three " fire-ſhips, at length, being overpowered with numbers, fell a " ſacrifice for his country; a gentleman adorned with all the " virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of his vices; of " high birth, capable of any buſineſs, full of wiſdom, a great " commander at ſea and land, and alſo learned and eloquent, " affable, liberal, and magnificent." [m] Gerard Brant, who is never partial to any but his own countrymen, after a full account of the valour with which the earl defended himſelf, and which he ſtyles unfortunate courage, is pleaſed to ſay; " Such was the

[k] Gazette, July 4, 1672. [l] Duke of Buckinghamſhire's works, vol. ii. p. 15. [m] Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 151.

" fate

" fate of this noble peer, who was vice-admiral of England; " a man equally brave, knowing, and of a moſt engaging be- " haviour; one who had rendered his ſovereign the greateſt " ſervices not only in the field, but in the cabinet, and as an " ambaſſador in foreign courts." [n]. Sir Edward Walker, who wrote an hiſtorical account of the knights of the garter, a work which it were to be wiſhed his ſucceſſors in his office had continued with like impartiality, gives the earl of Sandwich this character: " He was a perſon of extraordinary parts, courage, " fidelity, and affability, and juſtly merited all the honours that " were conferred upon him." [o]

Theſe teſtimonies from friends and foes, (for the duke of Buckinghamſhire and the biſhop of Oxford were of a party not much inclined to favour the earl of Sandwich), from ſtrangers as well as his own countrymen, are inconteſtable proofs of this great man's abilities; and therefore I was in ſome doubt, whether I ſhould add the following poetical compliment to his memory; but when I conſidered, that it might prove a hint to ſome abler poet to do juſtice to ſo ſublime a ſubject, I thought the reader would not be diſpleaſed with the ſight of a few lines, which have not hitherto been publiſhed.

EPITAPH.

ADORN'D with *titles*, but from *virtue* great,
NEPTUNE at ſea, and NESTOR in the ſtate;
Alike in council and in fight renown'd;
Oft with ſucceſs, with merit always crown'd:
No heart more honeſt, and no head more wiſe,
A SOLDIER, SEAMAN, STATESMAN, here he lies!
Tho' brave, yet gentle; tho' ſincere, not rude;
Juſtice in camps, in courts he truth purſu'd.
Living, he rais'd a deathleſs, ſpotleſs name;
And, dying, ſoar'd above the reach of fame.

[n] Vie de Ruyter, liv. xi.

[o] Hiſtorical account of the knights of the garter, MS. before cited.

Reader,

Reader, if *Engliſh*, ſtop the falling tear!
Grief ſhou'd not wait on him who felt no fear:
He wants not pity—cou'd his aſhes ſpeak,
Theſe gen'rous ſounds wou'd from the marble break:
" Go, ſerve thy country, while GOD ſpares thee breath;
" Live as I liv'd, and ſo deſerve my death."

WE ought next to ſay ſomething of prince RUPERT, who commanded the Engliſh fleet often, and with great applauſe. To run through his memorable adventures would take up too much time, and deviate likewiſe from the intention of this treatiſe: we ſhall therefore touch briefly upon thoſe circumſtances of his conduct, which more immediately relate to his capacity as a ſea-officer, and leave his other actions to the care of ſome faithful hiſtorian, who may incline to tranſmit them to poſterity in the manner they deſerve. For though it cannot be denied, that this prince had his failings, and that theſe might have ſome bad effects on the affairs of king Charles I. yet it muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, that he did that monarch great ſervices, and that his errors have been much heightened by the ſkill as well as partiality of ſome who have decried them.

He was the third ſon of the elector palatine, ſome time ſtyled king of Bohemia, by the princeſs Eliſabeth, eldeſt daughter to king James I. and was conſequently nephew to king Charles I. His education, like that of moſt German princes, eſpecially younger brothers, qualified him for arms; and ſuch as have been leaſt inclined to favour him admit, that he was extremely well fitted in reſpect both to natural abilities, and acquired accompliſhments, for a great commander [p]. When the unhappy civil wars broke out here, he came and offered his ſword, when ſcarce of age, to his uncle, and through the whole war behaved with great intrepidity; and, on many occaſions, his endeavours were attended with very extraordinary ſucceſs [q]: to reward

[p] The faireſt character I have met with of this gallant prince, is in Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 226. which is tranſcibed by Echard into his hiſtory. The reader may likewiſe conſult Clarendon, Whitlocke, and the other hiſtorians of thoſe times. [q] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. ii. p. 674. the noble hiſtorian informs us, that his majeſty reſerved the command of general of horſe for his nephew; having diſpoſed of that of the foot to Sir Jacob Aſhley, and that of the army to the earl of Lindſey.

which, as well as that poſterity might have a juſt idea of the ſenſe his majeſty entertained of his great merit, that prince, having firſt elected him into the moſt noble order of the garter, did, by his letters patents, bearing date at Oxford, the 19th of January, in the 19th year of his reign, make him a free denizen; and, on the 24th of the ſame month, advanced him to the dignity of a peer of England, by the title of earl of Holderneſſe, and duke of Cumberland[r]. When the war was over, he went abroad with a paſs from the parliament[s]; but when the fleet revolted to the prince of Wales, he readily went on board it, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by vigorous counſels; which, however, were not followed; but, on the return of the fleet to Holland, the command of it was left to him. He then ſailed to Ireland, where he endeavoured to ſupport the king's ſinking cauſe; but was quickly purſued by the parliament's ſuperior fleet, under Popham and Blake, who, in the winter of the year 1649, blocked him up in the haven of Kinſale, whence he eſcaped, by boldly puſhing through their fleet; an action as ſucceſsful in the event as brave in the intention[t].

After this eſcape, he proceeded to the coaſt of Spain, where, at firſt, he was treated with ſome reſpect; but when it was known that the parliament had a better fleet at ſea, and were very intent on purſuing and cruſhing his highneſs, the Spaniards became afraid of ſhewing him any mark of favour: and therefore, when two or three of his ſhips were diſtreſſed, and ran aſhore, they plundered them, and preſſed the men into their ſervice[u]. This we need the leſs wonder at, if we conſider that captain Young burnt the Antelope, one of the prince's ſhips, in the harbour of Helvoetſluys, without any reſpect to the au-

[r] Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii p. 471. [s] See the third article of the treaty for the ſurrender of Oxford to Sir Thomas Fairfax, in Whitlocke's memorials, p. 210, 213—215. [t] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 137. See alſo p. 184. Moderate intelligencer, N° 221. ſays, the prince and his brother had been at Wexford, and other havens, with a view of obtaining ſailors to man their ſhips, the better to enable them to beat off thoſe belonging to the parliament, who blocked them up; but that a ſtrong ſouth-weſt wind, which then happened to be in that quarter, would, in all likelihood, ſave them the trouble. [u] See p. 11.

thority of the ſtates-general, even in their own ports[w]; and this, it is ſaid, inclined them to a war with England. For obſerving the temper of the parliament, and the growth of their naval power, it was eaſy for the Dutch to foreſee, that nothing but a vigorous reſiſtance could defend their trade, or preſerve them from ſubjection.

From the coaſt of Spain the prince ſailed to Liſbon, and was quickly followed thither by Blake, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſail. We have already given ſome account of this expedition[x], and of his being at laſt forced by Blake to leave that port, and betake himſelf again to the Mediterranean; and therefore here I ſhall only obſerve, that it was chiefly the high reſpect paid to prince Rupert's perſon, that enabled him to keep the ſea with his ſquadron, which was now become too ſmall to be called a fleet[y]. On the 5th of November, 1650, general Blake deſtroyed the Roebuck and the Black Prince, two of the beſt ſhips he had remaining, while his highneſs in the Reformation, and his brother, prince Maurice, in the Convertine, or, as other writers ſay, in the Swallow, ſailed into the Adriatic ſea, and, after taking ſome prizes, returned, after Blake's departure, into the port of Toulon, where they diſpoſed of them, paid their ſailors, and provided for a more diſtant expedition[z].

It muſt be obſerved, that though this kind of behaviour in prince Rupert exaſperated the parliament againſt him, and was, in reality, as I have elſewhere owned, a very unjuſtifiable practice; yet it was, on the other hand, the ſource of the parliament's power at ſea, which they would otherwiſe have ſcarce

[w] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 207. Heath's chronicle, p. 254. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 410, 412. who ſays, that complaint being made to the ſtates, by the king, of this baſe action, they ordered, that his majeſty, if he pleaſed, ſhould be at liberty to do the like to any of the veſſels belonging to the parliament, in any of the habours within their dominions.

[x] See p. 12.

[y] Ibid. See alſo lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 340. Brief relation of affairs civil and military, N° xiv. p. 152. Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 131, 147.

[z] Heath's chronicle, p. 275. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 475, 476. Amongſt other inconveniencies flowing from this practice, the prince's example was no ſmall one. When he condeſcended to live by privateering, no body was aſhamed to take up the trade; ſo that from Breſt, Guernſey, Jerſey, and the Scilly iſlands, there iſſued whole fleets of corſairs.

thought

thought of maintaining; but finding themſelves on a ſudden on bad terms with Spain, embroiled with France, diſliked by the Dutch, and at open war with Portugal; they were obliged to cultivate a naval force with their utmoſt care; in which, as they applied themſelves to it with diligence, it muſt be admitted they were very ſucceſsful, and had quickly ſo many ſquadrons well manned at ſea, as made them terrible to all the world [a].

Prince Rupert's ſquadron, in the ſpring of the year 1651, ſailed again for the Streights, conſiſting then of no more than five men of war, and two fire-ſhips. There he began to take Spaniſh ſhips, by way of repriſal, for the reſpect they ſhewed the parliament, till, finding himſelf hard preſſed by Penn, he reſolved, having indeed no reſource beſides, to follow his brother into the Weſt-Indies. This project was owing to the lord Willoughby's engaging Barbadoes and the Leeward iſlands to declare for the king, when all other colonies, except Virginia, had ſubmitted to the parliament. This deſign might poſſibly have proved more ſucceſsful, if prince Rupert, on his arrival in thoſe parts, had applied himſelf to the preſervation of the Weſt-India trade; but, inſtead of this, both he and prince Maurice continued to cruize upon the Spaniards, till the latter periſhed at ſea, and the former found his ſhips in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to return into Europe; which accordingly he did, and, in the cloſe of the year 1652, arrived ſafely in Brittany, where he diſpoſed of his prizes, paid his ſeamen as far as it would go, and for the preſent laid aſide his command as an admiral [b]. His conduct on this occaſion is very harſhly repreſented by the earl of Clarendon, who, as he never lived in any great terms of friendſhip with him, might poſſibly conceive worſe of his proceedings than they deſerved. This is certain, that the noble hiſtorian was greatly miſtaken in what he ſays of the prince's deſerting the king's ſervice on his going back into Germany; for we have undeniable teſtimonies of the contrary, and ſeveral letters of his are yet extant, whereby it appears

[a] Let the reader compare what I have obſerved, with the facts mentioned by Whitlocke, Ludlow, and Carrington, in his life of Cromwell, and he will ſee the truth of it immediately. [b] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. v. p. 513—515, 520—522, 527. See alſo p. 12.

that he negotiated with ſeveral princes of the empire on his majeſty's behalf, and behaved towards him on all occaſions, in his exile, (after the quarrel at Paris), with all the duty and deference that he could have ſhewn him on the throne[c].

On the king's reſtoration, prince Rupert was invited into England, where the king, who had an affection for him, gave him various offices worthy of his high birth. With a view of honouring the ſociety of the Inner Temple, his royal highneſs the duke of York, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Dorſet, and Sir William Morrice, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, were pleaſed to be admitted of that houſe, the duke of York being then called to the bar and bench[d]; and, on the 4th of November in the ſame year (1661), his highneſs prince Rupert, Thomas earl of Cleveland, Jocelyn lord Percy, John lord Berkley of Stratton, and other perſons of rank, condeſcended to honour the ſociety in like manner[e]. On the 28th of April, 1662, the prince, together with George duke of Buckingham, and John lord Middleton, were ſworn members of the privy-council[f] alſo in the December following, when the ſtatutes of the royal ſociety were preſented to the king, who was pleaſed to ſuperſcribe himſelf their founder and patron; his royal highneſs the duke and prince Rupert at the ſame time declared themſelves fellows[g]. By this time his highneſs's fire was in ſome degree qualified, and his judgment become cooler, and fitter for the diſcharge of great employments; when therefore, in the year 1666, the king intruſted him, in conjunction with the duke of Albemarle, to command the fleet, he diſcovered all the great qualities that could be deſired in an admiral; for, by his happy return to the fleet, on the 3d of June he raviſhed from the Dutch the only victory they had the appearance of gaining, and afterwards, on the 24th of June, beat them effectually, purſued them to their own coaſt, blocked up their harbours, and made them ſenſible of the ſuperiority of Engliſh courage, when not oppreſſed by

[c] This is very evident, from abundance of letters in Thurloe's ſtate papers, which repreſent his highneſs as a buſy agent for the king; and particularly from a letter of his to king Charles II. dated Heidelberg, February 6, 1656, vol. i. p. 694. [d] Dugdale's orig. jurid. fol. p. 158. [e] Kennet's chronicle, p. 555. [f] Mercurius publicus, N° 17. p. 272. Annals of the univerſe, p. 54. [g] Spratt's hiſtory of the royal ſociety, p. 148.

numbers.

numbers[h]. In the autumn of the ſame year, having the ſole command of our fleet, and underſtanding that the Dutch were endeavouring to join a French ſquadron of forty ſail under the duke of Beaufort, he followed them cloſely into Bolloign road; upon which, to avoid another battle, they hauled in ſo near the ſhore, as in all probability they muſt either have been burnt or ſunk, if a ſudden ſtorm had not forced the prince to return to St. Helen's bay. But, in the mean time, Sir Thomas Allen with his ſquadron fell in with part of the French fleet, and uſed them ſo roughly, that they were glad to betake themſelves to port, and lay aſide all thoughts of joining their allies[i].

On his highneſs's return home he was kindly received by the king, and grew into great eſteem with the nation. He always ſteered cautiouſly between the factions at court; and, having ſo near a relation to his majeſty, his highneſs never thought of ſtrengthening his intereſt by entering into intrigues: yet, on the other hand, he never declined any occaſion that offered of ſhewing himſelf a firm Proteſtant, and a true patriot, though he knew that this conduct would expoſe him to the aſperſions of ſome who were not much inclined to be his friends. But the king, who was obliged to govern too often by parties, was far from diſliking his couſin's conduct, ſince it gave him an opportunity of uſing his counſels, and engaging his ſervices, with the general approbation of his people, which otherwiſe he could not have done. In other reſpects the prince was very loyal, and would never be perſuaded, even by ſuch as had a great influence over him, to go into any of thoſe meaſures, which, though covered with ſpecious pretences, ſerved in reality only to diſtreſs the king, and to diſtract his ſubjects.

After the breaking out of the laſt Dutch war, and the paſſing the teſt-act, his highneſs was drawn from his retirement to take upon him once more the command of the fleet. The duke of York had reſigned his office of lord high-admiral; the earl of Sandwich and moſt of the old admirals were dead; ſo that none could, with any decency, be called to that important charge but himſelf[k]. He had never lived on any terms with the miniſtry

[h] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 355. Coke's detection, vol. ii. p. 41. Echard, p. 831. [i] See p. 118, 119. [k] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 591. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 893. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 403.

who

who were ſtyled the CABAL; and indeed it was impoſſible he ſhould; for they were all perſons of the utmoſt art, and he was one of the plaineſt men that could be. The method, therefore, they took to rid themſelves of a war, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make ſuch diſpoſitions in the fleet as were fitteſt to render the admiral uneaſy, from a proſpect that this might bring the advice of making peace from other hands than their own [l]. All the captains in the fleet were the creatures of the duke of York, and were told, though perhaps without truth, that glancing at the prince's character would oblige his royal highneſs. There needed no more to ſet theſe folks to work: they began to find fault with every order he gave, and to miſrepreſent every meaſure he took; but the prince quickly convinced them, that, inſtead of hurting his character, they would by ſuch conduct totally deſtroy their own [m].

By his briſk getting out to ſea in the month of April, he ſhewed, that he could be active in age as well as youth; and, by ſailing over to the Dutch coaſt, he diſcovered a readineſs to fight, which was the old characteriſtic of an Engliſh admiral. We have already given an account of the battle of the 28th of May, 1672, in which we had the advantage; but it may not be amiſs to copy a ſhort paragraph from the prince's own letter, which ſhews the modeſty of his nature, and withal his ſtrict honour, and noble impartiality, ſince it relates to the behaviour of one who, he knew, did not like him: "Sir Edward Spragge alſo "on his ſide maintained the fight with ſo much courage and "reſolution, that their whole body gave way to ſuch a degree, "that, had it not been for fear of the ſhoals, we had driven "them into their harbours, and the king would have had a "better account of them. The caſe being thus, and the night "approaching, I judged it fit to ſtand a little off, and to anchor "here where I now ride." [n]

The next engagement happened on the 5th of June, in which the advantage was more plainly on the ſide of the Engliſh, as is evident from prince Rupert's letter, which was immediately pub-

l See an exact relation of the engagements and actions of his majeſty's fleet under prince Rupert.

m Echard, Burnet, hiſtory of the Dutch war.

n This letter makes a ſingle folio leaf, and is dated at one o'clock in the afternoon, on the 29th of May, 1673.

liſhed;

liſhed; but, after this engagement, he found the fleet to be ſo miſerably deſtitute of all neceſſaries, and, which was worſe, ſo indifferently manned, that he thought fit to return home. This meaſure, though very neceſſary, might have been liable to ſome miſconſtruction from poſterity, if by accident we were not furniſhed with a true key to it, which was this: The prince had often complained before, and the officers of the navy had conſtantly perſuaded the king, that there were no grounds for his complaints; which put his highneſs under the neceſſity of taking this ſtep, that the thing might be put out of diſpute, and the fleet out of wants. As this ſhewed his ſpirit, (for he brought the king himſelf to look upon the ſhips), ſo he gave afterwards as ſtrong a proof of his judgment, by carrying the whole fleet through the Narrow on the 19th of July, and appearing on the Dutch coaſt almoſt as ſoon as they had received certain intelligence of his returning to his own [o].

On the 11th of Auguſt he fought the laſt battle that was fought againſt this enemy, of which we have already given ſo full an account [p], that, in reſpect to the fact, we can add nothing here: on his return from his command, the king expreſſed ſome coolneſs, which was owing not more to the arts of his highneſs's enemies, than to the quickneſs of his letter in relation to the laſt fight, and the behaviour of the French [q]; but the king's

[o] The members of the office of ordnance vindicated themſelves, notwithſtanding the king's view; but whoever ſhall conſider that vindication attentively, will perceive that it is extremely artificial, and calculated rather to ſcreen themſelves, than to clear up the truth of the fact. [p] See p. 156.

[q] The reader may gueſs at the particulars of this letter, from the following paragraph of the exact relation, *&c.* in which they are ſummed up almoſt in his own words. "In the midſt of ſo many intrigues of oppoſition here at home, "ſo many delays of his commiſſion, ſo few powers contained in it, ſuch ſcanty "number of ſeamen, ſo little aſſurance of divers chief commanders, ſuch fai-"lure of proviſions, ſuch want of ammunition and all other neceſſaries, ſuch "deceit of navy officers, ſuch non-obſervance of orders at ſea amongſt his own "Engliſh, and ſo manifeſt defections of the French; not to be ſtaggered in his "reſolution, nor to be put out of all patience and prudence in action, nor to "abate of his affection and zeal for the honour and ſervice of his majeſty, the "ſafe-guard and intereſt of religion and the kingdom; in a ſeaſon when ſo many "popiſh projectors played a game under board, and above too; will be an ever-"laſting argument of his highneſs's valour and renown, and muſt needs be a "ſtrong obligation upon the king, the parliament, and the people of England, "who are now left to judge, whether it was not a wonderful good providence "of

king's diſpleaſure quickly wore out, as the intereſt of the CABAL began to decline. After this the prince led a quiet and (in a great meaſure) a retired life, moſtly at Windſor-caſtle, of which he was governor, and ſpent a great part of his time in the proſecution of chemical and philoſophical experiments, as well as the practice of mechanic arts, for which he was very famous. He is mentioned by foreign authors[r] with applauſe for his ſkill in painting, and celebrated by one[s] of the moſt judicious of our own for his invention of mezzo-tinto prints, ſince riſen, from their ſoftneſs and beauty, into ſo high eſteem. He likewiſe delighted in making locks for fire-arms, and was the inventor of a compoſition called, from him, PRINCE'S METAL. He communicated to the royal ſociety his improvements upon gunpowder, by refining the ſeveral ingredients, and making it more carefully, which, as appears upon ſeveral trials reported to that learned body, augmented its force, in compariſon of ordinary powder, in the proportion of ten to one; an invention, which, though too expenſive for common occaſions, deſerves to be remembered, becauſe in particular caſes it may be of ſingular utility[t]. He alſo acquainted them with an engine he had contrived for raiſing water, and ſent them an inſtrument, of which he made uſe, to caſt any platform into perſpective, and for which they deputed a ſelect committee of their members to return him their thanks[u]. He was the inventor of a gun for diſcharging ſeveral bullets with

" of God, or one of the moſt memorable pieces of ſervice ever done at ſea, " to ſurmount all thoſe difficulties, and even envy itſelf; and, after all, to " bring home the fleet-royal of England, without the loſs of one man of war, " to her own ſhore in ſafety, in deſpite of all enemies that deſigned otherwiſe " by ſea and land."

[r] Cabinet des ſingularitez d'architecture, tom. i. p. 177. [s] Sculptura, or the hiſtory and art of calcography in copper; with an ample enumeration of the moſt renowned maſters and their works. To which is annexed, a new manner of engraving, or mezzo-tinto, communicated by his highneſs prince Rupert to the author of this treatiſe, (*i. e.* J. Evelyn, Eſq;). London, 1662, 8vo. chap. vi. [t] Original regiſter of the royal ſociety, vol. ii. p. 283. Sprat's hiſtory of the royal ſociety, p. 258, where, by miſtake, this powder is ſaid to be twenty times as ſtrong as the common; whereas the moſt exact proportion is, as 21 to 2. Grew's catalogue of rarities in Greſham-college, p. 366, mentions an inſtrument for aſſaying and comparing the ſtrength of powder, contrived and preſented to the royal ſociety by prince Rupert. [u] Dr. Birch's hiſtory of the royal ſociety, vol. i. p. 285, 329.

the utmoſt ſpeed, facility, and ſafety, which was generally and juſtly admired [w]. The royal ſociety received likewiſe from his highneſs the intimation of a certain method of blowing up rocks in mines, and other ſubterraneous places [x]. The very ingenious and indefatigable Dr. Hook has preſerved another invention of his for making hail-ſhot of all ſizes [y]. He deviſed a particular kind of ſcrew, by the means of which, obſervations taken by a quadrant at ſea were ſecured from receiving any alteration by the unſteadineſs of the obſerver's hand, or through the motion of the ſhip [z]. He had alſo, amongſt other ſecrets, one that was very curious, and, if preſerved, might be very beneficial, which was that of melting or running black lead, like a metal, into a mould, and reducing it back again into its original form [a].

As to his public character in the laſt ten years of his life, it was that of a patriot, which was owing to the innate honeſty of his temper, and not to his having any liking to intrigues. He gave indefatigable attention to whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good. He was a great promoter of the trade to Africa, and a principal protector of the royal African company, as a proof of which, before the firſt Dutch war (in this reign) he offered his majeſty to ſail with a ſquadron to the coaſt of Guinea, in order to vindicate the honour of the crown, aſſert the juſt rights of the company, and redreſs the injuries done to the nation: but the king, unwilling to hazard his perſon at ſuch a diſtance, and in ſo ſickly a climate, though he received the motion kindly, would not conſent to it, but contented himſelf with taking an officer of his recommendation, (captain Holmes), under whom the ſquadron was ſent [b]. He was an active member of the council of trade. It was owing to his ſolicitations, after being at great expence not only in the inquiry into the value, but in ſending ſhips thither, that the Hudſon's bay company was erected, of which he was the firſt governor appointed by the

[w] This account was given by Sir Robert Moray, who lived in great intimacy with his highneſs. [x] Dr. Birch's hiſtory of the royal ſociety, vol. i. p. 335. [y] Sprat's hiſtory of the royal ſociety, p. 258. Micrographia, p. 22. [z] Dr. Birch's hiſtory of the royal ſociety, vol. ii. p. 58. [a] This was intimated to the ſociety by Dr. afterwards Sir Chriſtopher Wren; who, excluſive of his excellent ſkill as an architect, was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed virtuoſos of that age; and, as ſuch, in great eſteem with the prince. [b] Life of the earl of Clarendon, p. 225. See alſo before, p. 86.

charter[c]. In memory of him, a conſiderable opening on the eaſt ſide of that bay, in Terra de Labrador, is called Rupert's River. In general, his highneſs was a great friend to ſeamen, and to all learned, ingenious, and public-ſpirited perſons, and aſſiſted them with his purſe, as well as afforded them his countenance. He was concerned in the patent for nealed cannon, in a glaſs-houſe, and other undertakings for acquiring or improving manufactures, for which ſome have cenſured him as giving encouragement to projectors[d]. But ſurely this cenſure is very ill placed, ſince, without ſuch patrons, induſtry and ingenuity would want ſupport, and many uſeful inventions, many valuable diſcoveries, barely emerge, and then ſink again into oblivion. But ſtrict juſtice has been done to his highneſs's many virtues, and amiable qualities, by abler and more impartial judges[e], eſpecially in that excellent character of him by the elegant pen of biſhop Sprat[f]. In reſpect to his private life he was ſo juſt, ſo beneficent, ſo courteous, that his memory remained dear to all who knew him. This I ſay of my own knowledge, having often heard old people in Berkſhire ſpeak in raptures of prince Robert.

He died at his houſe in Spring-gardens on the 29th of November, 1682, in his grand climacteric, leaving behind him a natural ſon, uſually called Dudley Rupert, by a daughter of Henry Bard viſcount Bellemont, though ſtyled in his father's laſt will and teſtament Dudley Bard. He received the firſt tincture of letters at Eaton ſchool, where the gentleneſs of his temper, and the modeſty and amiableneſs of his behaviour, procured him univerſal eſteem. His genius, however, inclining rather to arms than ſtudy, he was placed under the care of that celebrated mathematician Sir Jonas Moore at the Tower. Here he continued till the demiſe of the prince, when he made a tour into Germany to take poſſeſſion of a conſiderable fortune which had been bequeathed to him. He was very kindly received by the palatine family, to whom he had the honour of being ſo nearly allied. In 1686 he made a campaign in Hungary, and diſtin-

[c] See the charter of the Hudſon's bay company, dated May 2, 1670, An. xxii. Car. ii. [d] North's examen, p. 52. [e] Evelyn on medals, p. 161. Wren's parentalia, p. 213. Sorbeire, relation d'un voyage fait en Angleterre, p. 24. [f] Hiſtory of the royal ſociety, p. 259.

guiſhed

guiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Buda, where he had the misfortune to loſe his life, in the month of July or Auguſt, in a deſperate attempt made by ſome Engliſh gentlemen upon the fortifications of that city, in the twentieth year of his age, and, though ſo young, had ſignalized his courage in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that his death was exceedingly regretted. The prince left alſo a natural daughter, the lady Ruperta, by Mrs. Margaret Hughes. This lady Ruperta afterwards married general Howe, and is ſince deceaſed [g].

MEMOIRS of SIR JOHN LAWSON, Vice-admiral of the Red Squadron.

A MAN of real integrity, who acts always from the dictates of his reaſon, will be ſure to raiſe a high character, and to be juſtly eſteemed even by thoſe who differ from him ever ſo widely in ſentiments. There is an irreſiſtible force in a ſolid underſtanding, that, when informed by the lights of experience, ſupplies all defects in education, triumphs over error, and, atoning for all paſt miſtakes, procures unlimited confidence, and the moſt ſincere regard. Both theſe aſſertions will appear to be founded in truth, from the following particulars, which, though no pains have been ſpared, are all we have been able to collect in relation to Sir John Lawſon. But, as even theſe are conſiderably more than were in the former editions, it is hoped they will give the judicious reader great ſatisfaction. For, ſince medals and monuments have been neglected, in regard to both which our neighbours the Dutch, though a nation eminently frugal, were wiſely munificent [h], it becomes a neceſſary act of piety to preſerve every thing relating to the actions of theſe great men, in order that poſterity, reaping the fruits of their achievements, naval power, and extenſive commerce, may at leaſt know to whom they ſtand obliged, and how they were obtained.

[g] Wood's faſti Oxonienſis, vol. i. col. 268. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 1023. Hiſtorian's guide, p. 148. [h] Evelyn of medals, p. 73—75. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 306, 315, 316. Gerard van Loon hiſtoire metallique des pays bas, vol. ii. p. 360, 529. iii. p. 176.

As for this eminent commander, he was the ſon of a perſon in low circumſtances at Hull, and bred to the ſea, either on account of his own taking a liking to it, or that it beſt ſuited with his father's ſituation; who, perhaps, knew not otherwiſe how to provide for him. In proceſs of time he obtained a ſhip by his merit; and ſerving in the fleet under the parliament, was made a captain therein, for his extraordinary deſert[i]. He ſerved with great fidelity againſt all their enemies, ſo long as the parliament retained their power; and, towards the end of the war carried a flag, together with Penn, under Monk.

In 1653, he commanded a fleet of forty-four ſail, which were ſent over to the coaſt of Holland; and in this expedition, by taking a ſcarce credible number of prizes, his acceptable ſervice had a great influence in making the peace[k]. On the change of the government, and Cromwell's aſſuming the ſupreme power to himſelf, he was continued in his command, and treated with very much reſpect; but, it ſeems, his principles did not incline him to act ſo ſteadily under the new government as he had done under the old[l]. As to church affairs he was an Anabaptiſt; and, in reſpect to civil government, he was known to be from principle a republican. In all probability he received theſe tinctures early, and, like many other well-meaning, though miſled, people, thought purſuing his own prejudices to be perſevering in a good cauſe. He was certainly very honeſt in his conduct during the civil war, acting altogether upon conſcientious motives, which led him to diſlike the protector's government, though not to reſiſt it; for he thought, that a man might lawfully ſerve his country under any authority: and indeed this was Blake's notion, and for the honour of the men, and the benefit of this nation, that of moſt of the ſea-officers of thoſe times.

It is very certain, that the protector Oliver had early intelligence of Lawſon's diſaffection. Colonel Overton, who had plotted againſt Monk in Scotland, had, in ſome of his conferences with his friends, mentioned vice-admiral Lawſon as a perſon

i Lloyd's lives of excellent perſons, p. 647. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 471, 563, 564. k See Ludlow's memoirs, p. 466. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 591, 526, 606. Miſcellanea Aulica, p. 159.

l This appears from ſeveral informations given againſt him to Thurloe, of which notice will be afterwards taken.

upon

upon whom they might depend; yet, for all this, he was employed and intruſted to command a fleet for the channel ſervice in 1655[m]. But the Spaniſh war had the ſame effect upon him that it had upon many officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant act of injuſtice and tyranny, and began from that moment to enter into ſchemes againſt the protector. True it is, that Cromwell had no juſt motive for attacking Spain; but the grand reaſon why the republicans reſented this ſo warmly was, becauſe the crown of Spain had made greater advances to the parliament, than any other foreign power[n].

There were at the ſame time a very formidable body of men, who conſpired alſo againſt Cromwell on the moſt enthuſiaſtic principles, and were ſtyled fifth-monarchy men. With theſe Lawſon, Okey, Rich, and other officers, thought fit to join, becauſe they agreed with them in the main, and were for pulling down the preſent tyranny. Secretary Thurloe, however, had ſuch early and ſuch clear informations of all their proceedings, that they were able to effect nothing: on the contrary, April 10, 1657, major-general Harriſon, admiral Lawſon, and ſeveral others, were committed; which put an end to their intrigues[o].

When he recovered his liberty, he judged it proper to retire, and very probably did not imagine he ſhould ever be employed again: but, upon the firſt news of the return of admiral Montague with his fleet from the Baltic, the parliament reſolved to have it put into the hands of one in whom they could confide, and therefore ſent for Mr. Lawſon, declared him vice-admiral, gave him the command of a few frigates, and ordered him to take the charge of the whole fleet on its arrival[p]. In his privacy

[m] This information to Monk is in Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. iii. p. 185. wherein preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Arthur Haſelrig, colonel Pride, colonel Cobbet, colonel Aſhfield, and other officers, are alſo named. [n] The reader may find this matter largely and clearly explained in a treatiſe entitled, "The "world miſtaken in Cromwell," which is reprinted in the firſt volume of ſtate tracts in the reign of Charles II. [o] Amongſt Thurloe's ſtate papers, vol. vi. p. 184, there is a very large diſcourſe on this matter, which ſeems to have been a report made to the houſe of commons. This is wrong referred to in the index, where vice-admiral Lawſon is ſaid to be one of the fifth-monarchy men; whereas, from that very paper, it appears, that he was one of a committee appointed by the diſcontented officers in the army, to confer with theſe fifth-monarchy-men; amongſt whom was Venner, who afterwards made a deſperate attempt againſt king Charles II. [p] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 690. Ludlow's memoirs, p. 666.

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he had converſed with ſome underſtanding cavaliers, and came to have a true notion of the folly of ſhifting from one form of government to another, and the great crime of ſubverting the conſtitution of one's country, to which an abſolute obedience is due. As ſoon, therefore, as he heard of general Monk's march into England, he reſolved to co-operate with him; and, knowing that nothing could be done but by the medium of a parliament, he got the fleet to declare roundly upon that head; for which he received their ſolemn thanks [q].

When Monk came to London, and many people doubted what courſe he would take, admiral Lawſon ſaid to general Ludlow, "That, ſince the Levite and the prieſt had paſſed by "without helping them, he hoped they had now found a Sa- "maritan who would [r]." This Ludlow underſtood in his own ſenſe; but it was certainly meant in another. The lieutenant-general himſelf underſtood this afterwards; for he tells us, that when Mr. William Prynne, out of his great loyalty to the houſe of Stuart, had given the clerk, without order of the houſe of commons, a clauſe for excepting out of the bill of indemnity ſuch as had taken the oath for abjuring that family, in the council of ſtate, he was ſeverely reprimanded by Dr. Clarges, brother to general Monk, becauſe he foreſaw that this would affect admiral Lawſon, to whom the general was previouſly engaged [s]. Indeed, as to the vice-admiral, he came very early and very heartily into the reſtoration; ſo that, when the earl of Sandwich acknowledged his ſervices in this reſpect to the king in Holland, he was much careſſed, received the honour of knighthood, and was always looked upon as a man ſincerely attached to the crown; which was confirmed by all his ſucceeding actions [t].

On the king's return the fleet, as we have already ſhewn, claimed his early and his earneſt attention. Henry VIII. erected the navy-board, which conſiſted originally only of the four great officers, *viz.* the treaſurer of the navy, the controller, the ſurveyor, and the clerk of the acts [u]; but under ſucceeding reigns,

[q] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 704. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 693. [r] Ludlow's memoirs, p. 821. [s] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 24. [t] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 768. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 238. Echard. Columna roſtrata, p. 146. and particularly Sir Philip Warwick, in his memoirs, p. 415. [u] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts in Churchill's voyages, vol. iii. p. 321.

as the buſineſs of the board was exceedingly increaſed, others were occaſionally added, with the ſimple title of commiſſioners. This method was followed by the long parliament, and afterwards by the rump, who appointed twenty-one, of whom fourteen were out of their own body, and ſeven who were not members; and of theſe vice-admiral Lawſon was one [w]. This board being broken by their diſſolution, king Charles contented himſelf with adding, to the four ſtanding officers of the navy, four commiſſioners at the recommendation, as the earl of Clarendon aſſures us, of the duke of York, which were the lord Berkley, Sir John Lawſon, Sir George Ayſcue, and Sir William Penn, with each of them a penſion of five hundred pounds a-year [x]. This gave them equal power with the old members, whenever they attended at the board, but aſſigned them no particular employments, or fixed in any degree their attendance, but left his majeſty at full liberty to ſend them to ſea as admirals, when, where, and as often as his affairs required [y].

Immediately after the reſtoration he was ſent as vice-admiral to the earl of Sandwich, when he went to fetch queen Catherine from Portugal, and was afterwards employed in the Mediterranean againſt the Algerines, to whom he did conſiderable damage, and ſo effectually blocked up their port, that they were not able to ſend any of their cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would have done, if he had not been diſappointed in his expectation from de Ruyter, who, with his Dutch ſquadron, was ſent on the ſame errand [z]. Theſe admirals differed about a ſalute which de Ruyter paid Lawſon, and Lawſon refuſed to return, as being bound up by his inſtructions. After this there was no harmony between them: the Dutch admiral took the firſt opportunity of quitting this ſervice, and ſlipping away to Guinea, which was highly reſented by king Charles, and alledged as one of the cauſes of the Dutch war.

That it may not be from hence ſuppoſed, Sir John Lawſon's refuſing to ſalute de Ruyter proceeded either from pride in him,

[w] Mercurius politicus, Jan. 28, 1659-60. [x] Clarendon's life, p. 241.

[y] At this time we had ſcarce any board but this; and therefore this was conſidered as very convenient means of granting an admiral a comfortable ſubſiſtence, for employing his talents in the ſervice of his country, when not at ſea.

[z] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 526, 528. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 273.

or

or from any captious diſpoſition in thoſe who drew his inſtructions, it will be proper to ſet this matter in a true light. The Dutch, to prevent the ceremony, to which they were tied by treaty of ſaluting Engliſh ſhips in their own ſeas, from paſſing for an acknowledgment of our ſovereignty in thoſe ſeas, affected to pay them that reſpect where-ever they met with them, that ſo it might appear to be no more than a mere compliment to an ally, and not a mark of ſubmiſſion to a ſuperior. The court of England very well underſtood this; and therefore, at his departure from the earl of Sandwich's fleet, Sir John had general orders not to ſtrike his flag to the ſhips of any prince or ſtate whatever. Soon after this accident he received inſtructions to return home, and to leave the command of his ſquadron to captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Allen, who was appointed to finiſh the war he had begun againſt the Algerines[a].

On his arrival in England he found the Dutch war broke out, and that the king had ſent for him in order to ſerve under the duke of York, his brother, as rear-admiral of the red. Sir John was very grateful for this honour, but at the ſame time told his majeſty, that he could ſhew him a more compendious way of bringing the Dutch to reaſon, than by fitting out great fleets. He obſerved, that in the laſt Dutch war they were infinitely more diſtreſſed by the captures he made after the laſt great battle, than they had been by all the operations of the war; and he added farther, that the reaſon of this was not hard to find, *viz.* that they were able as a ſtate to fit out great fleets in leſs time, and at much leſs expence, than it was now poſſible, or probabi- ever would be, for his majeſty to do; and their ſubjects willingly contributed to this, becauſe they ſaw the neceſſity, and were ſenſible of the good effects: but if very large numbers of their merchant-ſhips were taken, if their commerce in general was rendered precarious, and many of their traders by theſe misfortunes became beggars, they had no remedy; and that therefore this was the tender part in which they might be hurt, and in which, if they were hurt, they muſt make a peace on ſuch terms as his majeſty ſhould think fit to preſcribe.

[a] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 712. Philips's chronicle, p. 528.

This advice was rejected at that time, becauſe his royal highneſs was reſolved to go to ſea, and it was not thought conſiſtent with his honour to ſtand on the defenſive, and avoid fighting the Dutch fleet; but after Sir John Lawſon was dead, and the expence of the war made it exceeding burdenſome to the king, he began to reflect on the counſel he had given him, and reſolved to purſue it; but wanting proper directions in the execution of this ſcheme, and, to ſpeak the truth plainly, having many diſhoneſt ſervants, who pretended to have their ſhips well manned, when they had ſcarce ſailors enough to manage them [b], (for ſo the thing appeared on a parliamentary inquiry), this deſign, as we have ſeen elſewhere, miſcarried; and yet this miſcarriage remains a ſtain on the memory of Sir John Lawſon, in the judgment of ſome writers [c].

In all things relating to the fleet, after the war was declared, his royal highneſs the duke, likewiſe, conſulted daily, ſays the noble hiſtorian, for his own information and inſtruction, with Sir John Lawſon, Sir George Ayſcue, and Sir William Penn, all men of great experience, and who had commanded in ſeveral battles. Upon the advice of theſe men, the duke always made his eſtimates and all propoſitions to the king. There was ſomewhat of rivalſhip between the two laſt, becauſe they had been in equal command; therefore the duke took Sir William Penn into his own ſhip, and made him captain of it, which was a great truſt, and a very honourable command, that exempted him from receiving any orders but from the duke, and ſo extinguiſhed the other's emulation, the other two being flag-officers, and to command ſeveral ſquadrons. Lawſon, however, was the man of whoſe judgment the duke had the beſt eſteem; and he was in truth of a man of that breeding, (for he was a perfect tarpawlin), a very extraordinary perſon. He underſtood his profeſſion incomparably well, ſpoke clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciouſly enough, when he was contradicted. Ayſcue was a gentleman, but had kept ill company too long, which had blunted

[b] See the hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of commons, printed for Chandler, vol. 1. p 118. in which there is a reſolution of the houſe of commons, that, notwithſtanding his majeſty had 18,000 men in pay in diſperſed ſhips in 1667, there was not a ſufficient number of ſhips left to ſecure the rivers Medway and Thames.

[c] See Skinner's life of Monk, p. 367.

his underſtanding, if it had been ever ſharp. He was of few words, yet ſpoke to the purpoſe, and to be eaſily underſtood. Penn, who had much the worſt underſtanding, had a great mind to appear better bred, and to ſpeak like a gentleman. He had got many good words, which he uſed at adventure; he was a formal man, and ſpoke very leiſurely, but much, and left the matter more intricate and perplexed than he found it. Theſe are the judicious Clarendon's characters of theſe three great ſeamen, with whom he was perſonally and intimately acquainted; and therefore his own words are retained.

On the 21ſt of April, 1665, the duke of York ſailed with a grand fleet to the coaſt of Holland, himſelf carrying the red flag, prince Rupert the white, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Towards the latter end of the engagement, which happened off Leoſtoff on the memorable 3d of June, that day twelve years in which they had been beat by Monk; Lawſon, after he had exceeded all that he had done before, was by a muſket-ſhot in his knee diſabled from enjoying that victory which he had laboured ſo hard to gain. He did not, however, die till ſome days after, *viz.* June 29, 1665, when he had the ſatisfaction of knowing that his country triumphed, and that, as he had lived, ſo he died with glory.

We ſhall here ſubjoin the earl of Clarendon's account of this extraordinary perſon in his life lately publiſhed, and that in his lordſhip's own words: "There was," ſays he, "another almoſt "irreparable loſs this day in Sir John Lawſon, who was admi- "ral of a ſquadron, and of ſo eminent ſkill and conduct in all "maritime occaſions, that his counſel was moſt conſidered in "all debates, and the greateſt ſeamen were ready to receive ad- "vice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a ſhot "with a muſket-bullet upon the knee, with which he fell; and "finding that he could no more ſtand, and was in great torment, "he ſent to the duke to deſire him to ſend another man to "command his ſhip, which he preſently did. The wound was not "conceived to be mortal, and they made haſte to ſend him on "ſhore as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where for ſome days "there was hope of his recovery; but ſhortly, his wound gan- "grened, and ſo he died with very great courage, and profeſ- "ſion of an entire duty and fidelity to the king.

"He

" He was indeed, of all the men of that time, and of that " extraction and education, incomparably the modeſteſt and " wiſeſt man, and moſt worthy to be confided in. He was of " Yorkſhire, near Scarborough, of that rank of people who " are bred to the ſea from their cradle; and a young man of " that profeſſion he was when the parliament firſt poſſeſſed " themſelves of the royal navy: and Hull being in their hands, " all the northern ſeamen eaſily betook themſelves to their ſer- " vice: and his induſtry and ſobriety made him quickly taken " notice of, and to be preferred from one degree to another, " till, from a common ſailor, he was promoted to be a captain " of a ſmall veſſel, and from thence to the command of the beſt " ſhips.

" He had been in all the actions performed by Blake, ſome " of which were very ſtupendous, and in all the battles which " Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in which he was a " ſignal officer, and very much valued by him. He was of that " claſſis of religion which were called Independents, moſt of " which were Anabaptiſts, who were generally believed to " have moſt averſion to the king, and therefore employed in " moſt affairs of truſt. He was commander in chief of the fleet " when Richard was thrown out; and, when the conteſt grew " between the rump and Lambert, he brought the whole fleet " into the river, and declared for that which was called the " parliament; which broke the neck of all other deſigns, though " he intended only the better ſettlement of the commonwealth.

" Nor, after the reſtoration, did any man perform his duty " better. He cauſed all perſons, how well qualified ſoever, who " he knew were affected to a republic, to be diſmiſſed from the " ſervice, and brought very good order into his own ſhip, and " frequented the church-prayers himſelf, and made all the ſea- " men do ſo. He was very remarkable in his affection and " countenance towards all thoſe who had faithfully ſerved the " king, and never commended any body to the duke to be " preferred but ſuch, and performed to his death all that could " be expected from a brave and an honeſt man.

" It looked like ſome preſage that he had of his own death, " that, before he went to ſea, he came to the treaſurer and the " chancellor, to whom he had always borne much reſpect, and

" ſpoke to them in a dialect he had never before uſed; for he " was a very generous man, and lived in his houſe decently and " plentifully, and had never made any the leaſt ſuit or pretence " for money. Now he told them, that he was going upon an " expedition in which many honeſt men muſt loſe their lives; " and though he had no apprehenſion of himſelf, but that God " would protect him, as he had often done in the ſame occa- " ſions, yet he thought it became him, againſt the worſt, to " make his condition known to them, and the rather, becauſe " he knew he was eſteemed generally to be rich. He ſaid, in " truth he thought himſelf ſo ſome few months ſince, when he " was worth eight or nine thouſand pounds; but the marriage " of his daughter to a young gentleman in quality and fortune " much above him, Mr. Richard Norton of Southwick in Hamp- " ſhire, who had fallen in love with her, and his father, out of " tenderneſs to his ſon, had conſented, it had obliged him to " give her ſuch a portion as might in ſome degree make her " worthy of ſo great a fortune; and that he had not reſerved " ſo much to himſelf and wife, and all his other children, which " were four or five, as he had given to that daughter; he de- " ſired them therefore, that, if he ſhould miſcarry in this en- " terprize, the king would give his wife two hundred pounds " a-year for her life; if he lived, he deſired nothing; he hoped " he ſhould make ſome proviſion for them by his own induſtry; " nor did he deſire any other grant or ſecurity for this two " hundred pounds yearly than the king's word and promiſe, and " that they would ſee it effectual. The ſuit was ſo modeſt, and " the ground of making it ſo juſt and reaſonable, that they wil- " lingly informed his majeſty of it, who as graciouſly granted " it, and ſpoke himſelf to him of it with very obliging circum- " ſtances; ſo that the poor man went very contentedly to his " work, and periſhed as gallantly in it, with an univerſal la- " mentation. And it is to be preſumed, that the promiſe was " as well performed to his wife. Sure it is, it was exactly com- " plied with whilſt either of thoſe two perſons had any power."

It is worth obſerving, that all the writers of thoſe times, though they differ widely in reſpect to many characters, concur in commending Sir John Lawſon as a brave, honeſt, loyal commander,

mander, and as a very able and underſtanding ſeaman; and, as ſuch, deſerves to be honourably remembered[d].

SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE was deſcended from a good family in Devonſhire, and was born in the pariſh of Widſcombe in that county in the year 1620. His father, being a royaliſt and in low circumſtances, was glad of an opportunity of binding him apprentice to the captain of a trading veſſel belonging to Topſham, with whom he lived very happily for ſome years; and, being a young man of good natural abilities, he attained an extraordinary degree of knowledge in his profeſſion, by which, and by the favour of his maſter, he grew into great credit with the moſt eminent traders in Exeter, in whoſe ſervice he made various voyages into the Mediterranean, with large profit to them, and no ſmall reputation to himſelf[e]. In the beginning of our wars with Spain he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very extraordinary action. He was attacked by a large Spaniſh man of war, commanded by a knight of Malta; and, though the odds was very great, yet captain Kempthorne defended himſelf gallantly, till all his ammunition was ſpent, and then, remembering that he had ſeveral large bags of pieces of eight on board, he thought they might better ſerve to annoy than enrich the enemy, and therefore ordered his men to load their guns with ſilver, which did ſuch execution on the Spaniards rigging, that, if his own ſhip had not been diſabled by an unlucky ſhot, he had in all probability got clear. At laſt, however, overpowered by numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into Malaga.

The knight, to whom he was priſoner, treated him with the utmoſt kindneſs and civility, carried him home to his houſe, gave him the free uſe of it, ſpoke of him with much reſpect, commended his valour to every body, and declared, that he never knew a man who deſerved higher preferment; and after a ſhort ſtay in this manner, which I can ſcarce call a confinement, he ſent him to England. It is a great misfortune, that one is obliged to relate ſuch a paſſage as this, without the proper circumſtances of names and dates; but, when theſe have been ſlighted by ſuch

[d] Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 415. Continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 538. Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 276. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 827. [e] Prince's worthies of Devon, p 437.

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as firſt committed the fact to writing, they are not afterwards eaſily recovered. However, there can be no doubt made as to the truth of the relation, ſince, upon the credit of this action, captain Kempthorne laid the foundation of his ſubſequent fortunes. Having premiſed this, we may proceed to the ſecond part of this adventure. Some years after, the ſame knight of Malta was taken in the Streights by commodore Ven, and brought priſoner into England, where he was committed to the Tower: this afforded the captain an opportunity of returning all the civilities he had received, and of procuring his liberty, which he did at his own expence, and furniſhed him with every thing neceſſary to return to Spain; an action generous and grateful in itſelf, and which could not fail of doing our Engliſh commander great honour [f].

After the reſtoration, captain Kempthorne had ſome merit to plead, his father having quitted the profeſſion of the law, to ſerve as a lieutenant of horſe in the king's army, which honeſt and loyal act proved his total ruin. Whether this or any perſonal intereſt which his ſon might have, brought him into the navy, it is not eaſy to ſay; but, ſoon after the king's return, he was provided with a ſhip, *viz.* the Mary Roſe, a third rate, carrying forty-eight guns, and two hundred and thirty men. In this ſhip he went as convoy to a conſiderable fleet of merchantmen into the Streights, and in the month of December, 1669, met with a ſquadron of ſeven Algerine men of war: by his prudence and courage he preſerved, however, all the veſſels under his care, and obliged the enemy to ſheer off, after leaving behind them ſeveral of their men, who had boarded the Mary Roſe, and were brought by captain Kempthorne into England [g].

This gallant action juſtly entitled him to a flag; and yet it was ſome years afterwards out-done, with great ſatisfaction to the captain: for his ſon, a young gentleman of three and twenty, in the King's Fiſher, a frigate of forty-ſix guns, and two hundred and twenty men, engaged ſeven Algerines, three of which carried as many guns as the whole ſquadron that his father had to deal with; and after many hours fight, in which he was ſeveral times boarded, made them weary of their underta-

f Remarkable ſea-deliverances, p. 52.

g See the particular relation of this engagement cited before, p. 349.

king,

king, and carried the king's ſhip ſafe into a Spaniſh port, where himſelf died of his wounds[h].

As for our hero, he was in both the Dutch wars, and behaved ſo well, that, upon the duke of Albemarle's taking the command of the fleet in 1666, he carried one of the flags; and in the ſucceeding war he ſerved as rear-admiral, and had the honour of knighthood[i]. He ſpent the latter part of his life in a poſt both of profit and reputation, *viz.* commiſſioner of his majeſty's navy at Portſmouth: and yet it is ſaid, that he was diſguſted (as is frequently the caſe) at his being thus laid aſide, and precluded, as he underſtood it, from any farther promotion which his merit might have entitled him to in the navy. We have no account of the motives which might induce the court to ſlight a man of Sir John Kempthorne's merit; only we are told, that he was a very zealous Proteſtant, and, having been chiefly raiſed by the favour of prince Rupert, it is probable his intereſt declined with that of his highneſs. However it was, it has been tranſmitted to poſterity, that his ſharp ſenſe of his diſappointments ſhortened his days: and thus a man, who had with ſuch courage ventured his life for the honour of the crown, and had done ſuch ſignal ſervice to the nation, was ſacrificed to ſome low, ſecret, pitiful court-intrigue, and left to wear away his life in a little employment, which would have been eſteemed a high promotion by a perſon of a money-loving temper, and who had leſs paſſion for glory than this worthy gentleman, who ended his days on the 19th of October, 1679, when he wanted but one year of threeſcore. His body lies interred on the north ſide of the altar in the great church at Portſmouth; and I have heard, that ſome of his poſterity are yet remaining in Devonſhire[k]. This Sir John Kempthorne had an elder brother, captain Simon Kempthorne, who alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf at ſea, but of whoſe actions I can ſay nothing particular: I ſhall therefore content myſelf with having thus endeavoured to preſerve his NAME.

The care taken by the Dutch, as I have more than once hinted before, to preſerve the memories of thoſe who have eminently ſerved the ſtate, by burying them at the public expence, erecting

[h] Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 438. [i] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 399. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 282. [k] Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 439.

for

for them magnificent tombs, adorning theſe with honourable inſcriptions, ſettling penſion on their family, and by ſuch acts of gratitude obliging all hiſtorians, as well as putting it into their power to relate whatever concerns ſuch perſons carefully and diſtinctly, can never be enough commended. It is indeed one of the greateſt inſtances of the wiſdom of their government, ſince it ſupports and encourages public ſpirit, maintains the power, and ſecures the reputation of the republic, which are things of the higheſt conſequence to ſociety, and the ſource of that liberty and happineſs by which they are ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed from their neighbours. Happy had it been for us, if a like ſpirit had prevailed here! I ſhould not then have been obliged to apologize ſo often for omiſſions, which I find it impoſſible to ſupply, nor would there have been occaſion for this remark, to excuſe the ſhortneſs of thoſe accounts, which I am yet to give, of ſome of the greateſt ſeamen who lived in this reign, and who by their gallant behaviour juſtly merit the praiſe of ſucceeding times.

MEMOIRS of Sir GEORGE AYSCOUGH, or, as generally written, AYSCUE, Admiral of the White.

AN intrepidity, which no danger can either diſmay or diſtract, is that kind of temper which diſtinguiſhes our ſea-commanders, and has exalted the Howards, Greenviles, Blakes, and ſeveral others that might be named, into the rank of heroes. It is a diſpoſition that peculiarly endears an officer to ſeamen, who never fail to imitate his example; and from a reſolution of this kind ſuch amazing and almoſt incredible events have flowed, as ſhew that high courage, when accompanied with cool and ſteady conduct, in which intrepidity conſiſts, is very different from either raſhneſs or obſtinacy, and may be juſtly conſidered as the ſtandard of military virtue, and therefore the beſt entitled to fame. This rare and admirable quality, if the evidence of friends or foes can eſtabliſh the poſſeſſion of it inconteſtably, was never more conſpicuous than in Sir George Ayscue, whoſe merit was ſo great, and ſo generally underſtood, that he was preferred without envy; nay, his preferments were attended with

ſuch univerſal applauſe, as at length, which often happens in popular ſtates, rendered him obnoxious to his maſters. This did not hinder his appearing again in a higher ſtation with equal reputation; and, having often vanquiſhed enemies, he, in the laſt action of his life, triumphed over fortune.

He was a gentleman of an ancient and worthy family, ſettled at South Kelſey in Lincolnſhire [l]. His father, William Ayſcough, or Ayſcue, Eſq; was one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber to Charles I. [m], by whom himſelf, and his elder brother Sir Edward Ayſcue, were knighted. By intermarriages he ſtood allied to ſome as reſpectable families as any in the north, particularly the Savilles of Thornhill, the Cookes of Wheatly in Yorkſhire [n], the Williamſons of Markham in Nottinghamſhire [o], and many others. At the breaking out of the civil war, Sir Edward and Sir George Ayſcue both adhered to the parliament [p], by whom the former was appointed one of their commiſſioners to reſide with the Scots army in 1646 [q], and the latter continued in his command in the navy, and always treated with the utmoſt deference and reſpect; which made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he remained attached to them with inviolable fidelity, though he had not been promoted in their ſervice, or, except thoſe teſtimonies of eſteem, had received any marks of their favour.

When a great part of the fleet revolted in the ſummer of 1648, and ſet colonel Rainſborough on ſhore, who was ſent to take the command, Sir George Ayſcue preſerved his ſhip the Lion for the parliament, and brought her into the river Thames, of which he gave them notice [r]. This important ſervice at ſo critical a conjuncture was received with great ſatisfaction, and he was deſired, with captain Moulton, to ſail over to the coaſt of Holland, to watch the motions of the ſhips then under the prince of Wales [s]. The next year he was declared admiral in the Iriſh ſeas, and directed to relieve Dublin, which was a thing of the utmoſt conſequence. This he very ſucceſsfully performed, as

[l] Camd. Britannia, p. 468. where the name is written Aſhcough. [m] Aubrey's antiquities of Surrey, vol. iii. p. 121, 122. [n] Baronetage of England, vol. i. p. 159. iii. p. 279. [o] Thornton's antiquities of Nottinghamſhire, p. 386. [p] Lloyd's loyal ſufferers, p. 706. [q] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 184. Ruſhworth's collections, A. D. 1645. [r] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 317. [s] Baker's chronicle continued by E. Philips, p. 740. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 368. Heath's chronicle, p. 176.

alſo many other ſervices; which induced them to continue him in that office for another year, in which ſpace he did all, and even more than they expected; for which they honoured him with their thanks, and aſſured him they would retain a ſuitable ſenſe of what he had done in ſupport of the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom [t].

The war, at leaſt as far as it was a ſea war, being brought to a concluſion in Ireland, the parliament found themſelves at liberty to make uſe of their fleet elſewhere, and thereupon reſolved to reduce the iſland of Barbadoes, which was held for king Charles by the lord Willoughby of Parham, who had ſerved them long; but when he ſaw they meant to ſubvert the conſtitution, quitted them, and went to king Charles II. in Holland, by whom he was declared vice-admiral of the revolted fleet, and afterwards governor of the Leeward iſlands [u]. In order to accompliſh this, orders were ſent to Sir George Ayſcue to form a ſquadron, which he was to man and victual as ſoon as poſſible, and then proceed to Barbadoes: but, before he was in any readineſs to ſail, thoſe orders were countermanded. The reaſon of this was, the parliament had information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the iſles of Scilly put into their hands; and therefore it was thought neceſſary to reduce thoſe iſlands firſt. Blake and Ayſcue were employed in this expedition in the ſpring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and ſucceſs. They had but a ſmall body of troops on board, and Sir John Greenville had a conſiderable force in the iſland of St. Mary, commanded by ſome of the beſt officers in the late king's army; ſo that, if things had been decided by the ſword, the diſpute muſt have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John eaſily perceived that this muſt end fatally in reſpect to him, and the remains of the king's forces under his command, and therefore entered into a treaty with general Blake and admiral Ayſcue, who uſed him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions: after which Blake returned to England, and Ayſcue prepared for his voyage to Barbadoes [w].

[t] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 385, 406. [u] The civil wars of Great Britain and Ireland, ch. xcvii. p. 325—327. [w] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. vi. p. 465. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 493, 495. See alſo p. 13, 14.

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The parliament, when they firſt heard of the reduction of Scilly, were extremely well pleaſed, as indeed they had very juſt reaſon, ſince privateers from thence did ſo much miſchief, that ſcarce any trade could be carried on with tolerable ſecurity: but, when the conditions were known, ſome great men changed their opinions, and gave Blake to underſtand, that he and his colleague had been too forward; ſo that it was doubtful, whether the parliament would ratify this agreement. Blake ſaid, that, if they had given Sir John Greenville good conditions, they had not done it without good reaſon; that, in the firſt place, it ſaved the effuſion of Engliſh blood, and next, that there was a ſtrong ſquadron of Dutch ſhips at no great diſtance, the commander of which had offered Sir John one hundred thouſand pounds to put theſe iſlands into his hands; that, if the parliament did not approve of his conduct, he ſhould be ſorry for it, and would take care to prevent a miſtake of that ſort for the future, by laying down his commiſſion, as he was confident Sir George Ayſcue would likewiſe do [x]. Upon this, there was no more ſaid of the articles, which were very punctually and honourably complied with, and Sir George received orders to ſail immediately to the Weſt-Indies; which he obeyed.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the 26th of October 1651, and became quickly ſenſible of the difficulty of that enterprize. His own force was very inconſiderable in compariſon of that of the iſland: the governor was a man of quality, good ſenſe, and well beloved, and had aſſembled a body of near five thouſand men to oppoſe him [y]. In ſpite of all theſe difficulties, he was determined to do his utmoſt to reduce the place; and how well he ſucceeded, the reader may learn from the following ſuccinct relation of general Ludlow.

" Sir George opened a paſſage into the harbour, by firing " ſome great ſhot, and then ſeized upon twelve of their ſhips " without oppoſition: the next day he ſent a ſummons to the " lord Willoughby to ſubmit to the authority of the parliament " of England; but he, not acknowledging any ſuch power, de- " clared his reſolution to keep the iſland for the king's ſervice. " But the news of the defeat of the Scots and their king at

[x] Lanſdown's proſe works, vol. ii. p. 256, 257.

[y] See p. 188.

" Worceſter, being brought to Sir George Ayſcue, together " with an intercepted letter from the lady Willoughby, con- " taining the ſame account, he ſummoned him a ſecond time, " and accompanied his ſummons with the lady's letter, to aſſure " him of the truth of that report. But the lord Willoughby " relying upon his numbers, and the fewneſs of thoſe that were " ſent to reduce him, being in all but fifteen ſail, returned an " anſwer of the like ſubſtance with the former. Whereupon Sir " George Ayſcue ſent two hundred men on ſhore, commanded " by captain Morrice, to attack a quarter of the enemies that " lay by the harbour, which they executed ſucceſsfully, by ta- " king the fort and about forty priſoners, with four pieces of " cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board again.

" At this time, the Virginia fleet arriving at Barbadoes, it was " thought fit to ſend a third ſummons to the lord Willoughby; " but finding that neither this, nor the declaration ſent to them " by the commiſſioners of parliament to the ſame purpoſe, pro- " duced any effect, Sir George Ayſcue landed ſeven hundred " men from his own and the Virginia fleet, giving the com- " mand of them to the ſame captain Morrice, who fell upon " thirteen hundred of the enemy's foot, and three troops of " their horſe, and beat them from their works, killing many of " their men, and taking about one hundred priſoners, with all " their guns. The loſs on our ſide was inconſiderable, few of " ours being killed upon the place, and not above thirty wound- " ed. Yet theſe ſucceſſes were not ſufficient to accompliſh the " work, there being above five thouſand horſe and foot in the " iſland, and our Virginia fleet preparing to depart for want of " proviſions.

" In this conjuncture colonel Muddiford, who commanded a " regiment in the iſland, by the means of a friend that he had " in our fleet, made his terms, and declared for the parliament. " Many of his friends, following his example, did the like, and, " in conjunction with him, encamped under the protection of " our fleet. Upon this the moſt part of the iſland were inclined " to join us; but the lord Willoughby prevented them, by pla- " cing guards on all the avenues to our camp, and deſigned to " charge our men with his body of horſe, wherein he was much " ſuperior to them, had not a cannon-ball, that was fired at " random,

" random, beat open the door of a room where he and his " council of war were ſitting, which, taking off the head of the " centinel who was placed at the door, ſo alarmed them all, " that he changed his deſign, and retreated to a place two miles " diſtant from the harbour. Our party, conſiſting of two thou- " ſand foot and one hundred horſe, advancing towards him, he " deſired to treat; which being accepted, colonel Muddiford, " colonel Collyton, Mr. Searl, and captain Pack, were ap- " pointed commiſſioners by Sir George Ayſcue; and by the lord " Willoughby, Sir Richard Pierce, Mr. Charles Pym, colonel " Ellis, and major Byham.

" By theſe it was concluded, that the iſlands of Nevis, Anti- " gua, and St. Chriſtopher's, ſhould be ſurrendered to the par- " liament of England; that the lord Willoughby, colonel Wal- " rond, and ſome others, ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates; and " that the inhabitants of the ſaid iſles ſhould be maintained in " the quiet enjoyment of what they poſſeſſed, on condition to " do nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. This news " being brought to Virginia, they ſubmitted alſo, where one " Mr. George Ludlow, a relation of mine, ſerved the parlia- " ment in the like manner as colonel Muddiford had done at " Barbadoes [z]."

Sir George Ayſcue returned to Plymouth on the 25th of May, 1652, with great reputation [a]. The Dutch war, which broke out while he was abroad, was now very warm, and Sir George was forced to take a ſhare therein, though his ſhips were with ſo long a voyage extremely foul, and in a manner unfit for ſervice: yet, when general Blake ſailed to the north, he performed glorious, indeed almoſt incredible things; for in July he took five Dutch merchantmen, and afterwards attacked a fleet of forty ſail under the convoy of four men of war, took ſeven, burnt three, and forced the reſt on the French ſhore. On the 16th of Auguſt, 1652, the Dutch attempted to ſurpriſe Sir George with

[z] Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 385—387.

[a] In Lilly's aſtrological predictions for 1653 we have this account of what paſſed in the preceding year: " May 25, Sir George Ayſcue, knight, returned ſafe from the weſtern " iſlands to Plymouth, to the great joy of the people, having reduced all the " weſtern iſles, and taken from the Dutch above forty ſail of ſhips." Whitlocke's memorials, p. 534. Davies's civil wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 329.

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a great fleet, who was juſt then returned from convoying a rich fleet of Eaſt-India ſhips into Plymouth. Though he was much inferior in ſtrength, he fought notwithſtanding, and at laſt, with conſiderable loſs, forced them to retire [b]. After this, he continued to behave vigorouſly againſt the enemy; and though his ſervices were not very well received by the parliament, yet both the ſeamen and the people agreed that he had acted like a HERO. Of this we have a ſtrong teſtimony in Lilly's almanack, which was a kind of oracle in thoſe days [c].

In ſome ſhort time after this, the parliament thought fit to conſider Sir George's former ſervices, and to vote him, as a reward, three hundred pounds a-year in Ireland, and alſo three hundred pounds in money; but they thought proper, at the ſame time, to lay him aſide, under pretence that the honour of the nation was ſome way affected by the loſs he had ſuffered in the late fight in Dover road: but this was a mere pretence; for not only our own hiſtorians, but the Dutch writers alſo, agree, that never any man behaved better than he did upon that occaſion; and ſo far was the honour of the nation from being at all injured by any loſs he ſuſtained, that this very action was then, and ſtill is, conſidered as one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of the invincible courage of the Engliſh at ſea [d]. Nay, immediately before he was diſmiſſed from his command, he gave a moſt extraordinary proof of his courage; for he proteſted againſt Blake's retreat, after he had been worſted in the battle of the 29th of November, and declared, he thought it more honourable to periſh at ſea, than to retire in the ſight of an enemy; and upon this occaſion he in-

[b] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 539—541.

[c] This paſſage occurs in his obſervations on Auguſt 1653, and runs thus: "Auguſt 16, 1652, Sir George Ayſcue, near Plymouth, with fourteen or fifteen "ſhips only, fought threeſcore ſail of Dutch men of war, had thirty ſhot in the "hull of his own ſhip. Twenty merchant (I ſuppoſe merchantmen converted "into) men of war never came in to aſſiſt him; yet he made the Dutch give "way. Why our ſtate ſhall pay thoſe ſhips that fought not, we of the people "know not. This is he that is a gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts "the part of a generous commander in all his actions."

[d] Heath's chronicle, p. 323. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. i. p. 421. Columna roſtrata, p. 101. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 260. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome ii. p. 322, 324. La vie de Ruyter, p. i. p. 19, 20.

timated

timated a deſign of throwing up, which gave his enemies ſo fair an opportunity of taking away his commiſſion [e].

The true grounds of the parliament's diſpleaſure towards him, though they did not care to own it, was the fair agreement he had made with the lord Willoughby at Barbadoes, and the largeneſs of thoſe articles of capitulation which he had granted him. They thought he might have been ſufficiently cautioned by the reſentment they had ſhewn on the treaty he made with Sir John Greenville, and were therefore the more deeply touched with this, which they looked upon as a ſecond offence [f]. Another reaſon for their inclining to lay him down ſoftly was his great influence over the ſeamen, by whom he was exceedingly beloved. In this tranſaction they were too wiſe for themſelves; for they parted with a man who was certainly firm to their intereſts, diſobliged the ſea-officers, who knew not what to think of ſuch a proceeding, and loſt the affection of the ſailors, as appeared very ſoon after, when general Cromwell turned them out of doors, the whole fleet concurring in the approbation of that meaſure; which ſhews how dangerous a thing it is to ſacrifice a man of known merit to ſecret diſtruſts [g].

After this the admiral led a retired life, without concerning himſelf with public affairs. The grant he had of an eſtate in Ireland, induced him to go over thither in 1655, where he had frequent conferences with Henry Cromwell who then governed that kingdom, and who conceived from thence ſo great an eſteem for him, that he wrote expreſly to ſecretary Thurloe, to take his advice about a certain matter of moment then in agitation, and in any thing elſe which required the opinion of a very knowing and experienced perſon [h]. Yet it doth not appear, that he was ever employed, or perhaps choſe to be employed, in the protector's ſervice; for I find him in 1656 at his ſeat in Surrey, which is thus deſcribed by Whitlocke: "The houſe ſtands environed with "ponds, moats, and water, like a ſhip at ſea; a fancy the fitter "for the maſter's humour, who was himſelf ſo great a ſeaman. "There, he ſaid, he had caſt anchor, and intended to ſpend

[e] Columna roſtrata, p. 101. [f] Heath's chronicle, p. 323. [g] See the poſtſcript to Lilly's almanack for 1654. [h] This letter is printed amongſt Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. iv. p. 198.

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" the reſt of his life in private retirement [i]." He changed his reſolution, however, for which, if I miſtake not, this viſit laid a foundation; ſince Whitlocke went, in company with the Swediſh ambaſſador, and Sir George was afterwards prevailed upon to quit his retreat, to go over to Sweden, where he was to be admiral [k].

This ſcheme, of ſending him into the north, was one of the laſt formed by the protector Oliver. He had always kept a cloſe correſpondence with Charles Guſtavus, king of Sweden, from the time that prince mounted the throne, and drew many advantages from this conjunction. He ſaw, therefore, with great regret, the ſucceſs of the Dutch in ſettling the affairs of the north, and their awing his ally, the king of Sweden, by keeping a ſtrong fleet in the Baltic. He had his reaſons for avoiding a ſecond war with the Dutch; and yet he could not think of abandoning the Swedes [l]. At laſt, therefore, he took a reſolution of ſending a ſtout ſquadron, well manned, under the command of vice-admiral Goodſon, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George Ayſcue, as we have ſhewn in another place [m]; the latter having accepted of a commiſſion in his Swediſh Majeſty's ſervice; by which ſtroke of policy, the protector thought he ſhould avoid all diſputes with Holland, and yet do as much for the Swedes as they could deſire [n]. But this ſquadron ſailing too late in the year, the ice prevented

i Whitlocke's memorials, p 649. where there is a long account of a very curious converſation, on maritime affairs, between the ambaſſador and the admiral. k Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. iv. p. 260. l Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 545. where there is a better account of Cromwell's deſigns than I have found in any of our own hiſtorians. m See p. 59.

n How much the news of this project alarmed the Danes, will appear from the following letter of their miniſter to ſecretary Thurloe, dated September 27, 1658; when, in proſecution of Oliver's deſign, Richard had reſolved to ſend Ayſcue to Sweden.

" May it pleaſe your lordſhip,

" Talk has been this many months, that Sir George Ayſcue, and ten or " twelve ſea-captains, were to take ſervice under the king of Sweden, which I " could not be induced to believe, thinking the ſaid Ayſcue would not turn a " mercenary ſoldier of another prince, whilſt the war in his own country " laſted: if he could not be ſatisfied with that wealth and honour he has got-

" ten,

prevented its arrival at Copenhagen: however, admiral Ayſcue proceeded to Sweden by land, and was treated with great marks of eſteem and favour by his Swediſh majeſty, with whom he continued to the time of that monarch's deceaſe, which happened in the beginning of the year 1660 [o]; ſo that Sir George Ayſcue had no manner of concern in the laſt troubles in England.

He returned home ſoon after the reſtoration, and was received with all the reſpect that was due to a man of his high rank and merit. He was, as we have already mentioned, appointed one of the commiſſioners for regulating the affairs of the navy, and in high eſteem with the duke of York, who always conſulted him in whatever regarded maritime concerns. When the Dutch war broke out, in 1664, he went to ſea as rear-admiral of the blue ſquadron, and behaved with great honour in the battle of the 3d of June, 1665 [p]. On the duke of York's return to court, and the earl of Sandwich's hoiſting the royal flag, Sir George Ayſcue ſerved as vice-admiral of the red, and was very fortunate in making prizes [q].

In 1666, when prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle commanded, Sir George Ayſcue, in the Royal Prince, the largeſt and heavieſt ſhip in the fleet, bore the white flag, as admiral of that ſquadron, having Sir William Berkley for his vice, and Sir John Harman for his rear-admiral. In the famous battle on the firſt of June, he did remarkable ſervice, not only againſt the enemy, but in the preſervation of ſuch of the Engliſh ſhips as were diſabled by their ſuperior force. With the ſame ſucceſsful diligence he acted the two next days; but towards the evening of the third, when prince Rupert appeared with the frigates under his command, and a ſignal was made for the fleet to join, Sir George Ayſcue's ſhip unfortunately

"ten, and live a retired and quiet life. But I have been deceived in my opi-
"nion, and find, that certainly he and the ſaid captains are to depart in a few
"days; they to command each a man of war, and Sir George the whole Swe-
"diſh fleet." Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. vii. p. 412.

[o] Hiſtoire de Suede, par Puffendorf, tome iii. p. 30. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 677, 698. Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 397. [p] Echard, p. 810. [q] Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 571. Annals of the univerſe, p. 119. Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 399.

ran upon the Galloper, and could not be got off. There, beaten by the waves, ſurrounded by his enemies, and unaſſiſted by his friends, he was, as the Dutch writers themſelves confeſs, compelled by his own ſeamen to ſtrike; upon which, the Dutch took them on board, and finding it impoſſible to bring off the Royal Prince, ſet her on fire [r].

This capture of Sir George Ayſcue, gave the enemy great ſatisfaction. They carried him from place to place, by way of triumph, and at laſt ſhut him up in the caſtle of Louveſtein, where he continued for ſome months [s]. After his return, which was in November, when he was graciouſly received by his majeſty, he went no more to ſea, but ſpent the remainder of his days in quiet [t]. But where, or when, this great and gallant ſeaman concluded his life, I have not hitherto been able (with certainty) to diſcover.

MEMOIRS of Sir EDWARD SPRAGGE, Admiral of the Blue.

THERE are ſome men great in a particular way, to a degree of eminence, that exempts them from any blame, though poſſibly defective in many others. Education and habit alter men frequently, and nature herſelf ſometimes infuſes qualities into the breaſts of men, which particularly diſpoſes them to a certain kind of life, and as apparently diſables them from following other purſuits: but it very rarely happens, that a man is alike equal to various, and even to oppoſite employments. Alcibiades is celebrated, by antiquity, for his peculiar felicity in this reſpect. In the camp, in the court, in the cloſet, he was equally able, and eſteemed. He was a ſoldier, a ſeaman, a ſtateſman, a courtier, a man of buſineſs, or a man of pleaſure, as circumſtances required; and, in every character he aſſumed,

[r] Life of the earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 653. Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Gumble's life of general Monk, p. 430, 431. Skinner's continuation of Bates, p. iii. p. 90. [s] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, tome i. p. 776. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 141. La vie de Ruyter, p. 345. See Sir George Ayſcue's letter to the king, dated from the caſtle of Louveſtein, June 20, 1666. [t] Annals of the univerſe, p. 161.

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he ſo far excelled, as to ſeem born and deſigned for that alone [u]. The ſame thing his contemporaries, his companions, thoſe who knew him, and the world too, perfectly well, affirm of Sir Edward Spragge, who, with a fine perſon, and a gentle temper, had as ſolid an underſtanding, and as bold a ſpirit, as any counſellor or captain of that age [w].

With all theſe advantages, with the favour of the duke of York, with the merit of ſo great ſervices, as he certainly rendered his country, and with the ſtill ſuperior merit of dying gloriouſly in his country's ſervice, which indeed procured his remains an interment in Weſtminſter-abbey [x]; he was not honoured with a tomb, or any memorial (as far as I can yet diſcover) where he was born, of what family, or how he attained to his firſt preferment; which are circumſtances that ought to have been recorded, of ſo great and gallant a man, and which, in or nearer his own times, might have been eaſily known. But ſince theſe are not, at preſent, to be retrieved, we muſt be ſatisfied with thoſe notices which have connected his actions with our public hiſtory: and theſe, we ſhall find, will abundantly make good what we have already obſerved, and induce us to regret the want of more particular memoirs; becauſe it is a kind of political juſtice, to preſerve the private hiſtory of thoſe who have deſerved well of the public.

We find him a captain, in the firſt engagement with the Dutch, after the Reſtoration, on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein he behaved with great reputation, and ſo far recommended himſelf to the favour of the duke of York, that, upon his majeſty's viſiting the navy, and going on board the Royal Charles, he received the honour of knighthood [y]; which encouraged him to expoſe himſelf ſtill more freely. He was likewiſe in the four-days battle in June 1666, where he was particularly taken notice of by the duke of Albemarle; and in the ſucceeding battle, which was fought on the 24th of July, he carried a flag under Sir Jeremiah Smith, admiral of the blue ſquadron; who engaged Van Tromp, ſhattered his vice-admi-

u Juſtin. Hiſtor. lib. v. His life by Plutarch, and alſo by Cornelius Nepos.
w Biſkop Parker's hiſt. of his own times, p. 126. Dryden's annus mirabilis, ſtanza clxxiv. Evelyn of medals, p. 160.
x Antiquities of the abbey-church of Weſtminſter, vol. i. p. 214.
y See p. 100.

ral, ſo that ſhe was abſolutely diſabled; and, having ruined the rigging of his rear-admiral, and killed its commander, contributed greatly to the glory of that day [z].

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf, likewiſe, very remarkably in the cloſe of that war, in the unlucky buſineſs at Chatham, where he was employed, by the duke of Albemarle, to maintain the fort of Sheerneſs, attacked by the enemy on the 10th of June, 1667: and though it was unfiniſhed, his garriſon very ſmall, and the place in no ſtate of reſiſtance; yet he continued to defend himſelf, till it would have been an act of raſhneſs to expoſe his garriſon any longer. When he found how impracticable it was to do any effectual ſervice by land, he ſet himſelf to collect as great a force as he could by ſea. This amounted to no more than five frigates, ſeventeen fire-ſhips, and ſome tenders; and yet when the Dutch admiral, Van Nes, came up the river again, after their attempt upon Harwich, Sir Edward Spragge engaged him about the Hope. The fight was very unequal; but there being, at firſt, little or no wind, Sir Edward laid hold of that advantage; and, by dexterouſly towing his fire-ſhips, burnt eleven or twelve of theirs, with only ſix of his own; but the wind ſtiffening, he was at laſt obliged to ſhelter himſelf, from the enemy's unequal force, under the cannon of Tilbury-fort.

The next day, the weather being favourable, he attacked the Dutch again, in his turn; and, by the happy management of his fire-ſhips, put them into ſuch confuſion, that, after a ſhort diſpute, they were forced to retire, and to burn their laſt fire-ſhip themſelves, to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they proſecuted their retreat, but with Sir Edward Spragge's ſquadron of fire-ſhips in their rear. He followed them to the river's mouth, where they met another ſquadron of fire-ſhips from Harwich, which put them in ſuch danger, that above a hundred men in the Vice-admiral of Zealand, and another large man of war, leaped overboard, and were drowned. This was the laſt action, on our ſide, in that war [a].

In 1668, the conſtable of Caſtile being appointed governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, Sir Edward Spragge was ſent over

[z] See p. 113. [a] See p. 125—129.

to

to compliment him upon that occaſion, and to enter into ſome further negociations for the ſucceſs of the new meaſures, in which Sir Edward is ſaid to have been deeply engaged [b]. The truth is, he was raiſed and ſupported by the favour of the duke of York; ſo that he devoted himſelf wholly to his ſervice, and was thought to have a large ſhare in his confidence. Some have from thence reported, that he was a papiſt; of which there is little probability, ſince we find him ſent to ſea with prince Rupert, in 1673, when the Teſt had driven the duke of York, and others of his religion, from their poſts [c]. This advancement of Spragge I mention here, only to obviate the objection to him on the ſcore of religion: for before I ſpeak of his behaviour in the laſt Dutch war, I muſt take notice of his employment in the Mediterranean, after his return from his negociation in Flanders.

There had been ſeveral ſquadrons ſent to chaſtiſe the Algerines, both by the Engliſh and Dutch; but very few of them had been able to effect any great matter: they, generally ſpeaking, contented themſelves with ſome ſlight action, to the prejudice of theſe corſairs, and then concluded a peace; which was uſually broken by that time they, with their ſquadrons, were returned home [d]. The conſideration of this, together with the loud complaints of the merchants, induced the court to fix upon Sir Edward Spragge to command a ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, in hopes of his meeting with greater, or making

[b] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 569. Lord Arlington, in his letter to Sir William Temple, dated London December 11, 1668, ſays, "The bearer, Sir Edward Spragge, is ſent, by his majeſty, to the conſtable "of Caſtile, to compliment his excellency upon his arrival in Flanders; "where, becauſe it is poſſible you may either meet him, the ſaid Sir Edward, "according to your late credential, or ſend to him, in order to ſomething in "his majeſty's ſervice; I thought I could not do leſs than, in a few lines, let "you know, that he is a brave man, and hath long ſerved his majeſty faith-"fully, (particularly with much gallantry in the laſt Dutch wars); that you "may, on all occaſions, put that value upon him which is his due, and which "ſhall be always acknowledged by," &c. Sir Edward returned to Whitehall, from his embaſſy, on the 29th of January following. Annals of the univerſe, p. 209.

[c] Echard's hiſt. of England, p. 893. Annals of the univerſe, p. 300. Hiſt. of the Dutch war, p. 45. An exact relation of the actions of his majeſty's fleet under prince Rupert, p. 5.

[d] See p. 132.

more

more uſe of his ſucceſs than his predeceſſors, from his known courage and reſolution; for it is confeſſed, by the writers of thoſe times, that Sir Edward greatly reſembled the earl of Sandwich, and concealed, like him, a high and daring ſpirit, under the moſt captivating addreſs, and moſt poliſhed behaviour.

He ſailed from England, on this expedition, in the ſpring of the year 1671, with five frigates, and three fire-ſhips, and there might be as many more ſhips in thoſe ſeas; ſo that, in all, his fleet conſiſted of about twelve ſail. In the latter end of the month of April, he had intelligence that there were ſeveral Algerine men of war in Bugia bay; on which, he called a council of war, when it was reſolved, that he ought immediately to attack them. In purſuance of this reſolution, he ſailed thither; but, in his paſſage, had the misfortune to have the Eagle fire-ſhip diſabled by a ſtorm; and, ſoon after, one of his ſhips ſpringing her main-maſt, was obliged to bear away for the Spaniſh ſhore. Sir Edward, however, perſiſted in his deſign, refitted the Eagle, and bore into the bay of Bugia with a briſk gale, not doubting that he ſhould be able to fire the ſhips: but by that time they got within half-ſhot of the caſtle and forts, it fell a dead calm; and when the wind roſe again, it proved contrary.

On the 2d of May, they were able to do nothing, for the ſame reaſon, the wind changing every half hour; upon which, Sir Edward reſolved to make an attempt upon them in the night with his boats, and the ſmalleſt of his fire-ſhips, which rowed as well as a long-boat. About twelve o'clock that night, he executed his project, ſending in all his boats, and the Eagle fire-ſhip, under the command of his eldeſt lieutenant Mr. Nugent; but the night proving very dark, and the high land obſcuring the ſhips as they drew near them, they paſſed by; and lieutenant Nugent leaving one of the boats with the fire-ſhips, beſides her own, rowed in, to diſcover the enemy, leaving orders, with the captain of the fire-ſhip, to come to an anchor, in caſe he found ſhoal water. The lieutenant had not left them a minute before he perceived himſelf within piſtol-ſhot of the ſhips; and, concluding the buſineſs now as good as done, ſteered

ed

ed off again to find the fire-ſhip, and, to his amazement, ſaw her all in flames [e].

The enemy taking the alarm at this, the lieutenant was forced to row off with his boats; and ſo this promiſing advantage vaniſhed, which had given hopes of burning all the Algerine men of war, without the loſs of a man. The next day, the enemy unrigged all their ſhips, and made a ſtrong boom with their yards, top-maſts, and cables, buoyed up with caſks, for which they had all the leiſure and conveniency they could wiſh, the wind hindering the Engliſh from doing any thing; and, to try the admiral's patience to the very utmoſt, it ſo fell out, that by a drunken gunner's firing a piſtol, his other ſmall fire-ſhip was deſtroyed; ſo that he had now none left but the Little Victory, which drew too much water to enter that part of the bay where the Algerines lay [f].

On Monday the 8th of May, 1671, there appeared a conſiderable body of horſe and foot in the neighbourhood of the bay, which were ſoon after diſcovered to be an eſcort to a very large convoy of ammunition ſent from Algiers to the ſhips; on the ſafe arrival of which, they fired all their cannon, to teſtify their joy. Sir Edward Spragge conſidering this, and not knowing what future reinforcements they might receive, reſolved to take the earlieſt opportunity of making his laſt and utmoſt effort; and, in order thereto, directed the Victory to be lightened, ſo that ſhe might not draw above eight feet. About noon, there ſprung up a fine breeze to the eaſt; upon which, the admiral gave the ſignal for the men of war to draw into a line, and bear up into the bay; immediately after, the wind ſunk at once, ſo that they deſpaired of doing any thing [g].

But about two the gale ſprang up again, and the ſhips bore in, as they were directed. The admiral came to an anchor in

[e] In thoſe days, our fire-ſhips and bomb-veſſels were by no means ſo perfect in their conſtruction, or ſo ſecure againſt accidents, as they are now.

[f] This bay the Romans called the Numidian gulf. The town of Bugia was built by them, and the walls ſtill remain. Don Alonzo de Peralta, the Spaniſh governor, ſurrendered it, in the xvith century, to the Algerines; for which he loſt his head.

[g] Shaw's travels, p. 44. Strabo calls this place Sarda, the Romans Saldis; and the true orthography of the modern name is Boojeiah; the ſound of which is preſerved in Bugia.

four

four fathom water, close under their castle-walls, which fired upon him continually for two hours. In this space he sent in his own pinnace, and those of the Mary and the Dragon: these cut the boom, though not without considerable loss. Lieutenant Pin, who commanded the Mary's boat's crew, had eight wounded with himself; lieutenant Pierce of the Dragon was also wounded, with ten of his men, and one killed. In the admiral's own pinnace there were seven killed, and all the rest wounded, except Mr. Harman, who commanded it [h].

The boom being cut, the fire-ship went in, and getting up athwart their boltsprits, their ships being a-ground, and fast to the castles, she burnt very well, and destroyed them all. Captain Harris who commanded her, his master's mate, gunner, and one of his seamen, were desperately wounded with small shot, and this at their entrance; so that probably the whole design had proved abortive, if the admiral had not with great prudence commissioned Henry Williams (then one of his master's mates, but who had formerly commanded the Rose fire-ship) to take the charge of the vessel, in case the other was disabled; which he did accordingly, and performed all that could be expected from him [i].

This loss was irreparable to the Algerines, who had picked out those seven men of war, that were here burnt, on purpose to fight Sir Edward Spragge; had furnished them with their best brass ordnance from on board all the rest of their vessels, with between eighteen and nineteen hundred chosen men double-officered, under the command of old Terkey their admiral, of whom between three and four hundred were killed, the castles and town miserably torn, and a vast number of people in them slain and wounded; and, which much increased the misfortune, all their surgeons chests were burnt on board their ships, so that numbers died for want of having their wounds dressed. Besides the men of war, (of which we shall give a list), there were burnt a Genoese ship, a small English prize, and a settee [k].

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[h] Sir Edward declared he had never seen a bolder attempt, or one better executed by officers and seamen.

[i] Annals of the universe, p. 263. Atlas geograph. vol. iv. p. 191. Burchet's naval history, p. 402.

[k] This account of Sir Edward Spragge's expedition is taken, first, from his instructions,

An exact LIST of the ALGIER SHIPS burnt in BOUJEIAH or BUGIA Bay, with their number of guns, and age of the veſſels, May 8, 1671.

Ships names.	Commanders.	Guns.	Years old.
White Horſe,	Tabark Rays,	34	4
Orange Tree,	Courhaly,	34	4
Three Cypreſs Trees,	Caram Hammet,	34	½
Three Half Moons,	Brayham Tagrin,	28	2
Pearl,	Brayham Turco,	26	8
Golden Crown,	Halua Tagrin,	24	½
Half Moon,	Hammett,	24	½

In this engagement Sir Edward Spragge had only ſeventeen men killed, and forty-one wounded, which makes the victory ſtill more extraordinary, and is a very full proof how neceſſary a ſteady and conſtant temper of mind, as well as a briſk and active courage, is in an officer who bears ſupreme command at ſea. What the conſequences were of this memorable action, and how well Sir Edward by his prudence improved the advantage that had been thus gained by his arms, we have already ſhewn [l], and ſhall not therefore repeat it here, but proceed to his conduct in the laſt Dutch war, in which he was remarkably diſtinguiſhed [m].

After having performed, with equal honour and ſucceſs, the buſineſs for which he was ſent into the Mediterranean, he returned, in the beginning of the year 1672, with the ſquadron under his command. The Dutch war was then meditated by

inſtructions, publiſhed in the memoirs of Engliſh affairs, chiefly naval, p. 200.; which inſtructions are dated at Richmond the 14th of June, 1670, and ſeveral other papers in the ſame book; 2dly, from Sir Edward's own letter, dated May 11, 1671, and publiſhed by authority under the title of "A true and perfect re- "lation of the happy ſucceſs and victory obtained againſt the Turks of Algier at "Bugia, by his majeſty's fleet in the Mediterranean under the command of Sir "Edward Spragge, *&c.* Printed in the Savoy by Thomas Newcomb, 1671."

[l] See p. 133.

[m] It may not be amiſs to remark here, that, in all our wars with the pirates of Algiers, the Spaniards allowed us the free uſe of the harbour of Port-Mahon, as to the champions of the Chriſtian cauſe, and protectors of the commerce of the Mediterranean; and thither Sir Edward repaired to refit, before he returned home.

our court, but had not as yet broke out. Sir Robert Holmes, who had been the principal inſtrument in bringing on the firſt Dutch war, was employed alſo to begin this, by attacking the Smyrna fleet, which was then expected home. On the 12th of January Sir Edward Spragge met with Sir Robert Holmes's ſquadron near the Iſle of Wight; and, upon Sir Robert's inquiring news, Sir Edward very frankly told him, that he had ſailed ſeveral days with the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and that in a day or two's time they might be certainly expected [n].

Sir Robert Holmes was very well pleaſed with this news, but took great care to ſay nothing that might give him the leaſt intimation of his having any orders to attack them, though, if he had ſo done, and required Sir Edward's aſſiſtance, he could not poſſibly have failed of taking or deſtroying that whole fleet, which was reckoned to be worth a million and half ſterling, and on the taking of which the king depended for a ſupply towards carrying on the war. But Sir Robert, averſe to ſharing any part of the reputation that might be acquired by this action, uſed his utmoſt diligence that no body ſhould have any hand in the execution of it but himſelf, in which, however, he had no ſucceſs: and, as this blaſted his reputation with the world, ſo it produced a quarrel between him and Sir Edward Spragge, which could never afterwards be compoſed [o].

When his royal highneſs the duke of York had reſolved to take upon himſelf the command once again of the Engliſh navy, Sir Edward Spragge was chiefly depended on for aſſembling the fleet, and preparing all things for the reception of his royal highneſs, as I find by an order directed to him as commander in chief of his majeſty's fleet, dated June 15, 1672 [p]; and he performed his part ſo well, that by the end of the month all things were completely ready, and his highneſs was invited on board, who joined him ſoon after, together with the earl of Sandwich, and other perſons of diſtinction. He was preſent in Solbay fight

[n] See the growth of popery, by Andrew Marvell, where we are told, Sir Edward Spragge's ſquadron was ſtill in ſight when Sir Robert Holmes attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and that captain Legge made ſail after him to bring him back to their aſſiſtance, till called away by a gun from his own admiral.

[o] Memoirs of John duke of Buckinghamſhire, vol. ii. p. 11. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 307. Coke's detection of the four laſt reigns, b. iv. p. 61.

[p] Memoirs of the royal navy, p. 246.

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the 28th of May, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf therein by ſinking a Dutch ſhip of ſixty guns: during the reſt of that campaign he behaved with his accuſtomed diligence, and returned with great reputation after it was over, which very probably determined the court to employ him (as they did) the next year in ſo high a ſtation [q].

When the duke of York, by the paſſing of the TEST act, was obliged to part with his command, and the court, to gratify the deſires of the nation, lay under an abſolute neceſſity of making uſe of prince Rupert, they took care to ſecure the fleet notwithſtanding, by employing on board it ſuch officers only as they could beſt, and his highneſs could leaſt truſt. Sir Edward Spragge was to carry the BLUE flag, inſtead of Sir Robert Holmes whom his highneſs propoſed; and, becauſe there had been a difference between theſe two admirals, the court thought fit to lay Holmes entirely aſide, though he was a very active man, and had been much in their confidence [r]. Before the fleet put to ſea, Sir Edward was ſent with the character of envoy extraordinary to France, where he was received with all poſſible reſpect, exceedingly careſſed during his ſtay, and, at his taking leave, had a preſent made him of great value. His buſineſs was to renew the treaty with that court, to ſettle the rules that were to be obſerved on the junction of the French and Engliſh fleets, and to reſtore the old friendſhip between the courts, which ſeemed to be ſomewhat injured by the late proceedings in England [s]. As no circumſtances of Sir Edward Spragge's negotiation or inſtructions were ever communicated to prince Rupert, it gave him freſh grounds of diſlike; ſo that, when Sir Edward came to hoiſt his flag, there was a great coldneſs between them [t].

This did not hinder our admiral's doing his duty very gallantly in the engagement which happened on the 28th of May, 1673,

[q] The ſecret hiſtories of thoſe times ſay, that the miſcarriage of the deſign on the Smyrna fleet overſet the ſchemes of the CABAL, who hoped thereby to make the two nations irreconcileable, to have embarked the merchants and the people in the quarrel, and to have obtained, by the ſale of the cargo, a fund for the campaign, which otherwiſe they ſcarce knew how to get.

[r] True account of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, *&c.* p. 5.

[s] Annals of the univerſe, p. 307. Columna roſtrata, p. 233.

[t] True account of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, p. 9.

wherein he fought Van Tromp ſeven hours, forced him to go from the Golden Lion into the Prince on Horſeback, and thence into the Amſterdam, from that into the Comet, where he had certainly either been killed or taken, if he had not been relieved by de Ruyter [u]. Sir Edward alſo twice changed his ſhip. Theſe circumſtances are not mentioned at all in the account which was publiſhed after Sir Edward's death; but in prince Rupert's letter to the earl of Arlington the matter (notwithſtanding the quarrel betwixt them) is very fairly ſtated. "Sir Edward Spragge," ſays his highneſs, "did on his ſide maintain the fight with ſo "much courage and reſolution, that their whole body gave "way to ſuch a degree, that, had it not been for fear of the "ſhoals, we had driven them into their harbours, and the king "would have had a better account of them [w]."

In the battle of the 4th of June Sir Edward is generally blamed for coming, juſt before the engagement began, ſix miles in his boat to receive his highneſs's orders [x]: however, after he returned, he behaved with great reſolution, forced Van Tromp, with whom he was again to contend, twice to change his ſhip, and would inevitably have either taken or deſtroyed him, if he had not been relieved by the admiral. The hazard that he ran, provoked him ſo againſt vice-admiral Sweers, that he accuſed him to the ſtates-general. Prince Rupert in his letter takes no notice of Sir Edward Spragge's behaviour at all; and, though it is very certain that he had the advantage of Van Tromp in this action, yet even that is concealed by an author who pretends to more than ordinary knowledge of all that paſſed. The Dutch writers confeſs his bravery, and own he puſhed them hard; and Tromp in his letter to the ſtates ſays, that he was forced to retreat a little before it was dark [y].

In the third battle, which happened on the 11th of Auguſt, Sir Edward Spragge with the BLUE ſquadron was in the rear, where it is ſaid, that notwithſtanding he had promiſed prince

[u] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 411. See alſo p. 151. of this volume. [w] See that letter printed by authority, and dated from on board the Royal Charles, off the Oyſter-bank, May 29, 1673. [x] True account of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, p. 10, 11. [y] The writer above mentioned is the author of the relation ſo often cited, who had himſelf a command in the fleet. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 415. Le Clerc, tome ii. p. 341. See alſo p. 153.

Rupert

Rupert not to part from his ſide, yet, being provoked by Van Tromp, he laid his fore-top ſail to the maſt to ſtay for him, and, having engaged his ſquadron, continued fighting for many hours at a diſtance from the body of the fleet. Sir Edward was at firſt on board the Royal Prince, and Van Tromp in the golden Lion; but after a diſpute of about three hours, in which the Dutch admiral always avoided, as much as poſſible, coming to a cloſe fight, Sir Edward's ſhip was ſo diſabled, that he was forced to go on board the St. George, as Van Tromp for the ſame reaſon did on board the Comet. Then the fight between them began again with greater fury then before: at laſt the St. George was ſo battered, that Sir Edward thought fit to leave her, and to endeavour to go on board the Royal Charles; but, before his boat had rowed ten times its own length from the St. George, it was pierced by a cannon-ſhot; upon which the crew endeavoured as ſtrenuouſly as men could do to get back again; but, before that could be effected, Sir Edward was drowned, his hands taking ſo ſtrong hold on the ſide of the boat, that, when it came to float, he was found with his head and ſhoulders above water [z].

This glorious though untimely end had the brave Sir Edward Spragge, who thereby made good what he promiſed the king when he took leave of him, that he would either bring him Van Tromp alive or dead, or loſe his own life in the attempt [a]. Theſe admirals, indeed, ſeem to have had a particular paſſion each to overcome the other; for they had conſtantly fought in every battle from the time that Sir Edward Spragge ſucceeded the earl of Sandwich, and Van Tromp came again to command the Dutch fleet in the room of Van Ghent. The Dutch writers ſpeak of his death with viſible regret, and own, that he was one of the braveſt men and beſt commanders that ever fought at ſea [b]: our own writers are profuſe in the praiſes they beſtow on his valour, and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with citing only one teſti-

[z] An exact relation of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, *&c.* p. 14—21. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 593. Annals of the univerſe, p. 302. Memoirs of Sir John Rereſby, p. 22. See alſo p. 158. [a] Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 894. [b] Brandt leeven Van de Ruyter, p. 860, 861. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 345. Vie de l'admiral de Ruyter, ii. partie p 155. The Dutch in this action had two very brave officers, *viz.* captain David Zweerts and Jan Paulz Van Gelder, killed, in whoſe honour they ſtruck magnificent medals.

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mony in his favour, which ſhall be that of biſhop Parker, who deſcribes the laſt ſcene of his life thus:

"There was a remarkable fight between Spragge and Tromp; "for theſe having mutually agreed to attack each other, not out "of hatred but a thirſt of glory, they engaged with all the rage, "or, as it were, with all the ſport of war. They came ſo cloſe to "one another, that, like an army of foot, they fought at once with "their guns and ſwords. Almoſt at every turn, both their ſhips, "though not ſunk, were yet bored through, their cannon being "diſcharged within common gun-ſhot: neither did our ball fall in "vain into the ſea, but each ſhip pierced the other, as if they had "fought with ſpears. But at length, three or four ſhips being "ſhattered, as Spragge was paſſing in a long-boat from one ſhip "to another, the boat was overturned by a chance ſhot, and that "great man, not being ſkilled in ſwimming, was drowned, to "the great grief of his generous enemy, who, after the death "of Spragge, could hardly hope to find an enemy equal to "himſelf. But thus it happened, that when that brave man had "overcome ſo many dangers, his country being now victorious "and ſafe, no honour remained for him to receive but the re-"ward of a glorious death[c]."

We will take this opportunity of mentioning what became of the veſſel which Sir Edward Spragge firſt quitted, and on board which he choſe to hoiſt the blue flag. This was the ROYAL PRINCE, a firſt rate, of the burden of fourteen hundred tons, carrying one hundred pieces of braſs cannon, and ſeven hundred and eighty men[d]. She was exceeding well built, in perfect good order, and allowed to be as fine a ſhip as any in either of the fleets. Before Sir Edward left her, all her maſts were gone, moſt of her upper tire of guns were diſabled, four hundred men killed, and in other reſpects very little better than a wreck. In this ſituation, a large Dutch man of war bore down upon her with two fire-ſhips, reſolved to burn, ſink, or take her. The firſt lieutenant, giving all for loſt, ordered the colours to be ſtruck,

[c] Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 157. The ſame prelate in another part of his hiſtory tells us, that Sir Edward Spragge was a perſon the love and delight of all men, as well for his noble courage, as the gentle ſweetneſs of his temper, p. 126.

[d] Thus this veſſel ſtands in the liſt of the royal navy, A. D. 1672.

and

and the men to ſhift for themſelves; but the gunner, Mr. Richard Leake, a bold determined man, who had before given the ſtrongeſt proofs of conduct and courage [e], ordered the lieutenant to quit the deck, took the command himſelf, ſunk the two fire-ſhips, forced the man of war to ſheer off, and brought the ROYAL PRINCE, wreck as ſhe was, ſafe into port [f]. This gentleman, who was father to the famous Sir John Leake, was, for theſe and other ſervices, made keeper of the ordnance ſtores, and maſter-gunner of England [g]; a man, whoſe name lived long in the memories of ſeamen, and ſhould live for ever, could my pen confer immortality [h].

Theſe were amongſt the great men who carried the glory of the Engliſh arms ſo high, and who effectually ſupported the honour of the flag. If the reader miſſes the memoirs of ſome whoſe actions are mentioned in our hiſtory, it is becauſe they belong to another place, in conſequence of their having ſurvived this reign, and that unfortunate one which ſucceeded it; but theſe are at leaſt the principal heroes to whom were owing our diſtinguiſhed victories, which raiſed our reputation ſo much, extended our commerce ſo far, and might have brought us much greater advantages, if our domeſtic diviſions had not in ſome meaſure fruſtrated their labours, and defeated our expectations from thoſe naval ſucceſſes, which all of them hazarded, and many laid down their lives to purchaſe [i]. A memorable misfortune this! and which we ought never to forget, if we deſire to avoid feeling the effects of ſo wretched a conduct, with a ſhort explication of which, as a neceſſary comment on what has been already ſaid, we ſhall conclude this chapter [k].

[e] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 560. [f] The old and true way of manning the fleet. London, 1707, 4to. [g] Chamberlayne's preſent ſtate of England, 18th edition, p. 616.

[h] Actions like theſe do honour to our ſeamen, to the Britiſh nation, and add luſtre to naval hiſtory.

[i] The adminiſtration, in the beginning of the king's reign, had ſo little confidence in the parliament, that they parted with Dunkirk, rather than aſk for money to keep it. The parliament, toward the cloſe of his reign, had ſo little confidence in the adminiſtration, that they forced him to blow up Tangier. The firſt Dutch war was made, by advice of parliament, againſt the ſenſe of miniſters; the ſecond, at the perſuaſion of miniſters, againſt the ſenſe of parliament: from that time factions prevailed, the public debt began, and public confuſion enſued.

[k] Compare Sir W. Temple's memoirs, Coke's detection, Kennet's complete hiſtory, North's examen, and Dr. Welwood's memoirs.

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The two Dutch wars were very diſagreeable to a great part of the nation, through an apprehenſion of their conſequences; and therefore the gallant exploits performed by our ſeamen, and the advantages gained by the laſt peace, which has ſecured us from any ſubſequent quarrels with that nation, were not, at leaſt generally, looked upon in the light they deſerved; but ſuch as did their duty, and acted vigorouſly in their ſtations, were diſliked, and treated as the ſervile creatures of a court, ready to attempt any thing for which they received orders [l].

This was certainly very injurious uſage, and ſuch as muſt have contributed to ſink the ſpirits of many. The true merit of a ſoldier, or ſeaman, certainly conſiſts in executing vigorouſly the orders he receives; and things are carried too far, when we pretend to make them accountable for thoſe orders; becauſe, if this maxim ſhould be once eſtabliſhed, ſuch conſequences muſt inevitably flow from it, as would be far more detrimental to ſociety, than the affording a certain meaſure of applauſe to ſuch gallant actions as might be performed upon wrong principles [m].

Of this I might give a flagrant inſtance, by referring to a certain hiſtory, where Sir Robert Holmes is ſeverely cenſured for doing what a council of war directed; and ſome perſons, who had been attainted by parliament, are juſtified, and commended for aſſiſting the Dutch to invade this nation, and to deſtroy our ſhips at Chatham; which is a doctrine of a very dangerous nature, and directly contrary to that true public ſpirit which ought to influence all men, and all parties, to bear whatever may be required of them for their country's good, and to forbear avenging themſelves upon her, whatever provocations, from their rulers, they may receive [n].

l Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. i. p. 307. North's examen, p. 51. Coke's detection of the four laſt reigns, p. ii. p. 39.

m This was the ſentiment of Montague, Blake, and Ayſcue; for which they were never cenſured.

n Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 531, 565. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 784. Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 151, 152, 194—196. By comparing theſe paſſages, the reader will ſee, that the Dutch authors are far from writing with ſpleen, or reſentment of theſe tranſactions: ſo different is party rage, from national attachment!

After having pointed out this error on one ſide, I ſhall, with equal freedom, lay open one, no leſs criminal, on the other: I mean the court's too great regard for France, which was highly detrimental to the trade of theſe nations, and had well nigh been the deſtruction of our navy. It is a monſtruous thing to aſſert, and yet there are too ſtrong proofs of this truth for us to avoid ſaying, that the adminiſtration in the latter part of king Charles's reign, from the time his notions had a wrong turn given them by the CABAL [o], favoured too much the French ſchemes, for the advancement of their commerce, to the prejudice of ours; in doing which, they iſſued ſuch orders to the officers of the navy, as made them juſtly obnoxious to parliament, though very able men in their ſtations, and thereby created ſuch an alteration in the management of things, as added the ruin of our ſhipping, to the hurt done our trade: whereas, if the court had acted honeſtly, and the nation been of one mind, we might certainly have given law to Europe, and become, even then, the greateſt maritime power the world ever ſaw [p].

We loſt, by theſe errors, thoſe advantages at that time; and the ſenſe of this omiſſion ought to be of ſervice to us now. The fleet, at the death of king Charles II. was recovering, indeed, but very ſlowly [q]. It is time to ſee how a prince, who took care of nothing elſe, proſecuted that work with diligence, and raiſed our navy to a better ſtate than ever it was before.

[o] This appellation, which will everlaſtingly remain, was firſt fixed on that miniſtry by a pamphlet entitled, England's appeal from the private cabal at Whitehall to the great council of the nation. London, 1673. 4to, by Sir W. Coventry. (Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 793.) Coke, however, aſcribes it to ſecretary Trevor.

[p] See Andrew Marvell's growth of popery, with the liſts of ſhips taken by French privateers, the reports from the committee of council, and the king's orders. See likewiſe the character of Sir Ellis Leighton, who was entruſted to ſolicit the reſtitution of thoſe ſhips in France, as given by biſhop Burnet, of his own knowledge, vol. i. p. 300, 356, 360. See alſo Sir Richard Bulſtrode's memoirs. [q] Secretary Pepys's memoirs of the royal navy, p. 13—22. Sir Peter Pett's future happy ſtate of England, p. 186. Sir D. North's life, p. 173.

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XVII.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN, during the reign of king James II. containing an account of the methods made uſe of for reſtoring and improving the fleet; their ſucceſs, and the king's diſappointment in his endeavours to prevent an invaſion from Holland.

FEW princes have ſtruggled with greater difficulties, before they aſcended their thrones, than king James II. and few ever ſuſtained a greater load of trouble afterwards. He ſucceeded his brother the 6th of February 1685, with the general acclamations of his ſubjects, who expected great things from a king who came to the throne with ſuch advantages [a]. He was then turned of fifty one, had good natural parts, improved and ſtrengthened both by education and experience; inclined to, and very diligent in buſineſs; an able

[a] Echard's hiſt. of England, p. 1049. Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 188. 189. Lond. Gaz. of February 6. No. 2006.

economiſt:

economiſt: in fine, a prince who, if he had conducted public affairs with the ſame eaſe and dexterity which he ſhewed in the management of his private concerns, his reign muſt have been as happy and glorious, as it proved troubleſome and unfortunate [b].

It was his great foible, that he was conſtantly influenced by foreign councils, which is a thing the Engliſh nation cannot endure; and, indeed, it is impoſſible they ſhould: for as our conſtitution differs from the conſtitution of all the ſtates upon the continent, it is ſimply impracticable to govern us well, by any other ſyſtem of politics than our own [c]. King James knew this well enough; and yet his fondneſs for the popiſh religion, threw him into the arms of France, and engaged him, while a ſubject, to act as a tool; when a king, to rule as a viceroy to Lewis XIV. and this at a juncture, when, if he had been of the religion of his fathers, and had complied with the deſires of his people, he might have given law to that haughty monarch, and been eſteemed the deliverer of Europe [d]. His bigotry blinded him; ſome of his miniſters abuſed his confidence; till, by a ſeries of bad management, he made his affairs deſperate, and loſt the affections of his people, which ſoon loſt him all.

Yet, as wrong as his conduct was, in almoſt every other particular, the care he took of naval affairs, deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity with juſt applauſe. He had long exerciſed the office of lord high-admiral, in the reign of his brother, and underſtood it thoroughly; he knew, too, the diſorders which had crept into the whole economy of the fleet, in the ſix years immediately preceding his acceſſion; and he was well acquainted, beſides, with the difficulties the late king had found, in diſcovering and applying remedies to theſe miſchiefs.

[b] Coke's detection of the four laſt reigns, book v. p. 7. Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 189, 200. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 292, 293. [c] Monteſquieu de l'eſprit des loix, liv. xi. chap. vi. liv. xix. chap. xxvii. [d] S. Puffendorffi rerum Brandenburgicarum hiſt. lib. xviii. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 1049. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 623.

As ſoon, therefore, as he was ſeated on the throne, he began to conſider how a total reformation might be wrought, and the affairs of the navy be not only ſet right for the preſent, but alſo be put into ſuch a ſettled courſe, as that they might not ſuddenly go wrong again [e]. With this view, he conſulted Mr. Pepys, and ſome other conſiderable perſons, on whoſe abilities and integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was neceſſary to be done to bring about the ends at which he aimed, he firſt aſſigned a ſtated fund of four hundred thouſand pounds a-year, payable quarterly out of the treaſury, for the ſervice of the navy; and then iſſued a ſpecial commiſſion for ſettling all things relating to it, and for putting the management thereof into ſuch a method, as might need few or no alterations in ſucceeding times [f].

This commiſſion was the wiſeſt act of his whole reign, and anſwered very effectually all that was, or indeed could be, expected from it. It was grounded, as to form, on a commiſſion which had iſſued, for the ſame purpoſe, in the reign of his grandfather, of which we have taken notice more than once [g]. As the then commiſſioners of the navy were men of fair character, though they had been ſo unlucky in the management of their office, the king would not remove them, but cauſed their names to be inſerted in this commiſſion, which ſuperſeded their own, with the addition of a few old ſervants, though new commiſſioners, on whoſe ſkill and vigilance he depended. The old commiſſioners were, the lord viſcount Falkland, Sir John Tippets, Sir Richard Haddock, Sir Phineas Pett, Sir John Narborough, Mr. Southerne, Sir Richard Beach, Sir John Godwin: the new ones, Sir Anthony Dean, Sir John Berry, Mr. Hewer, and Mr. St. Michael [h]. This commiſſion was dated the 17th of April 1686, and by it the commiſſioners were directed to enquire into, and remedy all the diſorders that were then in the

[e] Chamberlayne's preſent ſtate of England, xvith edit. p. ii. p. 176—181. where the reader may find a clear, as well as copious account, of the ſtate of the navy at the king's acceſſion. [f] Pepys's memoirs of the royal navy, p. 31—41. containing his own ſuccinct, candid, and perſpicuous propoſition to his majeſty, on which this whole reformation was grounded. [g] See before, in this work, vol. i. p. 484.

[h] This was an unacceptable ſervice to the new commiſſioners; but when they once were in, they acted vigorouſly.

navy,

navy, to reſtore it, in every reſpect, to good order, and from time to time to report the proceedings to his majeſty and the privy-council, as they were particularly enjoined in that commiſſion [i].

The commiſſioners veſted with theſe powers loſt no time, but fell immediately on a diligent inſpection into the ſtate of the navy, inquired ſtrictly into the cauſes of paſt miſcarriages, with reſpect rather to things than men, and taking ſuch meaſures for the immediate remedy of the miſchiefs they diſcovered, that the old ſhips were perfectly repaired; the new ones, where they wanted it, altered and amended; the yards properly ſupplied with the ableſt workmen; all the ſtore-houſes filled with whatever was requiſite, bought at the beſt hand, and, in all reſpects, the beſt in their kind; the eſtimates brought into proper order, and the whole economy of the navy reduced into ſo clear a method, that it was impoſſible any officer could be ignorant of, or miſtaken in, his duty, the public ſervice ſuffer in any of its various branches, or the king run any hazard of being cheated, without an immediate diſcovery of the offender [k].

i The whole of this account is taken from Mr. Pepys's memoirs relating to the ſtate of our royal navy of England; wherein he tells us, that the following qualifications were chiefly conſidered in the choice of the new commiſſioners, purſuant to a memorial addreſſed by him to the king, and which was drawn by his maſter's expreſs directions, *viz.*

"I. A practiſed knowledge in every part of the works and methods of your "navy, both at the board, and in your yards. The not diſcerning of which, "(and the others that follow), appears to have coſt your royal brother and "you, within the forementioned five years, above half a million. II. A ge-"neral maſtery in the buſineſs and accompts, though more particularly thoſe "incident to the affairs of your navy. III. Vigour of mind, joined with ap-"proved induſtry, zeal, and perſonal aptneſs for labour. IV. An entire re-"ſignation of themſelves, and their whole time to this your ſervice, without "liableneſs to avocation from other buſineſs or pleaſure. V. Laſtly, Such "credit with your majeſty for integrity and loyalty, as may (with the former "conditions) lead both yourſelf, and my lord treaſurer, to an entire confi-"dence of having all done, that can be morally expected from them, in the "advancement of your ſervice, and the circumſpect and orderly diſpenſing "and improving of your treaſure."

k The regulations, in reſpect to naval affairs, when the king himſelf acted as admiral, aſſiſted only by Mr. Pepys, as ſecretary, at five hundred pounds *per annum* ſalary, are allowed, by all ſeamen, to be as judicious and effectual, and at the ſame time as gentle, and as practicable, as can be deſired.

That

That all this might more fully and indiſputably appear, (beſides the reports directed by the commiſſion being duly made), the commiſſioners engaged his majeſty to viſit, in perſon, the yards, docks, ſtore-houſes, &c. which, conſidering his perfect acquaintance with naval affairs, made it impoſſible he ſhould be deceived; and then, having demonſtrated the juſtice of their conduct, by leaving the navy much increaſed, in perfect order, and with ſea-ſtores valued at four hundred thouſand pounds, they laid down their poſts, their commiſſion being ſuperſeded with a juſt approbation of their conduct, by letters patent under the great ſeal, October 12, 1688. Thus, in little more than two years time, this great reform was made, all the officers of the navy in general paid, to a farthing, and a ſaving made to the public, of three hundred ſeven thouſand five hundred and ſeventy pounds, nine ſhillings, and fourpence; and this for the inconſiderable expence of ſix thouſand pounds paid to the new commiſſioners [l].

While this commiſſion ſubſiſted, the king iſſued new inſtructions to the officers commanding his ſhips of war: theſe are dated the 15th of July 1686, and are extremely well calculated for promoting the public ſervice, ſecuring diſcipline, and preſerving proper memorials of every man's particular merit, by obliging all captains, and ſuperior officers, to depoſite a perfect copy of their journals with the ſecretary of the admiralty. As many things, in theſe regulations, might ſeem to bear hard upon commanders, and to deprive them of thoſe emoluments which their predeceſſors had long enjoyed; his majeſty was pleaſed to grant them very conſiderable favours; ſuch as a ſettled allowance for their tables [m], ſeveral advantages in reſpect to prizes, &c. and, in the cloſe, graciouſly condeſcended to promiſe to take ſpecial notice of, and amply to reward, every inſtance of courage, care, or diligence, in any of his officers, upon

[l] Memoirs of the royal navy, p. 155. a ſmall treatiſe little known, but, nevertheleſs, of ineſtimable value.

[m] The reader may form a proper conception of the importance of this regulation, by conſidering the following table; which ſhews the proportion maintained in this new allowance, ſo as to make it a juſt equivalent for the perquiſites taken away by this inſtruction.

Rate.

upon proper atteſtations depoſited with the ſecretary of the admiralty [n].

We need not wonder, that, in conſequence of ſo unwearied an attention, the Britiſh fleet was in very good order when king James had the firſt notice of the prince of Orange's deſign; but we may be juſtly ſurpriſed at the ſtrange management of maritime affairs from that time. A ſquadron of ſhips was indeed immediately ordered to ſea under the command of Sir Roger Strickland, then rear-admiral of England, who was perhaps the moſt improper man in the world to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the ſeamen, by the readineſs he had ſhewn in bringing prieſts on board the fleet. His ſquadron was ordered to the Downs very indifferently manned; and when he complained of it, and deſired to have ſoldiers at leaſt ſent on board, even this was very ſlowly complied with, conſidering the importance of the ſervice [o].

By his inſtructions he was to have remained in the Downs; but conceiving that to be a very improper ſtation for the ſervice he was expected to perform, after conſulting with the captains in whom he could beſt confide, he certified as much to the court, and offered it as his and their opinion, that it would be better for the fleet to remain at the buoy of the gun-fleet near Harwich. The king, as ſoon as he received this advice, ſent for lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry, captain John Clements, the three elder brothers of the Trinity-houſe at Deptford, and Mr. Pepys, to whom he communicated Sir Roger Strickland's

Rate.	Preſent wages.		Preſent victualling.			Additional grant for his table.	
	l.	s.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.
1	273	15	12	3	4	250	0
2	219	00	12	3	4	200	0
3	182	00	12	3	4	166	5
4	136	10	12	3	4	124	5
5	109	10	12	3	4	100	0
6	91	00	12	3	4	83	0

[n] Memoirs of the royal navy, p. 124, 125. It were to be wiſhed ſomething of this nature could again take place.

[o] Hornby's caveat againſt the whigs, p. ii. p. 50. where he tells us, that, on the firſt celebrating maſs on board one of his majeſty's ſhips, it occaſioned ſuch an uproar and mutiny in the fleet, that it was as much as the officers could do, to prevent the ſailors from ſacrificing the prieſts to Neptune.

letter,

letter, and, in conſequence of their joint advice, ſent the admiral orders to ſail out of the Downs with the firſt eaſterly wind, and place himſelf between the north Sand-head and the Kentiſh Knock, there to continue under ſail in the day-time, and at anchor in the night, in order to obſerve the Dutch fleet, and to gain the beſt intelligence of them he could, in purſuance of the inſtructions which were then ſent him [p].

When the danger appeared more clearly, this fleet was directed to retire to the buoy in the Nore, and lord Dartmouth was ordered to ſea with ſuch a reinforcement as made the whole fleet under his command conſiſt of forty men of war, of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle, and eighteen fire-ſhips. This fleet being at the gun-fleet, and ready in all reſpects to ſail, a council of war was called, wherein Sir William Jenings, who commanded a third rate, propoſed to put to ſea, and ſtand over to the Dutch coaſts, as the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way to prevent an invaſion. This propoſition, however, was rejected by a great majority, and ſo it was reſolved to continue there. The true ground of this, as Mr. ſecretary Burchet [q] fairly tells us, was the ſecret reſolution of the greateſt part of the captains to hinder the admiral, in caſe he had come up with the Dutch fleet, from doing them much damage: and thus it appears how ineffectual fleets and armies are, when princes have loſt the confidence of thoſe who ſerve in, or command them.

It may not now be amiſs to caſt our eyes over to Holland, in order to conſider the force preparing there for this invaſion. His highneſs the prince of Orange had about his perſon abundance of Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen, particularly the earls of Shrewſbury and Macclesfield, the lords Mordaunt, Wiltſhire, Pawlet, Elan, and Dumblain, admiral Herbert, Mr. Herbert, colonel Sidney, Mr. Ruſſel, Sir Rowland Gwyn, major Wildman, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Harbord, Mr. Ferguſon, and, beſides the general officers of the ſtates, the marſhal Schomberg, count Charles, his ſon Mr. Caillemotte, younger ſon to the marquis of Rouvigni, and two or three hundred French refugees [r]. The fleet

[p] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 411. Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 527. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 1112, 1120. Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 280. [q] Naval hiſtory, p. 414. [r] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 762. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 1118. Father Orleans's

fleet that was to carry theſe conſiſted of about fifty ſail, moſt of them third or fourth rates, and the tranſports were about five hundred. Theſe, with twenty-five fire-ſhips, made up the whole navy: the land-forces embarked, were four thouſand horſe and dragoons, and ten thouſand foot. It was very remarkable, that though all the captains of theſe veſſels were Dutch, yet the chief command was given to admiral Herbert[s], who very lately commanded the Engliſh fleet; and this with a view either to engage ſhips to come over, or at leaſt to encourage the ſeamen to deſert.

In order to do this more effectually, Herbert firſt addreſſed a letter to his countrymen in the ſea ſervice, and then ſtood with the Dutch fleet over to the Downs, in order to look at the Engliſh ſquadron, and try what effects his exhortations had produced[t]. At that time his ſucceſs did not promiſe much; and, after a fortnight's cruizing, he returned to the Dutch coaſts, with a better opinion of the king's fleet, and a worſe of his own, than when he ſailed. But, for all this, his epiſtle did almoſt as much ſervice as the force he commanded; for, though the deſertion was inconſiderable, yet by degrees the ſailors loſt their ſpirits, and their officers began to cabal, and to conſult, not how they ſhould execute the orders they had received, but how they might beſt take their meaſures to ſecure the fleet.

On the 19th of October, 1688, the prince went on board, and the whole fleet ſailed that night; but the next day, the wind turning north, and then ſettling in the north-weſt, it was found impoſſible to ſtruggle with it, and therefore on the 21ſt the fleet returned, after having been rudely handled by a ſtorm[u]. On the firſt of November the fleet ſailed again. The prince intended to have gone northwards, and to have landed his forces in the mouth of the Humber; but a ſtrong eaſt wind rendered this im-

Orleans's hiſtory of the revolutions in England under the family of the Stuarts, p. 310. [s] Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 409. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome v. p. 1236. See our memoirs of admiral Herbert, afterwards earl of Torrington, in vol. iii. p. 298, 299. [t] An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington. London, 1691, 4to, p. 12, 13. where the admiral's letter is printed at large. [u] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 526. Life of king William, p. 130. Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 277, 280. The hiſtory of the deſertion, or an account of all the public affairs in England from the beginning of September 1688 to the 12th of February following. By Edmund Bohun, Eſq.

practicable, and ſeemed to direct them to a better courſe. His highneſs then ſailed weſtward, the ſame wind which brought him to the Engliſh coaſt keeping in the king's ſhips, though they were come down ſo low as the gun-fleet. There in a foggy day they paſſed the Engliſh navy undiſcerned, except a few tranſports which ſailed in ſight, while the Engliſh fleet rode with their yards and top-maſts down, and could not, by reaſon of the extraordinary violence of the wind, purchaſe their anchors.

On the 4th of November at noon, it was reſolved on board the Dutch fleet, that part of the ſhips ſhould go into Dartmouth, and the reſt into Torbay; but in the night the pilots overſhot both, and then it was determined to go into Plymouth, which, if they had done, might have proved fatal; but the wind, ſuddenly turning from eaſt to ſouth, corrected the error of their pilots, and brought them ſafe into Torbay, where the army was immediately landed, and the prince made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for drawing the country gentlemen in the neighbourhood to join him [w].

As ſoon as the wind would permit, the earl of Dartmouth, a gallant, loyal, and active officer, weighed with the Engliſh fleet, and ſtood to ſea with a reſolution to follow and fight the Dutch. Secretary Burchet and biſhop Burnet ſeem to contradict each other in what they ſay on this ſubject. The ſecretary informs us, that lord Dartmouth came before Torbay with his fleet, and gave the Dutch an opportunity of ſeeing what his ſtrength might have enabled him to do, if he had inclined to treat them as enemies [x]. The prelate on the contrary ſays, that lord Dartmouth aſſured him ſome time after, that, whatever ſtories the Dutch might have heard either of officers or ſeamen, he was confident they would have fought very heartily [y].

This ſeeming contradiction may, however, be eaſily reconciled; for this diſpoſition of fighting is to be referred to the time when the Engliſh firſt got to ſea; and then, if they had come up with the Dutch fleet, it is very probable they had come to

[w] Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 1121. An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages, &c. p. 15. Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 281. The hiſtory of the deſertion, p. 59. [x] Memoirs of tranſactions at ſea during the war with France, beginning in 1688, and ending in 1697, by Joſiah Burchet, Eſq; London, 1703, 8vo, p. 19. [y] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 789.

blows,

blows, and the buſineſs had been decided by a battle: but when the wind, turning to the ſouth, carried the prince's fleet into Torbay, it forced the Engliſh fleet back, and, afterwards riſing into a ſtorm, ruffled them ſo much, that it was two or three days before lord Dartmouth came again before Torbay; and then it was that, as Mr. Burchet ſays, he ſhewed the Dutch a fleet, capable indeed, but little inclined to hurt them. The ſeamen had time in this ſpace to conſider what they were doing, and ſuch of the officers, as were well affected to the prince's deſign, had an opportunity of working upon them, and diſpoſing things for his ſervice; and thus that naval force, which the king had cultivated with ſo great care, and on which he depended ſo much, proved of little or no uſe, as well as his army: ſo difficult a thing it is to bring Engliſhmen to enſlave England!

As to the conduct of the king after the arrival of the Dutch fleet, it was ſo unaccountable in itſelf, and ſo much has been ſaid of it by other writers, that it is abſolutely unneceſſary for me to inſiſt upon it [z]: I ſhall only obſerve, that it was very ſtrange he paid ſo little attention to the fleet, ſince, if we except the care he took in ſending away his family, it does not appear, that he iſſued any orders relating thereto; which will ſeem ſtill the more extraordinary, if we conſider, that his admiral was not only a man of quality, and one on whoſe fidelity he could abſolutely depend, but alſo an experienced officer, and a man extremely beloved by the ſailors. In all probability, he was deterred from taking any meaſures of this ſort, by what happened at the docks, where the workmen employed in the ſervice of the royal navy roſe on a ſudden, and, without any other arms than the tools belonging to their trades, drove out a regiment of regular troops quartered at Rocheſter and Chatham, and declared for the proteſtant religion, and the prince of Orange.

It is alſo not improbable, that the king was diſcouraged from making any applications to the ſeamen, in whom he had formerly ſhewn much confidence, by the revolt of Guernſey and Jerſey, where the people, and eſpecially the ſailors belonging to the veſſels in their harbours, ſeized ſeveral popiſh officers, who had

[z] Kennet, vol. iii. Echard, Sir John Reresby's memoirs. See likewiſe the memoirs of his grace John duke of Buckinghamſhire, vol. ii. p. 91.

been ſent thither to diſcipline their militia, and on other pretences; and this upon the firſt news of the invaſion here[a]. To ſay the truth, the ſea-faring people all over the nation, but particularly in Briſtol and London, declared unanimouſly and vehemently againſt his meaſures[b], and did all in their power to prevent the moſt obnoxious of his miniſters, ſuch as chancellor Jefferies[c] and father Petre, from making their eſcape; which can be attributed to nothing but the juſt ſenſe they had of the iniquitous meaſures theſe people had purſued; for, as to themſelves, they had no particular grievances.

But, what is ſtill more ſtrange, the king made no uſe of the French power at ſea, though he was in the ſtricteſt alliance with that court. A French fleet, if fitted out at that juncture, might have made the Dutch more cautious, even while this invaſion was under their deliberation, or if a French ſquadron had joined his own navy, as in his brother's time, when we were engaged in the laſt Dutch war, this muſt have had a great weight: for though, in the former caſe, the French ſquadrons, as we have ſhewn, never did any good, yet now the circumſtances of things being altered, and the French king ſo nearly concerned in breaking a confederacy, which he knew to be forming againſt him, and of which this was the firſt apparent act, as well as in ſuccouring ſo firm and ſo uſeful an ally, there is reaſon to believe his officers and ſeamen would have acted heartily and harmoniouſly[d].

Beſides, the French naval power (without our king's aſſiſtance) was now become quite another thing than it was in the Dutch war, ſince very lately they had fought the Dutch upon equal terms in the Mediterranean with honour, and conſequently

[a] Falle's hiſtory of the iſland of Jerſey, p. 125, 126. [b] Hiſtory of the deſertion, p. 84, 88. Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 295. Echard, p. 1130.
[c] Memoirs of John duke of Buckinghamſhire, vol. ii. p. 99. A complete hiſtory of the life of George lord Jefferies, London, 1689, 4to, p. 70.
[d] Quincy, hiſt. militaire de Louis XIV. tome ii. p. 141. There are two cauſes aſſigned for this conduct of the French: the firſt, that Barillon, the French ambaſſador here, aſſured his maſter it would coſt a long and bloody civil war to dethrone king James; ſo that he might take his own time to relieve him: the ſecond, that his miniſter M. de Louvois, led by his own intereſts, turned the arms of France againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which left the republic of Holland at full liberty to employ their fleet and forces in the ſervice of the prince of Orange.

were

were capable of fighting them elſewhere, as the ſtates very well knew, and would have been unwilling to run any ſuch hazard. But, above all, in ſo delicate a conjuncture, the appearance of a large French fleet would have compelled his own to fight, and in all probability would have raiſed again the ſpirits of the timid, and put ſuſpected captains on exerting themſelves to wipe away the imputations of their enemies. The engaging the Dutch on any terms, was that at which he ought chiefly to have aimed; for an action muſt have done him ſervice, by rouzing the ſpirits of his ſailors, who would then have baniſhed all diffidence, and conſidered nothing but the ſupport of the Engliſh reputation. Theſe obvious advantages he miſſed, either from a ſtrong perſuaſion that his own force was more than ſufficient to repel the invaders, or, as it is commonly reported, by the advice of the earl of Sunderland, who diſcouraged the having recourſe to foreign aſſiſtance, from arguments drawn from the king and nation's ſafety; and ſo the king, when he wanted them moſt, had not either a fleet of his own or of his allies at his devotion; which if he had, it is not improbable he might have turned the tables again, and forced the Dutch off the coaſt [e].

The miſtakes committed on this ſide were heightened in their appearance by the great caution and wiſe management on the other, as well as by the foreſeen and unforeſeen conſequences of the whole tranſaction. The embarkation was made with eaſe; the paſſage better regulated by the winds, than it could have been by their prudence; the deſcent in the fitteſt place in England for landing of horſe; ſo that it was performed without difficulty as well as without danger. Biſhop Burnet [f], therefore, ſays truly, that theſe lines from Claudian were very happily applied to the prince of Orange's expedition;

O nimium dilecte Deo! cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti.

"Oh heav'n-protected chief! whom ſkies defend,
"And on whoſe call ſubmiſſive winds attend."

[e] Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 276, 280, 317. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 1115. See the earl of Sunderland's letter to a friend in London, dated March 23, 1689. [f] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 790.

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In Holland they triumphed on the exact execution of the plan laid down by the ſtates, and the moſt eminent news-writer they then had made this obſervation on the ſucceſs of the prince's enterprize, in his reflections on the hiſtory of Europe for November 1688: "The expence beſtowed on the fleet and army, ſet "out from Holland, is a ſign they are morally aſſured of the "ſucceſs of the expedition, which I am apt to think has been a "long time in agitation, though it was carried with that pru-"dence and ſecrecy, as not to be diſcovered till it could be no "longer concealed [g]." When ſkill, induſtry, and zeal were viſibly on the part of the prince, and weakneſs, irreſolution, and diffidence apparent in all the king's meaſures, it was impoſſible things ſhould continue long in diſpute, or that his highneſs, who knew ſo well how to uſe all the advantages that were in his hands, ſhould not prevail.

When lord Dartmouth ſaw the diſpoſition of his officers, and how little it was in his power to ſerve his maſter, he wiſely yielded to neceſſity; and, ſailing once again into the Downs, and there holding a council of war, it was reſolved firſt, to diſmiſs from their commands all ſuch officers as were known to be Papiſts, or ſuſpected ſo to be, and then to ſend up an addreſs to his highneſs, ſetting forth their ſteady affection to the proteſtant religion, and their ſincere concern for the ſafety, freedom, and honour of their country. Not long after this the ſhips were diſperſed, ſome to the dock-yards to be diſmantled and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired, and ſuch as were in the beſt condition for the ſea were appointed for neceſſary ſervices [h].

Theſe were all the exploits performed by the Engliſh navy during the reign of a prince, who, while a ſubject, had ſerved and acquired a reputation at ſea, who underſtood maritime affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that though this fleet was uſeleſs to him, yet it was of the higheſt advantage to the nation. If he had been leſs careful in this reſpect, if he had left the navy in a low condition, nay, if he had left it as he found it at his brother's deceaſe, it would have been impoſſible

[g] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome v. p. 1246.

[h] Burchet's memoirs, p. 20.

for

for us to have withſtood the naval power of France, which had been for ſeveral years growing, and about the time of the revolution, or a little before it, had attained to its greateſt height[i].

As it was, the king left behind him as numerous, and in every reſpect as complete and well-furniſhed a navy, as England had ever ſeen; ſo that, when the French came out with ſuch a ſtrength as amazed all the world, it ſurpriſed indeed, but did not fright us; we were quickly in a condition to look them in the face: and the ſubſequent part of this work will ſhew, that notwithſtanding the mighty change that had happened in a ſhort time abroad, and the pains almoſt every where taken to create a naval force, yet we were as able to aſſert our ſovereignty in our own ſeas, and to maintain the honour of our flag every where elſe, as in any preceding period.

I SHALL conclude this chapter by exhibiting to the reader's view an exact account of the fleet, and the condition in which it was left by king James, in order to prove what has been before aſſerted, and to prepare him for the hiſtory of thoſe actions at ſea, which followed in the next reign.

i Reflexions politiques ſur les finances et ſur le commerce, tome ii. p. 375. from which ingenious and eſteemed book I have borrowed, for the reader's uſe,

An ABSTRACT of the ſtate of the French Navy, A. D. 1681.

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Mar. Officers.	Sailors.	Soldiers.
I.	12	1080	1232	4132	2486
II.	21	1518	1719	4470	2661
III.	36	1928	2350	6142	3008
IV.	26	1088	1167	2713	1570
V.	20	608	119	681	2790
Totals,	115	6222	7149	18,884	10,407
Small frigates,	24	400	446	937	497
Fire-ſhips,	8	74	80	160	...
Barks,	10	43	90	190	...
Pinks,	22	341	190	447	...
Totals,	179	7080	7955	20,618	10,904

An

An ABSTRACT of the Liſt of the Royal Navy of England, upon the 18th of December, 1688, with the force of the whole.

Ships and Veſſels. Rates.	Number.	Force. Men.	Guns.
1	9	6705	878
2	11	7010	974
3	39	16,545	2640
4	41	9480	1908
5	2	260	60
6	6	420	90
Bombers,	3	120	34
Fire-ſhips,	26	905	218
Hoys,	6	22	00
Hulks,	8	50	00
Ketches,	3	115	24
Smacks,	5	18	00
Yachts,	14	353	104
Total,	173	42,003	6930

LIVES

OF THE

ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN, under the reign of king William III. from the Revolution, to the peace of Ryſwick.

THE crown was no ſooner placed on the head of the prince of Orange, than he began to feel the weight of it, and experience all the cares that neceſſarily attend it: he had not ſo much leiſure to taſte in peace the firſt moments of royalty [a], but found himſelf obliged to embark in a war, as ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne. A war in which all Europe was engaged, and engaged in point of intereſt; for the ambitious deſigns of Lewis XIV. were now ſo evident, that even the powers leaſt inclined to action, ſaw themſelves obliged to provide for their own ſafety, by entering into

[a] Memoirs of Sir John Rereſby, p. 345. Life of king William, p. 228. Kennet's hiſt. of England, vol. iii. Burnet, Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iii. p. 88.

a confederacy for effectually oppoſing the encroachments of that aſpiring prince.

The French king, on the other hand, inſtead of diſcovering any dread of this formidable alliance, began firſt, by falling upon the empire, and declaring war againſt Spain, at the ſame time that he provided for his ally, king James, whom he ſent over into Ireland, with a conſiderable force, eſcorted by a fleet of thirty ſail of men of war, and ſeven frigates [b]. On the 12th of March, 1688-9, that monarch landed at Kingſale, from whence he went to Corke. On the fourteenth landed M. de Lauzun with five thouſand French auxiliaries, and king James ſent over general M'Carthy, and as many Iriſh to France. The following is an exact liſt of the French fleet taken at the time, and which therefore ſeems very worthy of being here inſerted.

LIST of the French fleet in Kingſale-Bay, March 12, 1689.

Commanders.	Ships names.	Guns.	Men.
Lieut.-General le Marq. de Antreville,	L'	62	420
Chefs d'Eſcadres.			
Le Chevalier de Flaiour,	Le Glorieux,	50	380
Le Marq. de Relingueſs,	Le Serieux,	60	370
Le Marq. de Neſmond,	Le Conſtant,	54	370
Captains.			
Les Sieurs			
D'Amblement,	Le Henry,	64	400
D'Hannualt,	Le Furieux,	60	250

[b] M. de Quincy hiſtoire militaire du regne de Louis le grande, tome ii. p. 147, 148. Larrey, hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tome ii. Le Clerc hiſt. des Provinces Unies, tome iii. p. 415. Sir John Reresby in his memoirs, p. 332. ſays, the French king on this occaſion furniſhed king James with a ſquadron of fourteen men of war, ſix leſſer frigates, and three fire-ſhips, all well manned and fitted; eight experienced field-officers, one hundred of inferior note, a guard of one hundred Swiſs, a corps of ſkilful pioneers, 15,000 of his own natural ſubjects, arms for 40,000 more, cannon, and ammunition, in great abundance; 200,000 l. in money, 50,000 piſtoles as a preſent for that prince's private uſe, with plate, tents, and a moſt royal and ſplendid equipage, with an offer of 15,000 French troops, which king James declined accepting, ſaying, he would ſucceed by the help of his own ſubjects, or periſh in the attempt.

Commanders.

Commanders.	Ships names.	Guns.	Men.
De Septeme,	L'Ardent,	62	370
De Machard,	Le Bourbon,	62	370
De Belleiſle,	Le Marquis,	56	330
De Belfontaine,	Le Prince,	58	350
De Reald,	Le Courageux,	60	350
De Mobrane,	L'Excellent,	60	350
De la Hattleloire,	Le Fort,	58	350
De Septeville,	L'Entreprenant,	60	350
De Bidaw,	L'Aquillon,	58	330
De Chaſeur,	Le Vermandois,	58	350
Du Palaiſe,	Le Bon,	54	300
De Galliſoniere,	Le Maure,	54	270
Colebert,	Le Sage,	50	300
D'Allis,	Le Francois,	46	250
De France,	Le Trident,	52	375
De Champigny,	Le Brave,	56	350
De Renault Huet,	Le Temeraire,	54	330
De Serguinge,	Le Diamant,	54	300
De Florin,	Le Neptune,	48	330
De St. Maure,	L'Arc en Ciel,	54	250
* * * * * *	L'Arrogant,	58	250
De Genlis,	L'Imperfait,	44	250
De Chateau Morant,	Le St. Michael,	60	230
Baron des Ardeſs,	Le Faulcon,	36	200
De Pontis,	La Courtizane,	64	370
Des Auguere,	Le Jolli,	36	200
Des Hainault,	Le Moderne,	50	300
De la Rougere,	Le Sans Pareil,	58	250
De la Guiche,	Le Palmier,	36	200
Baron,	L'Alcion,	36	200
Europin,	L'Opiniatre,	36	200
		1958	11495
Beſides	4 Fire-ſhips,		
	6 Flotes,		
	3 Other ſhips of St. Louis,	265	1710
Total of men and guns,		2243	13305

It was upon this occaſion, that the impolitic and inconſiderate management in the two laſt reigns, in reſpect to the correſpondence held between our princes and the French king, manifeſtly appeared by the prodigious growth of his naval power. Under the adminiſtration of the great cardinal Richlieu, France was ſo weak in this reſpect, that this high-ſpirited miniſter was forced, in very preſſing terms, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the Swedes [c]; and even in this reign, the protector Cromwell had ſhewn the utmoſt contempt for the French power at ſea. To ſpeak the truth, it was our wars with the Dutch, in the reign of king Charles II. that, as the French themſelves confeſs, gave them firſt an opportunity of learning, at the expence of the maritime powers, what it was to make a figure on an element with which before they were little acquainted. This knowledge they ſo far improved, by ſometimes ſiding with the Dutch, and ſometimes with us, that in the ſpace of leſs than twenty years, they found themſelves able to deal with either nation, and in 1676, actually beat the Dutch and the Spaniſh fleets in conjunction, in the Mediterranean, and killed the famous admiral de Ruyter [d]. At this time, they were grown ſo much ſtronger, that we ſhall ſee them, during a great part of this reign, endeavouring to diſpute the empire of the ſea againſt the joint forces of both the maritime powers: which is ſufficient to ſhew, with how great diſadvantage king William entered into the war, in this reſpect; ſince, while the enemy took all advantages of pouring ſupplies into Ireland, his affairs in England were ſo perplexed, that it was ſome time before he could provide ſo much as a force ſufficient to cruize on the coaſt of that iſland.

At

[c] As to this fact, we find it in the cardinal's letters, vol. ii. p. 144.

[d] The inquiſitive reader may find a ſuccinct view of the riſe and progreſs of the French naval power, under the reign of Lewis XIV. in Father Daniel's hiſtoire de la milice Francoiſe, liv. xiv. chap. vii. But, to place this matter in the cleareſt light, and to give the Engliſh reader a competent idea of the French force at ſea, as well as to enable him to judge for himſelf, (which none of our naval writers have done), of the comparative ſtrength of Engliſh and French fleets and ſquadrons, I ſhall here give an exact abſtract of the ſtate of the French fleet, as it ſtood in 1681; and it was even in a better condition at the beginning of the war, and to this recourſe may be had on all occaſions.

Abstract

At laſt, admiral Herbert, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, in the beginning of the month of April, 1689, ſailed for Corke, with a ſquadron which conſiſted of no more than twelve ſhips of war, one fire-ſhip, two yachts, and two ſmacks. Here he received information, that king James had landed at Kingſale, about two months before [e]. He then thought it proper to attempt cutting off the convoy that had attended him from France: with this view he ſailed for Breſt, and cruized off that port for ſome time; but hearing nothing of the French men of war from the advice-boats he daily received, and having increaſed his force to nineteen ſail, (of which, however, one was but a ſmall frigate), he again ſteered for the Iriſh coaſt, and towards the latter end of April appeared off Kingſale.

On the 29th of that month he diſcovered a fleet of forty-four ſail, which he judged were going into Kingſale, and therefore did his utmoſt to prevent it. The next day he heard that the enemy were gone into Baltimore, but, upon coming thither, found that information to be falſe. The wind being then eaſterly, he ſtood for Cape-Clear, and in the evening he ſaw them ſtanding into Bantry bay. He lay off that place till morning, and about break of day reſolved to attack the enemy [f]. All our

ABSTRACT of the FRENCH FLEET.

Rates.	Force.	Number.	Cannon.	Superior Officers.	Naval Officers.	Seamen.	Soldiers.	Whole Crew.
1	120 to 70 guns,	12	10	108	1232	4132	2486	7850
2	70 to 56	21	1518	189	1719	4470	2661	8850
3	56 to 40	36	1928	251	2350	6142	3008	11500
4	40 to 30	26	1088	156	1167	2713	1570	5450
5	28 to 18	20	608	119	681	1427	682	2790
	Total,	179	6222	823	7149	18884	10407	36440
Light frigates, 20 to 16		24	400	125	446	937	497	1880
Bomb veſſels and fire-ſhips,		8	74	16	80	160		240
Barks,		10	43	20	90	190		280
Flutes,		22	341	44	190	447		637
	Total,	197	7080	1028	7955	20618	10904	39477

Excluſive of 30 gallies, on board which were above three thouſand men.

[e] London Gazette, No. 2447.

[f] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 416. Life of king William, p. 231. An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 17. Columna roſtrata, p. 254.

Engliſh

Engliſh writers of naval hiſtory agree, that the French fleet had ſome empty tranſports under their care, but the French writers, who ſhould certainly beſt know what their fleet was doing, ſay poſitively, that they had only four merchant-ſhips laden with arms, bridles, ſaddles, powder, and ball, for the uſe of king James's army, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which was on board the men of war. This they ſhipped, as ſoon as they perceived the Engliſh fleet, on board ſix fire-ſhips, and ſent theſe, with the merchantmen before-mentioned, to land their ſupplies at a place in the bay ſeven leagues diſtant, while they engaged the Engliſh ſquadron, that at all events they might be ſafe [g].

Authors vary not a little as to the ſtrength of both fleets, which I take to be rather owing to partiality, than any real difficulty there was of coming at the fact. Mr. Burchet ſays, the Engliſh were but nineteen ſhips in all [h]. Biſhop Kennet more truly reckons them twenty-two, wherein he agrees with all the French relations [i]. The enemy's fleet conſiſted, according to our accounts, of twenty-eight, according to their own, of no more than twenty-four ſail [k]. The Engliſh had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting, if they had ſo pleaſed; but this was by no means agreeable to admiral Herbert's temper: he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a cloſe engagement; but the French ſaved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three diviſions about ten in the morning on the firſt of May. The foremoſt diviſion conſiſted of eight ſhips under the command of Mr. Gaberet; the ſecond, of the like force, was commanded by admiral Chateau-Renault; the third, which was alſo of eight ſhips, had for its commander Mr. Forant: the fight was pretty

[g] Hiſt. militaire, vol. ii. p. 149.

[h] See his naval hiſtory as above cited. My reaſon for ſaying what I do in the text, is my obſerving, that both the accounts may be very well reconciled; Burchet ſpeaking only of the large ſhips, and the other writers of all in general, that were under admiral Herbert's command.

[i] See his complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 564. where he tells us, that the Engliſh fleet conſiſted of eight third rates, ten fourth, and two fifth, with two tenders.

[k] The marquis de Quincy informs us, that the French fleet conſiſted, excluſive of the veſſels under their convoy, of fifteen third, and nine fourth rates; and in this all the French writers agree.

warm

warm for about two hours, but then ſlackened, becauſe a great part of the Engliſh fleet could not come up; but they continued firing on both ſides till about five in the afternoon, admiral Herbert keeping out all the time to ſea, becauſe he found the diſpute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could poſſibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But, about the hour before mentioned, the French fleet ſtood into the bay, which put an end to the fight. The Engliſh writers aſcribe this either to want of courage, or to the admiral's being reſtrained by his orders; but the French inform us, that he retired in order to take care of the ſhips under his convoy, and that, after they had entirely debarked the ſupply they had brought, he diſpoſed every thing in order to put to ſea the next morning, which he did[l].

This is the battle in Bantry bay, which, though inconſiderable enough in itſelf, (ſince the Engliſh, who had certainly the worſt of it, loſt only one captain, one lieutenant, and ninety-four men, and had not more than three hundred wounded), is yet magnified by ſome writers into a mighty action. The French had one ſhip called the Diamond ſet on fire, and two others ſo much damaged, as to be obliged to draw out of the line. The affair was certainly very inconſiderable, and any advantage that was gained was rather to be aſcribed to a favourable wind, and ſuperior force on one ſide, than to any want either of courage or conduct on the other[m].

After the action admiral Herbert bore away for the Scilly iſlands, and, having cruiſed there for ſome time, returned to Spithead; upon which occaſion king William went down in perſon to Portſmouth, where, to ſhew he would diſtinguiſh and reward merit, though not pointed out to him by ſucceſs, he de-

[l] It muſt be acknowledged, that the French ſpeak in too high terms of this trivial ſucceſs: the fleet, ſays M. Quincy, was out but twelve days, in which ſhort ſpace they landed what they carried in Ireland, beat the Engliſh fleet, and made ſeven Dutch prizes. On the other hand, our authors are deſirous of charging ſome miſmanagement on the French admiral; whereas in truth he did his duty very exactly, and Quincy and the other French writers complain, that for want of the fire-ſhips he was unable to proſecute the advantages he had gained, which ſeems to be the fact.

[m] The reader may conſult Kennet, Burnet, and Burchet, who have all given their opinions on this ſide the queſtion.

clared

clared admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, and knighted captain John Aſhby of the Defiance, and captain Cloudeſley Shovel of the Edgar, giving at the ſame time a bounty of ten ſhillings to each ſeaman, and making a proviſion for Mrs. Ailmer, relict of captain Ailmer, and for the reſt of the widows of ſuch as had been killed in the action. This was perfectly well judged by that prince, and was indeed an act of his own, flowing from the thorough knowledge he had of mankind, and the neceſſity there is of keeping up the ſpirits of ſeamen, if we expect they ſhould perform great things. He ſaid, when he read the account of the battle of Bantry bay, that ſuch actions were neceſſary at the beginning of a war, though they would be raſh in the courſe of it; which ſhews his great penetration, and accounts for his creating admiral Herbert a peer, after an affair in which he had certainly no advantage[n].

The fleet being at length refitted, the admiral ſailed with it for Torbay in the middle of June, where he was afterwards joined by a Dutch fleet, and by vice-admiral Killegrew's ſquadron, which had been cruiſing before Dunkirk. This combined fleet ſtood over to the coaſt of France, and continued cruiſing there, and in the ſoundings, till towards the latter end of Auguſt; and being then in great want of beer, and there being not the leaſt appearance of the French putting to ſea, they returned to Torbay, where ſoon after the fleet ſeparated, the larger ſhips which wanted repair being ordered into port, and the reſt diſtributed into ſeveral ſquadrons for different ſervices[o]. Before we ſpeak more particularly of theſe, it will be proper to take notice of what was performed by ſome other ſquadrons, which had been detached earlier in the year.

[n] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 564. Life of king William, p. 232. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. i. p. 364. An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 20, 21.

[o] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 417. Biſhop Burnet complains, that this year there was nothing conſiderable done at ſea, and according to his manner inſinuates I know not what of treaſon, or treachery, or ſomething very black in it. But the truth ſeems to be, the funds were late ſettled, and the government itſelf but half ſettled, which occaſioned the fleets being ill manned, poorly victualled, and worſe paid.

When king James landed in Ireland, his affairs had certainly a very promiſing aſpect on that ſide [p]. He brought with him a very conſiderable ſupply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men complete. There were but two places in the north which held out againſt him, *viz.* Londonderry and Inniſkilling. Of theſe he determined to make himſelf maſter, and might eaſily have done it, if he had been well adviſed; but, as biſhop Burnet juſtly obſerves, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils [q]. He reſolved to begin with Londonderry, in reſpect to which two propoſals were made him; the firſt was, to attack the place vigorouſly, and take it as ſoon as poſſible by ſtorm; the other, to block up the city, and to act with his great army in ſuch a manner as might beſt ſuit his intereſt, till this place ſhould by dint of famine be compelled to ſurrender. Either of theſe methods might have ſucceeded, but king James declined theſe, and made choice of a third, which was to take the place by a ſlow ſiege, in order to inure his Iriſh army to fatigues, and to render them by this kind of diſcipline more fit for ſervice. This reſolution of his gave ſufficient time for an application to the government in England; and upon this, two regiments of foot, under the command of colonel Cunningham and colonel Richards, with ſome ſupplies, were ſent thither: they arrived on the 15th of April in the Lough; but colonel Lundy, who was governor of the town, being, as it was commonly believed, in king James's intereſt, perſuaded thoſe gentlemen, that it was impracticable to defend the place, and that therefore the beſt thing they could do was to return and preſerve his majeſty's troops; which they accordingly did. The townſmen, having turned out their governor, however, made a noble defence, which gained time for another application to England [r].

[p] Sir John Reresby's memoirs. Hiſtory of the wars in Ireland, 1690, 12mo, ch. 2. Father Orleans's hiſtory of the revolutions in England under the family of the Stuarts, p. 324. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 575, 576. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 16. [q] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 19.

[r] Dr. Walker, who was governor of Londonderry, publiſhed an exact account of the ſiege under the title of "A true account of the ſiege of Londonderry, "London, 4to, 1690, 59 pages." Afterwards he wrote a vindication of this account, and from theſe, Burnet's hiſtory, and the detail I have had from living witneſſes, I report theſe facts.

clared admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, and knighted captain John Aſhby of the Defiance, and captain Cloudeſley Shovel of the Edgar, giving at the ſame time a bounty of ten ſhillings to each ſeaman, and making a proviſion for Mrs. Ailmer, relict of captain Ailmer, and for the reſt of the widows of ſuch as had been killed in the action. This was perfectly well judged by that prince, and was indeed an act of his own, flowing from the thorough knowledge he had of mankind, and the neceſſity there is of keeping up the ſpirits of ſeamen, if we expect they ſhould perform great things. He ſaid, when he read the account of the battle of Bantry bay, that ſuch actions were neceſſary at the beginning of a war, though they would be raſh in the courſe of it; which ſhews his great penetration, and accounts for his creating admiral Herbert a peer, after an affair in which he had certainly no advantage[n].

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[n] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 564. Life of king William, p. 232. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. i. p. 364. An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 20, 21.

[o] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 417. Biſhop Burnet complains, that this year there was nothing conſiderable done at ſea, and according to his manner inſinuates I know not what of treaſon, or treachery, or ſomething very black in it. But the truth ſeems to be, the funds were late ſettled, and the government itſelf but half ſettled, which occaſioned the fleets being ill manned, poorly victualled, and worſe paid.

When king James landed in Ireland, his affairs had certainly a very promiſing aſpect on that ſide [p]. He brought with him a very conſiderable ſupply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men complete. There were but two places in the north which held out againſt him, *viz.* Londonderry and Inniſkilling. Of theſe he determined to make himſelf maſter, and might eaſily have done it, if he had been well adviſed; but, as biſhop Burnet juſtly obſerves, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils [q]. He reſolved to begin with Londonderry, in reſpect to which two propoſals were made him; the firſt was, to attack the place vigorouſly, and take it as ſoon as poſſible by ſtorm; the other, to block up the city, and to act with his great army in ſuch a manner as might beſt ſuit his intereſt, till this place ſhould by dint of famine be compelled to ſurrender. Either of theſe methods might have ſucceeded, but king James declined theſe, and made choice of a third, which was to take the place by a ſlow ſiege, in order to inure his Iriſh army to fatigues, and to render them by this kind of diſcipline more fit for ſervice. This reſolution of his gave ſufficient time for an application to the government in England; and upon this, two regiments of foot, under the command of colonel Cunningham and colonel Richards, with ſome ſupplies, were ſent thither: they arrived on the 15th of April in the Lough; but colonel Lundy, who was governor of the town, being, as it was commonly believed, in king James's intereſt, perſuaded thoſe gentlemen, that it was impracticable to defend the place, and that therefore the beſt thing they could do was to return and preſerve his majeſty's troops; which they accordingly did. The townſmen, having turned out their governor, however, made a noble defence, which gained time for another application to England [r].

[p] Sir John Reresby's memoirs. Hiſtory of the wars in Ireland, 1690, 12mo, ch. 2. Father Orleans's hiſtory of the revolutions in England under the family of the Stuarts, p. 324. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 575, 576. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 16. [q] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 19.

[r] Dr. Walker, who was governor of Londonderry, publiſhed an exact account of the ſiege under the title of "A true account of the ſiege of Londonderry, "London, 4to, 1690, 59 pages." Afterwards he wrote a vindication of this account, and from theſe, Burnet's hiſtory, and the detail I have had from living witneſſes, I report theſe facts.

During this ſpace, commodore Rooke, who had been ſent with a ſquadron in the month of May to the coaſt of Ireland, performed all that could be expected from him there, by keeping king James and his army from having any intercourſe with the Scots; and on the 8th of June he ſailed in with the Bonaventure, Swallow, Dartmouth, and a fleet of tranſport-ſhips, under the command of major-general Kirke, who was come with this force to relieve Londonderry. The commodore concurred with him, as it was his duty, very cheerfully in carrying on this ſervice. When they came to examine the method taken by the enemy to prevent their relieving the place, they found they had laid a boom croſs the river, compoſed of chains and cables, and floated with timber, there being ſtrong redoubts at each end, well provided with cannon. Upon a view of this, general Kirke reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the Inch, an iſland in Lough Swilly, in which the commodore aſſiſted him ſo effectually, that on the 16th he was in full poſſeſſion not only of that iſland, but of the paſs to the main; and, having performed this ſervice, he returned to his ſtation[s].

He continued there till the 22d, on which day he received by the Portland man of war a letter from the general, wherein he informed him, that, being ſatisfied the place was reduced to the laſt extremity, he was determined to attempt its relief at any rate. The commodore upon this left the Bonaventure and Portland on his ſtation, and, with the Deptford and Dartmouth, ſailed to the aſſiſtance of the major-general. He ſent the Dartmouth, commanded by captain, afterwards Sir John Leake, up to Kilmore to receive his orders, and then returned to the Bonaventure and Portland, with intention to continue there till the arrival of the three ſhips he expected from the earl of Torrington. With this aſſiſtance major-general Kirke, having properly diſpoſed the men of war, on the 30th of July ſent the Mountjoy of Derry, captain Browning, and the Phœnix of Colrain, captain Douglas, both deeply laden with proviſions, under the convoy of the Dartmouth frigate, to attempt breaking the boom. The Iriſh army made a prodigious fire upon theſe ſhips as they paſſed, which was very briſkly returned, till the Mountjoy ſtruck

[s] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 418. Columna roſtrata, p. 255. Kennet's hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 579.

againſt

againſt the boom, and broke it, and was by the rebound run aſhore; upon this the Iriſh gave a loud huzza, made a terrible fire upon, and with their boats attempted to board her. But the ſailors firing a broadſide, the ſhock looſened her ſo, that they floated again, and paſſed the boom, as did the Phœnix alſo, under cover of the Dartmouth's fire. This ſeaſonable ſupply ſaved the remains of that brave garriſon, which, after a hundred and five days cloſe ſiege, and, being reduced from ſeven thouſand five hundred to four thouſand three hundred, had ſubſiſtence for only two days left, the enemy raiſing the ſiege on the laſt of July[t].

Commodore Rooke on the 13th of Auguſt eſcorted the duke of Schomberg's forces, conſiſting of upwards of ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, embarked in ninety veſſels of ſeveral ſorts, and landed them ſafe in Groom's bay near Carrickfergus, whither he brought the remainder of the army and the artillery, and then continued with the general, till he had taken the town, and had not any farther occaſion for his aſſiſtance. He ſtationed afterwards as many ſhips and yachts of his ſquadron as he thought requiſite for maintaining the correſpondence between England and Ireland, and preventing any attempt that might be made by French or Scots privateers. He ſailed next with thoſe few ſhips that were remaining to Dublin, where he inſulted the city by manning his boats, and making a ſhew of landing; and on the 18th of September he actually endeavoured to burn all the veſſels that were in the harbour, and had certainly performed it, if the wind had not veered about, and blew a freſh gale, as the yachts and ketches were going in, which obliged him to abandon his deſign, and to put to ſea. King James was at this

[t] Dr. Walker's account, p. 33. which agrees exactly with the French relation of the ſiege by Quincy, hiſt milit. vol. ii. p. 232. Biſhop Burnet accuſes (though without reaſon) major-general Kirke for not relieving them ſooner. Indeed there is no eſcaping this prelate's reſentment; for, if an officer miſcarries, it is through his own ill conduct; and, if he ſucceeds, he might have done it ſooner, had he been hearty. The truth is, the general thought the buſineſs impracticable, but was determined to make ſome attempt, when he underſtood the beſieged fatted their dogs on the bodies of the ſlain Iriſh, and then killed and eat thoſe animals themſelves. Hiſtory of the wars in Ireland, ch. 3. Father Orleans's hiſtory of the revolutions in England under the family of the Stuarts, p. 325.

time in the place, and, which is ſtill more, was alſo an eye-witneſs of this bold attempt.

From the bay of Dublin commodore Rooke ſailed to Corke, where he attempted likewiſe going into the harbour, but was prevented by the briſk fire the enemy made from their batteries, on which were mounted ſeventeen or eighteen pieces of cannon. He took poſſeſſion, however, of the great iſland, and might have done farther ſervices, if his ſhips had not by this time grown foul, and his proviſions low; which forced him to quit his ſtation, and repair to the Downs, where he arrived on the 13th of October, after having given by his activity, vigilance, and indefatigable attention to his duty in this expedition, an earneſt of the great things which he afterwards performed when Sir George Rooke, and admiral and commander in chief of the Britiſh fleet [u].

As to the remaining naval tranſactions of this year, they were not either many or great; and therefore I ſhall only mention the taking of two celebrated ſea-officers in the French ſervice, *viz.* the gallant chevalier Fourbin, and the famous John du Bart. They commanded two ſmall frigates, and had under their convoy ſix rich merchantmen, homeward-bound. Near the iſle of Wight they were chaſed by two of our fifty-gun ſhips, which they engaged very bravely, though they ſaw that it was a thing impoſſible for them to avoid being taken. All they aimed at was to give their merchantmen time to eſcape, in which they ſucceeded; for, while they fought deſperately, the veſſels under their convoy got ſafe into Rochelle. As for the chevalier Fourbin and captain Bart, they were carried priſoners into Plymouth, from whence they not long after found means to eſcape, and got ſafely over to Calais [w]. For this generous action the French king rewarded each of them with the command of a man of war: but our writers of naval hiſtory have been ſo careleſs, that I cannot find with any certainty who the captains were that took them. We have indeed a much more particular relation of this affair in Fourbin's memoirs, wherein it is ſaid they had twenty merchantmen under their convoy; that they fought two long hours, and that one of the Engliſh captains was killed in the

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 419—421. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 580. Hiſtory of the reduction of Ireland, p 39. [w] Hiſt. militaire, tome ii. p. 232.

engage-

engagement; but I think the relation, as I have given it, is more to be depended upon, as it comes from an unbiaſſed, and at the ſame time a very accurate hiſtorian [x].

In the ſeſſions of parliament, in the winter of 1689, there were many and loud complaints made of the conduct of affairs at ſea, which bore hard on the new commiſſion of admiralty, compoſed of the earl of Torrington, the earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir John Chichely, Sir John Lowther, and Mr. Sacheverel, who, in defence of their own characters, laid open the miſcarriages in the victualling-office, which produced a parliamentary inquiry into that affair, and a reſolution of the houſe of commons, "That Sir John Par-"ſons, Sir Richard Haddock, admiral Stuart, and Mr. Nicho-"las Fenn, victuallers of the fleet, ſhould be ſent for, in the cu-"ſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, to anſwer to the ſaid complaint." But, notwithſtanding that an exact ſcrutiny into that affair produced a full diſcovery of great miſchiefs occaſioned by the bad victualling of the fleet, yet the ſpirit raiſed againſt the adminiſtration grew ſo ſtrong, that it was thought neceſſary for the earl of Torrington to reſign his office of firſt commiſſioner, in order to allay it; and he was ſucceeded therein by Thomas earl of Pembroke, which, from that nobleman's popularity, anſwered the end effectually, and gave the nation great ſatisfaction [y].

I ſhall open the naval tranſactions of 1690, with an account of admiral Ruſſel's ſailing into the Mediterranean, though this is, generally ſpeaking, accounted a tranſaction of the former year; but my reaſon for placing it here, is the fleets not putting to ſea till the ſpring, though orders were given for it in the preceding winter. His catholic majeſty, Charles II. having eſpouſed a princeſs of the houſe of Neubourg, ſiſter to the reigning empreſs, and to the queen of Portugal, demanded an Engliſh fleet to conduct her ſafely to his dominions, which was readily

[x] The memoirs which paſs under the name of count Fourbin abound with ſuch exaggerated relations, that I own I ſuſpect their credit. As to the work of the marquis de Quincy, it is one of the beſt in its kind, written with care and exactneſs from good authorities; and for this reaſon the authors of modern memoirs, ſuch as thoſe of marſhal Villars, the duke of Berwick, and M. de Gué Trouin, tranſcribe it continually. See the Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome vi. p. 592, 600. tome vii. p. 728.

[y] Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 582, 585. Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 5. Life of king William, p. 258.

granted;

granted; and indeed ſuch a compliment never had been refuſed even to ſtates in war with us, becauſe it was always taken as a tacit confeſſion of our dominion at ſea; which might, methinks, have ſecured it from biſhop Burnet's cenſure [z]. On the twenty-fourth of November, admiral Ruſſel ſailed with ſeven large men of war, and two yachts, to Fluſhing, in order to receive her catholic majeſty, and her attendants; and had orders, as ſoon as the queen came on board, to hoiſt the union flag at the main-top-maſt head, and to wear it there as long as her majeſty was on board. On the eighteenth of January, 1690, ſhe arrived in the Downs; on the twenty-fourth, ſhe came to St. Helen's, whither their majeſties, king William and queen Mary, ſent the duke of Norfolk to compliment her, as did their royal highneſſes the prince and princeſs of Denmark, the lord Cornbury, and colonel Berkley [a]. The admiral had orders to put to ſea with the firſt fair wind, and was inſtructed to block up the harbour of Toulon, in order to prevent the French ſquadron there from coming out; and he endeavoured it on the beginning of February, and again towards the end of the month, but was forced back to Torbay on the twenty-third. Thence he ſailed again in a few days, but was driven back on the ſecond of March. At laſt he ſailed with a pretty fair wind, on the ſeventh of that month, with a ſtout ſquadron of thirty men of war, under his command, and a fleet of four hundred merchant-men, bound for the Streights; and, after a very tempeſtuous paſſage, landed her catholic majeſty on the ſixteenth, at the Groyne; from whence he ſailed to execute his other commiſſion, but was forced by contrary winds into the harbour of Ferrol, where the Duke, a ſecond rate man of war, in a briſk gale of wind, ran aſhore, and was with great difficulty got off. The admiral having executed his commiſſion, and having left

z Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 49. The propriety of this piece of complaiſance will more clearly appear, if we reflect, that it obliged the houſe of Auſtria, was a proper return for the aſſiſtance given king William by that queen's relations, and was beſides (as things were then circumſtanced, which ought ever to be conſidered) a neceſſary and important ſervice rendered to the grand alliance.

a Burchet's memoirs, p. 35. Life of king William, p. 261. Mercure hiſt et politique, tome viii. p. 209, 413.

vice-

vice-admiral Killegrew, with the Mediterranean ſquadron, behind him, bore away with the firſt fair wind for England, and arrived at Portſmouth on the 28th of April, where he landed ſeveral perſons of quality who had attended her catholic majeſty in her voyage [b].

The reader will eaſily diſcern, from this account of the matter, that admiral Ruſſel performed as much as the roughneſs of the ſeaſon, and other circumſtances conſidered, could be expected from him. Biſhop Burnet, however, ſuggeſts, that if it had not been for the care he was obliged to take of the queen of Spain, he might have blocked up the Toulon ſquadron in port, and thereby prevented the misfortunes that afterwards happened to our grand fleet [c]; but I doubt, if we examine this to the bottom, it will be found a mere conjecture, and that too not very well founded. We have before obſerved, with how great difficulty admiral Ruſſel got with his fleet out to ſea, and how late it was in the year. We have likewiſe mentioned the great fleet of merchant-men under his convoy; and taking theſe circumſtances together, we may eaſily diſcern the reaſon of the Toulon ſquadron's coming out, which was in the beginning of the month of May, without placing any thing to the account of the compliment paid to the queen of Spain, which, as I before obſerved, was a thing equally for the honour and intereſt of Britain; and the conſciouſneſs of this was what induced me to enter thus far into the juſtification of vice-admiral Ruſſel's conduct.

Vice-admiral Killegrew arrived at Cadiz on the eighth of April, where having, according to his inſtructions, taken all poſſible care of the trade, and having been joined by two Dutch men of war, the Guelderland and Zurickzee, he was next to proceed from thence in order to attend the motions of the Toulon ſquadron. In this, however, he met with no ſmall difficulty, by reaſon of the ſtormy weather, which injured ſeveral ſhips of his ſquadron extremely, and the two Dutch ſhips, one of ſeventy-two, and the other of ſixty-two guns, after loſing all their maſts, except a mizen, foundered. In repairing

[b] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 421, 422. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. i. p. 139. [c] Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. *ubi ſupra.*

theſe

theſe unlucky accidents, a great deal of time was waſted; and ſo much the more through the coldneſs and inactivity of the governor of Cadiz, who, for his negligence in this reſpect, was juſtly ſuſpected of being in the French intereſt. Before things, through theſe diſadvantages, could be brought into perfect order, the vice-admiral, on the ninth of May, received three different accounts of the Toulon ſquadron's being at ſea. Upon this, he held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, that purſuant to his inſtructions, he ſhould immediately put to ſea, in order to go in ſearch of it. On the tenth of May, about four in the morning, he ſailed accordingly, with nine Engliſh, and two Dutch ſhips, and arrived the next day in the mouth of the Streights, where he was joined by captain Shelton, and his detachment, from the bay of Gibraltar, and at the ſame time received intelligence, that the French fleet was in the bay of Tetuan: thither he ſailed in queſt of them; his fleet conſiſting now of one ſecond rate, three third rates, ſix fourth rates, two fifth rates, in all, twelve men of war, and two fire-ſhips, beſides five Dutch men of war. On his arrival in Tetuan-bay, he found only two ſhips, one at anchor, and the other under ſail; the latter put out Algerine colours, and eſcaped; but the former, being embayed, was taken by the Dutch vice-admiral Allemonde, and proved to be a French ſhip bound for the Weſt-Indies [d].

The wind ſhifting, the admiral ſtood over again towards the Spaniſh coaſt, and being two leagues W. N. W. off Ceuta point, the man at the maſt-head ſaw ten ſhips to the north, with their heads lying eaſtwards. Upon this, advice was given to the Dutch admiral, and the Montague was ſent a-head to diſcover the enemy's motions; the fleet ſtill continuing to ſtretch over to Gibraltar. About one o'clock they were within two miles of the French ſquadron, which appeared to be on the run, and therefore our ſhips ſet their top-gallant-ſails, and crowded after them; but to little purpoſe, for the French being all clean ſhips, juſt come out of port, (whereas ſome of ours had been ſeventeen months off the ground), it is no wonder they got clear of them. The chace was continued till the

[d] Burchet's memoirs, p. 37.

next day, when the enemy were four leagues a-head, and the Dutch and one of the Engliſh ſhips as much a-ſtern, inſomuch, that the admiral had with him no more than four ſhips, which induced him to give over the chace; yet, between nine and ten in the morning, the Richmond and the Tyger forced one of the merchant-ſhips on ſhore to the weſtward of Tariffa. About three in the afternoon, the whole fleet joined, and the admiral bore away for Cadiz [e].

The French writers have done their beſt to give this retreat the air of a victory: one of them tells us, that Mr. Chatteau-Renault, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy, ordered all the merchant-ſhips under his convoy, to ſail before, while he remained with his ſquadron of eight men of war between them and the Engliſh; and that after this, perceiving one of the veſſels, which was a very bad ſailer, had fallen behind, he lay by till ſhe paſſed him, and then, perceiving the Engliſh ſquadron did not incline to engage, he continued his courſe [f]. But father Daniel, who piques himſelf ſo much upon his veracity, carries the thing ſtill farther; he ſays, that, on the twentieth of May, N. S. the French admiral, with ſeven ſhips under his command, diſcovered near the Streights of Gibraltar a ſquadron of twenty-three Engliſh and Dutch men of war. He immediately prepared for battle, and ſailed towards them. This boldneſs of his ſurpriſed them ſo much, that they had not courage to attack him; and the count, after waiting for two of his ſhips that were heavy ſailers, and for ſome merchantmen that were willing to ſecure themſelves under his convoy, continued his route towards Breſt, without the leaſt oppoſition [g]. There is ſomething ſo very improbable, not to ſay extravagant, in this ſtory, that there wanted nothing but the hiſtorian's reflection to render it perfectly ridiculous. He concludes this tedious detail with obſerving, "that the very enemy themſelves "could not but admire the ability and intrepidity of the count "de Chatteau-Renault," Such flouriſhes are ſo natural to theſe authors, that, after a very few inſtances, I ſhall content myſelf

[e] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome ix. p. 53, 60, 61. Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 424. [f] Hiſt. militaire, tome ii. p 319. [g] Hiſt. de France, tome x. p. 155.

with a bare relation of them, and leave their credit to the candid conſideration of every impartial reader.

It was the 21ſt of May before vice-admiral Killegrew could reach the port of Cadiz, where, having made the neceſſary detachments for the ſafe convoy of our homeward-bound merchantmen, he, in purſuance of his inſtructions, ſet ſail for England, and in thirty-five days arrived at Plymouth with one ſecond and four third rates of ours, ſix Dutch men of war, the Half-Moon, and Virgin prize. On his arrival at Plymouth, he received letters from the lords of the admiralty, informing him, that the French, after an engagement, had obliged our fleet to retire, and were with their own about Rye, Dover, and thoſe parts, and therefore he was to take all imaginable care of his ſquadron. Upon this he called a council of war, at which were preſent the Dutch admirals Allemonde and Evertzen, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, then juſt returned from the Iriſh coaſt. Upon mature deliberation, they determined it was ſafeſt to proceed with the ſhips into Hamoze within Plymouth-ſound; for, as they were large ſhips, they could not run in at low water, and as they were in want of water, proviſions, and ſea-ſtores, it was impoſſible for them to put to ſea; ſo that this was the only way left to be ſecure from any attempts of the French[h].

The French had been very induſtrious this year in ſending a large fleet to ſea, and that early in the ſeaſon; for on the 1ſt or 2d of March they embarked a great ſupply for Ireland under the convoy of a ſquadron of thirty-ſix men of war, which ſailed on the 7th of the ſame month, attended by four fire-ſhips and five flutes, and were afterwards joined by another ſquadron from Provence, with ſeveral tranſports; ſo that in all they convoyed over ſix thouſand men, beſides ammunition and money. Part of theſe they landed on the 11th at Kingſale, and the reſt on the 13th in the bay of Corke. On the 8th of April they left the coaſts of that iſland, in order to return into the road of Breſt, which they did ſafely on the 23d, and then prepared to join

[h] Burchet's memoirs, and naval hiſtory, as before cited.

their

their grand fleet, which had orders to aſſemble under the command of the count de Tourville [i].

While the French were thus employed, our councils were chiefly bent on ſending over a royal army, to be commanded by king William in perſon to Ireland. This great deſign was brought to bear about the beginning of the month of June, when his majeſty left London to march toward the coaſt, where he embarked his forces on board two hundred eighty-eight tranſports on the 11th, and, eſcorted by a ſquadron of ſix men of war under Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, ſailed for Carrickfergus, where he ſafely arrived on the 14th of the ſame month, and ſoon after diſmiſſed rear-admiral Shovel, with the Plymouth ſquadron, with orders to join the grand fleet, which, as we have before ſhewn, he could not do, till it was too late [k].

There was nothing better underſtood in England than the abſolute neceſſity of aſſembling early in the year a ſtrong fleet in the channel. The honour of the kingdom depended upon it; for the French, after their ſmall advantage in Bantry-bay, had given out, that they would the next ſummer inſult the joint fleets of the Engliſh and Dutch. What was ſtill more, the nation's ſafety

i Hiſt. militaire, tome ii. p 315, 316, 317. One may juſtly wonder how the French could be able to fit out not only a greater fleet than we, but with greater expedition too. In order to account for this, I ſhall offer to the reader's conſideration ſome matters of fact, ſet down by captain George St. Lo, who was at this time a priſoner in France, and ſaw this very armament made. "When "I was firſt brought priſoner thither," ſays he, "I lay four months in an hoſ- "pital at Breſt for cure of my wounds, and was ſent to Nantz, before half cu- "red. While I was at Breſt, I was aſtoniſhed at the expedition uſed in manning "and fitting out their ſhips, which till then I thought could be done no where "ſooner than in England, where we have ten times the ſhipping, and conſe- "quently ten times more ſeamen than they have in France; but there I ſaw "twenty ſail of ſhips of about ſixty guns each, got ready in twenty days time: "they were brought in, and the men diſcharged; and, upon an order from Pa- "ris, they were careened, keeled up, rigged, victualled, manned, and out "again in the ſaid time, with the greateſt eaſe imaginable. I likewiſe ſaw a ſhip "of one hundred guns had all her guns taken out there in four or five hours "time, which I never ſaw done in England in twenty-four hours, and this with "greater eaſe, and leſs hazard, than here, which I ſaw under the hoſpital-win- "dow; and this I am ſure I could do as eaſily in England." England's ſafety; or a bridle to the French king. London, 4to, 1693, p. 18, 19.

k Kennet's complete hiſtory, vol. i. p. 598. Life of king William, p. 267. Burchet's memoirs, p. 58. Hiſtory of the wars in Ireland, ch. xi. p. 109. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome ix. p. 74.

depended on this meaſure no leſs, ſince the king and the greateſt part of his forces were abroad: ſcarce ſeven thouſand regular troops left in England; and ſuch as were in the intereſt of king James almoſt every where in motion, and waiting in all appearance for nothing, but the ſight of a French fleet on the coaſt, to take up arms, and declare againſt the government.

Yet, for all this, our maritime proceedings were very ſlow, for which various, and ſome ſcarce credible cauſes are aſſigned. It was given out, that the greateſt part of the fleet was diſaffected; and, to wipe off this ſuggeſtion, it was thought neceſſary that an addreſs ſhould be ſent up from the Downs, which was accordingly done[l]. On the other hand, it was late before the Dutch ſent their fleet to ſea, and the Engliſh, knowing that nothing of conſequence could be done till after their junction, were the leſs ſolicitous about putting themſelves in order, till they heard of their being at ſea[m].

The conduct of the French in the mean time was of quite another kind; for, while the ſquadron before mentioned was gone to Ireland, orders were given for equipping a fleet of ſixty ſail at Breſt, which was to put to ſea by the end of May: this they actually did, and, though they were forced by contrary winds to put back again to that road, yet on the 12th of June they put to ſea in three ſquadrons, each ſquadron being divided into three diviſions. Of theſe the white and blue ſquadrons, commanded by count d'Eſtrees on board the Le Grande, a ſhip of eighty-ſix guns, formed the vanguard, conſiſting of twenty-ſix men of war. The main body was compoſed of the white ſquadron, commanded by the admiral count Tourville in the Royal Sun, a ſhip of one hundred guns; this ſquadron conſiſted likewiſe of twenty-ſix ſail; the blue ſquadron made the rear-guard, commanded by Mr. d'Amfreville in the Magnificent, a ſhip of eighty guns, and in this ſquadron there were but twenty-five ſail. In all there were ſeventy-eight men of war, twenty-two fire-ſhips, and the whole fleet carried upwards of four thouſand ſeven hundred pieces of cannon. On the 13th of June they ſteered

[l] See the addreſs in Kennet's complete hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 602. [m] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 49. Burchet and other writers. An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 23.

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for the Engliſh coaſt, and on the 20th found themſelves off the Lizard. The next day the admiral took ſome Engliſh fiſhing-boats, and, after having paid the people who were on board for their fiſh, he ſet them at liberty again; and theſe were the men (ſuch was our ſupineneſs!) that firſt brought advice of the arrival of the French fleet on our coaſt [n]; while ours was lying idle, and ſcarce in a condition to put to ſea, as biſhop Burnet very juſtly obſerves [o].

Our admiral, the earl of Torrington, was at St. Helen's when he received this news, which muſt have ſurpriſed him very much, ſince he was ſo far from expecting any advice of this kind, that h had no ſcouts to the weſtward [p]. He put to ſea, however, with ſuch ſhips as he had, and ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt on Midſummer day, leaving his orders, that all the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips which could have notice ſhould follow him. This ſhews how much he was confuſed, and how little notion he had of a ſpeedy engagement; and indeed it was impoſſible he ſhould have framed any proper ſcheme of action, when he had no certain account of the ſtrength of the French. In the evening he was joined by ſeveral ſhips, and the next morning he found himſelf within ſight of the enemy. The French landed, and made ſome priſoners on ſhore, and by them ſent a letter from Sir William Jennings, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of king James, and ſerved now as third captain on board the Admiral, promiſing pardon to all ſuch captains, as would now adhere to that prince [q]. The next day our admiral received another reinforcement of ſeven Dutch men of war under the command of admiral Evertzen; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for ſeveral days [r]. It is certain that the earl of Torrington did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to venture an engagement, and in all probability the reſt of the admirals, *viz.*

[n] M. de Quincy hiſt. militaire, tome ii. p. 318, 319. Reincourt, tome iii. p. 276. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome ix. p. 80. [o] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 49. [p] Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 602. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 49. Life of king William, p. 274. [q] Burchet's memoirs, p. 46. See likewiſe a pamphlet publiſhed about that time, entitled, The late plot on the fleet detected, with the Jacobites memorial, *&c.* London, 1690, 4to. [r] An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 24. Life of king William, p. 274.

Ralph

Ralph Delaval, Eſq; vice-admiral of the red, Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; admiral of the blue, Sir John Aſhby, vice-admiral of the ſame ſquadron, and George Rooke, Eſq; rear-admiral of the red, were of the like opinion [s]. Beſides, he waited for Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear-admiral of the blue, who was to have joined him with the Plymouth ſquadron and ſome other ſhips [t].

His whole ſtrength conſiſted of about thirty-four men of war of ſeveral ſizes, and the three Dutch admirals had under their command twenty-two large ſhips. We need not wonder therefore, that, ſeeing himſelf out-numbered by above twenty ſail, he was not willing to riſk his own honour and the nation's ſafety upon ſuch unequal terms. But the queen, who was then regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general inſurrection, and that, if the French fleet continued longer on the coaſt, this would certainly take effect, by advice of the privy-council, ſent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the French fleet to withdraw [u]. In obedience to this order, as ſoon as it was light, on the 30th of June the admiral threw out the ſignal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under ſail, by a wind with their heads to the northward [w].

The ſignal for battle was made about eight, when the French braced their head-ſails to their maſts, in order to ly by. The action began about nine, when the Dutch ſquadron, which made

[s] Naval hiſtory, p. 634. [t] Burchet's memoirs, p. 44.

[u] Biſhop Kennet in his complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 606 entertains us with a ſuccinct account of this Jacobite plot, which it is neceſſary to tranſcribe, that the reader may have ſome conception of thoſe reaſons that induced the queen and her council to ſend the admiral theſe poſitive orders to fight. "It "was agreed," ſays he, "that, while part of the French fleet ſhould bear up the "Thames, the Jacobites in London, who were grown very bold and numerous "by the flocking of that party from all parts of the country thither, ſhould have "made an inſurrection, and have ſeized the queen and her chief miniſters. "Then certain perſons were to have taken upon them the adminiſtration of af- "fairs till the return of king James, who was to leave the command of his ar- "my to his generals, and haſten with all ſpeed into England; the other part of "the French fleet, having joined their gallies, was to have landed eight thou- "ſand men at Torbay, with arms for a greater number. After which the gal- "lies and men of war were to ſail into the Iriſh ſea to hinder the return of king "William and his forces, and the diſcontented Scots were to have revolted at "the ſame time in ſeveral parts of that kingdom."

[w] Burchet's memoirs, p. 36. Naval hiſt. p. 426. Columna roſtrata, p. 256.

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the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into ſome diſorder. About half an hour after, our blue ſquadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the red commanded by the earl of Torrington in perſon, which made the centre of our fleet, could not come up till about ten; and this occaſioned a great opening between them and the Dutch. The French, making uſe of this advantage, weathered, and of courſe ſurrounded the latter, who defended themſelves very gallantly, though they ſuffered extremely from ſo unequal a diſpute. The admiral, ſeeing their diſtreſs, endeavoured to relieve them; and while they dropt their anchors, (the only method they had left to preſerve themſelves), he drove with his own ſhip and ſeveral others between them and the enemy, and in that ſituation anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but diſcerning how much the Dutch had ſuffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eaſtward with the tide of flood [x].

The next day it was reſolved in a council of war, held in the afternoon, to preſerve the fleet by retreating, and rather to deſtroy the diſabled ſhips, if they ſhould be preſſed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement by endeavouring to protect them. This reſolution was executed with as much ſucceſs as could be expected, which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French admirals; for, by not anchoring when the Engliſh did, they were driven to a great diſtance, and by continuing to chaſe in a line of battle, inſtead of leaving every ſhip at liberty to do her utmoſt, they could never recover what they loſt by their firſt miſtake [y]. But, notwithſtanding all this, they preſſed on their purſuit as far as Rye-bay, and forcing one of our men of war of ſeventy guns, called the Anne, which had

[x] Theſe particulars are taken from a very authentic pamphlet, the title of which runs thus: "The account given by Sir John Aſhby vice-admiral, and rear-"admiral Rooke, to the lords commiſſioners, of the engagement at ſea between "the Engliſh, Dutch, and French fleets, June the 30th, 1690. With a journal "of the fleet ſince their departure from St. Helen's to their return to the Buoy "in the Nore, and other material paſſages relating to the ſaid engagement." London, printed for Randal Taylor, 1691, 4to, p. 32.

[y] Burchet's memoirs, p. 47. Naval hiſtory, p. 427. The fact is likewiſe acknowledged by M. de Quincy and other French writers.

loſt

loſt all her maſts, on ſhore near Winchelſea, they ſent in two ſhips to burn her, which the captain prevented by ſetting fire to her himſelf. The body of the French fleet ſtood in and out of the bays of Bourne and Pemſey in Suſſex, while about fourteen of their ſhips anchored near the ſhore. Some of theſe attempted to burn a Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry; but her commander defended her ſo ſtoutly every high water, that they were at length forced to deſiſt, and the captain carried her ſafe into Holland [z].

Our loſs in this unlucky affair, if we except reputation, was not ſo great as might have been expected; not above two ſhips, two ſea-captains, two captains of marines, and three hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch were much more unfortunate, becauſe they were more thoroughly engaged. Beſides three ſhips ſunk in the fight, they were obliged to ſet fire to three more that were ſtranded on the coaſt of Suſſex, loſing in all ſix ſhips of the line. They loſt likewiſe abundance of gallant officers, particularly their rear-admirals Dick and Brakel, and captain Nordel, with a great number of inferior officers and ſeamen [a]. Yet even this misfortune contributed to raiſe their reputation at ſea, ſince as ſoon as the ſtates received the news, they ordered fourteen men of war to be built and put to ſea in as many days, which, as my author ſays, may ſeem incredible to ſuch as are unacquainted with the power of the Dutch at that time, and what they were able to do upon extraordinary occaſions [b].

We need not wonder, that a victory gained by the French fleet over the joint forces of the maritime powers ſhould extremely elevate the writers of that nation, who are ſo apt to run out into extravagant flights of panegyric on much ſlighter occaſions. The marquis de Quincy tells us, that the Dutch fought with all

[z] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 427. I have been at ſome pains to diſcover the name of this ſhip and of its gallant captain. The former I find to have been Demaes, and the latter Couvient. As I have my information from a Frenchman, I doubt whether the names are ſpelt right.

[a] An impartial account of ſome remakable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 24, 25. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 419. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome ix. p. 84, 85. [b] Memoires hiſtoriques, p. 14. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome ix. p. 86, 87. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. liv. xvi.

imaginable bravery, and tacitly acknowledges, that they owed their misfortune to their being ſurrounded by French ſhips. He likewiſe owns, that ſuch of the Engliſh ſhips as engaged fought very well, and that the admiral endeavoured to ſuccour the Dutch, though he did it with much caution. But then, to enhance the victory as much as poſſible, he aſſerts, that the united fleets were at leaſt equal in force to the navy of France, though they had fewer ſhips [c]. In this, however, he is certainly miſtaken, as I ſhall convince the reader by undeniable evidence. The Dutch ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-two large ſhips, and was by much the moſt formidable of the whole fleet, and yet that ſquadron carried but 1,360 guns; whereas the weakeſt of the French ſquadrons carried 1,526; and if we ſhould ſuppoſe the united fleet to have conſiſted of ſhips of the like force with the Dutch, which it is certain they were not, it would then have carried 3,462 guns; whereas the French fleet, according to this writer's own account, carried 4,702 [d]. This is ſufficient to ſhow how little dependence can be had even on the accounts of the faireſt French authors. Father Daniel has given us two relations of this engagement full of exaggerations [e]. He tells us, that ſeventeen Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, being diſabled, ran a-ſhore, and were burnt by their own crews; whereas, in truth, inſtead of the ſeventeen, there were but ſeven. He likewiſe magnifies the conduct of the count de Tourville, who would, as he informs us, have entirely deſtroyed the enemy, if they had not had the advantage of the wind and tide. In the battle, indeed, the Engliſh and Dutch had the advantage of the wind; but, in their retreat, the wind was equally favourable to the French; and, as to the advantage of the tide, it was owing to their ſuperior ſkill

[c] Hiſt. militaire, vol. ii. p. 330.

[d] Theſe computations, ſo far as they regard the French, I have taken from the marquis de Quincy; but, as to the Dutch ſquadron, I did not think it fair to make uſe of the liſt he has given us, becauſe I had a more authentic account, by which it appeared, that the Dutch ſquadron was larger by two ſhips, and carried more guns than the marquis de Quincy has ſet down.

[e] We have this account firſt in his hiſt. de milice François, tome ii. p. 491. with the addition of a fact altogether groundleſs, *viz.* That the French fleet after their victory took a vaſt number of merchant ſhips. He relates the ſame affair more at large in his hiſt. de France, tome x. in the hiſtorical journal of the reign of Lewis XIV. p. 155. where he repeats the ſame tale of their taking an infinite number of ſhips.

in the management of their veſſels; and biſhop Burnet very rightly obſerves, that, amongſt the beſt judges, the count de Tourville was almoſt as much blamed for not making uſe of his victory, as the earl of Torrington was on account of his defeat[f].

After the engagement our fleet retreated towards the river of Thames, and the earl of Torrington, going on ſhore, left the command to Sir John Aſhby, but firſt gave orders to captain Monck of the Phœnix, together with four other fifth rates, and four fire-ſhips, to anchor above the narrow of the middle grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the Buoy of the Spits, the other at the lower end of the middle, and to take away the buoys, and immediately retreat, if the enemy approached; or, if they preſſed yet farther on him, he was ordered in like manner to take away the buoys near him, and to do what ſervice he could againſt them with the fire-ſhips; but ſtill to retire, and make the proper ſignals in ſuch caſes. On the 8th the French fleet ſtood towards their own coaſt, but were ſeen upon the 27th off the Berry-head, a little to the eaſtward of Dartmouth, and then, the wind taking them ſhort, they put into Torbay. There they lay not long; for they were diſcovered the 29th near Plymouth, at which place the neceſſary preparations were made by platforms and other works, to give them a warm reception. The 5th of Auguſt they appeared again off of the Ram-head, in number between ſixty and ſeventy, when, ſtanding weſtward, they were no more ſeen in the channel this year[g].

The nation all this time was in the utmoſt confuſion, from the apprehenſion of a deſcent by the French in favour of an inſurrection to be at the ſame time made by the friends of king James. The city of London ſhewed uncommon zeal for the ſupport of the government, by not only raiſing their militia, conſiſting of about nine thouſand men, but offering to add to theſe, ſix auxiliary regiments, a regiment of horſe, and two of dragoons, to be maintained at their own expence, ſo long as they ſhould be neceſſary[h]. The tinners in Cornwall alſo offered to

[f] As this prelate converſed with all the great men of that time, what he reports in ſuch caſes as this deſerves more credit than any of his own reflections. See alſo the Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome ix. p. 210.

[g] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 427. [h] Kennet's complete hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 603.

riſe,

riſe[i], and addreſſes of the ſame nature came from other parts, which were very graciouſly received by, and did great ſervice to queen Mary, though ſhe did not think fit to make uſe of the propoſed ſuccours. She apprehended, or at leaſt was adviſed by her council, that it would be more effectual to ſeize ſuch perſons of diſtinction, as were known to be in her father's intereſt[k]. This, it is ſuppoſed, had the deſired effect, and induced the French, when they ſaw themſelves diſappointed in their expectations of finding numbers ready to take arms on their firſt appearance, to attempt little or nothing to our prejudice, except it was the burning of Tingmouth, and three inconſiderable veſſels there; which, however, ſome French hiſtorians have repreſented as a glorious enterprize, and, to make their tale hang the better together, have erected fortifications that were never ſeen, talked of an obſtinate reſiſtance that was never made, and have converted three fiſhing-ſmacks into four men of war, and eight merchant-ſhips richly laden[l]. The malecontents, however, gave quite a different turn to the inactivity of the French fleet: they ſaid that the French king, as an ally to, and at the earneſt requeſt of James II. would not hurt his country, or plunder its inhabitants. Over and above theſe precautions the queen took another, which was ſending over Mr. Harbord to the ſtates-general, to inform them how much her majeſty was concerned at the misfortune that had befallen their ſquadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been ſeconded as they ought to have been. He was likewiſe to inform them, that the queen had given orders for refitting the Dutch ſhips, that were diſabled, at the nation's expence, and that her majeſty had farther directed, all poſſible care ſhould be taken of the ſick and wounded ſeamen, and that a bounty ſhould be given to the widows of ſuch as had fallen in the action. He was ſtill farther inſtructed to acquaint the ſtates, that twelve large ſhips were fitting out

i Their addreſs was preſented to the queen by Shadrach Vincent, Eſq; who repreſented the borough of Fowey at that time in parliament.

k A proclamation for that purpoſe, iſſued on the 14th of July, 1690.

l This ſtory of attacking Tingmouth, and the great things performed there, we find both in Quincy and father Daniel; ſo that very probably the tale was forged on board the fleet; for that it was a forgery no man can doubt, who is acquainted with the town and creek of Tingmouth in Devonſhire, and the inconſiderable trade carried on there.

here to join the fleet, and to desire that their high mightinesses would direct a proportionable reinforcement; which they accordingly did [m].

As

[m] That the reader may the better apprehend the reasons which induced her majesty to apply in this manner to the Dutch, it will be proper to lay before him an extract from rear-admiral Evertzen's letter, in which he gives an account of the fight:

"The 4th of this month he joined the English and Dutch fleets, riding near "the Isle of Wight, with three men of war; there he understood that the French "fleet had been descryed, riding in several places, to the number of eighty-two "men of war, great and small: thereupon it was resolved that they should "weigh anchor, with a resolution to find them out, and observe their motions. "Before the arrival of admiral Evertzen, it was agreed between the two nations, "that the Hollanders should have the vanguard, which was in appearance to do "them honour, but at the bottom to conceal Torrington's designs. After they "had been under sail about two or three hours, they were obliged by fogs and "bad weather to come to an anchor; but soon after they perceived the French "fleet to bear up towards them, with the wind at east. Immediately they weighed anchor, and endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, which they did with "such success, that Torrington gave the signal for the first squadron to engage; "but the French thought fit to retire. The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, the two fleets "were always in view of each other; but, in regard the French fleet was much "the stronger both for number and bigness of ships, it was judged most proper "not to fight in the open sea; and Torrington did his part so well, that he "avoided engaging till he was come off Beachy-head, which was favourable for "his purpose; and there it was that he received the queen's orders not to delay "engaging, if the wind and the weather would permit, which was the reason "that, upon the 10th, by day-break, we went to seek the enemy, who expected "us in order of battle; and so by 9 o'clock the engagement began between the "blue squadron of the French and the vanguard of the Dutch, and both sides "fired desperately for three hours together, till the French squadron, not liking "their entertainment, bore away with all the tack they could make: but about "one there happened a calm, which not only prevented the Hollanders pursuit, "but put them into a little disorder; upon which the French (whom the same "calm hindered from getting away) were constrained to begin the fight again, "which lasted till five o'clock in the evening with an incredible fury. As for "what concerns the English, most certainly, unless it were some few vessels that "fought against Torrington's order, the rest did nothing at all; so that the "main body of the French fell into the rear of the Dutch fleet, and having "fought from morning till evening, and defended themselves so long against "such a prodigious number of the enemy that assailed them on every side, "they were so battered, that hardly three were capable of making any defence; "which constrained them to make their way through the French fleet, and bear "away for the coast of England between Beachy and Ferley. Admiral Brakel, "Jean Dick, and captain Nordel, were slain. The Friezland, having lost all her "masts, as she could not be towed off by reason of the calm, was taken towards "the end of the fight. Admiral Evertzen gave this testimony of all the Dutch "officers and soldiers, that there was not one that did not exactly perform his

"duty

As ſoon as the earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the council, where he juſtified himſelf with great preſence of mind; he ſaid, there were two things to be principally conſidered, the loſs that had been ſuſtained in the fight, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The firſt, he alledged, was owing to the ill-grounded contempt the Engliſh and Dutch officers had of the behaviour of the French at ſea; and, as to the latter, he affirmed, that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had ſaved the fleet, and with much ſteadineſs and ſpirit declared, that he had rather his reputation ſhould ſuffer for a time, than his country undergo a loſs, which ſhe might never be able to repair. The council, however, thought proper to commit his lordſhip to the Tower; and that they might leſſen the clamours of the crowd, and give ſome ſatisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerneſs, where they were to make a thorough inquiry into the real cauſes of this diſaſter [n].

The fleet remained now under the command of Sir Richard Haddock, vice-admiral Killegrew, and Sir John Aſhby, who had orders to put it into the beſt condition poſſible; which they executed with great diligence, and by the latter end of Auguſt had forty-one ſhips of the line under their command, excluſive of the Dutch: yet, in ſpite of all their activity, it was very late in the year before they were able to undertake any effectual ſervice; and by that time it was neceſſary to lay up the larger ſhips, the remainder being found ſufficient for the embarkation of a body of troops under the command of the earl of Marlborough, whoſe winter expedition ſhall be taken notice of in its proper place. In the mean time let us return to the proceedings of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the ſquadron under his command, which we left, with that of vice-admiral Killegrew, in Plymouth-ſound [o].

" duty. In ſhort, it has not ever been heard, that twenty-two ſhips fought ſo " long againſt eighty-two, of which ſeventeen carried no leſs than from eighty " to an hundred guns."

[n] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 53. An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 25. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome ix. p. 202, 203. [o] See Burchet's naval memoirs, p. 58.

On

On the 21ſt of July rear-admiral Shovel received orders to proceed with the ſhips under his command for Kingſale, to intercept ſome French frigates that were ſaid to be on that coaſt. Arriving at Waterford river, with intention to execute this commiſſion, he met with the agreeable news of lieutenant-general Kirk's having made himſelf maſter of the town of Waterford, but was at the ſame time informed, that Duncannon-caſtle, which by its ſituation commanded the river, ſtill held out, and that the lieutenant-general for want of cannon was not likely to take it. Upon this, conſidering the importance of the place, and that no uſe could be made of the port of Waterford, while it remained in the hands of the enemy, he ſent advice to the lieutenant-general on the 27th of July, that he was ready to aſſiſt him by ſending ſome frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could ſpare out of his ſquadron under the protection of their guns. Accordingly, the next day he ſent in the Experiment and the Greyhound, two ſmall ſhips, to batter their caſtle, and under their fire landed between ſix and ſeven hundred men, all the boats of the fleet being employed in this ſervice. The caſtle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpoſe; but, when once general Bourke, who commanded there, ſaw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate, and marched out at the head of two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage, leaving to the Engliſh the fortreſs, which was furniſhed with forty-two pieces of cannon. A noble reward for one day's hard duty [p]!

After this happy ſucceſs the rear-admiral ſailed for Limerick, where he was informed the French had a conſiderable number of ſhips; but finding ſoon after that the enemy was retired, and that his own ſquadron began to be in want of proviſions and

[p] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 432. But there the author has committed a very extraordinary miſtake; for, inſtead of Waterford, he mentions Kingſale as the city annoyed by Duncannon-caſtle: now, that this was really an effect of want of care, and not an error in tranſcribing, appears by comparing his naval hiſtory with its index, and with his naval memoirs, p. 59. where the ſource of this error is ſeen; for there he ſays, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, being ordered to proceed to Kingſale, received intelligence, when he was near the river of Waterford, that the town had ſurrendered two or three days, that is, the town of Waterford; but in his hiſtory he has put in, the town of Kingſale was ſurrendered, as if that town had ſtood on the river of Waterford.

ſea-ſtores, he came to a reſolution of ſailing to Plymouth, where he received a conſiderable reinforcement, with orders to proceed in queſt of the enemy. But theſe orders, which came from the lords of the admiralty, were on the 18th of September countermanded by a freſh order from the king, directing him to detach ten ſhips into the Soundings for the protection of the trade, and to ſail with the reſt for the Downs; which he accordingly did [q].

After raiſing the ſiege of Limerick, king William returned into England, where, in a council held on the affairs of Ireland, which were ſtill in a very precarious condition, many of the great cities, and moſt of the convenient ports being ſtill held for king James, the earl of Marlborough propoſed a plan for the immediate reduction of that iſland: he obſerved firſt, that our fleet was now at ſea, and that of the French returned to Breſt, in which ſituation, therefore, there was nothing to be feared in relation to deſcents. He farther remarked, that there were at leaſt five thouſand land-forces lying idle in England, which might be embarked on board the fleet even in this late ſeaſon of the year, and land time enough to perform conſiderable ſervice. The king readily accepted this offer, gave the command of the troops to the earl of Marlborough, and ſent orders to the admirals to ſend the great ſhips about to Chatham, and to take on board the remainder of the fleet the forces ordered for this ſervice [r].

The admirals hoiſted their flag on board the Kent, a third rate, and, having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, arrived with them before the harbour of Corke on the 21ſt of September in the afternoon. The next day they attempted to enter, but were for ſome time prevented by the fire of a ſmall battery of five guns, from which, however, the Iriſh were ſoon driven by two or three boats full of brave fellows, and then the whole fleet got into the harbour without any more interruption. On the 23d the forces were landed, and joined a body of between three and four thouſand men under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg, who, by an ill-timed diſpute about the command, had like to have ruined the whole expedition.

[q] Burchet's memoirs, p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. Kennet, Oldmixon, &c.

[r] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 60. Life of John duke of Marlborough by Thomas Lediard, Eſq; vol. i. p. 65. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 430.

The

The earl of Marlborough, as the elder lieutenant-general, and commanding the troops that were principals, had, according to all the rules of ſervice, a right to it; but the duke of Wirtemberg inſiſted on his being a prince, which at laſt, however, he was content to wave, and to conſent they ſhould command alternately. The city of Corke was very well fortified, and had in it a body of four thouſand men: but the earl of Marlborough having obſerved that the place was commanded by an adjacent hill, he ordered a battery to be erected there on the 24th, which was performed with great expedition by five or ſix hundred ſeamen, carpenters, *&c.* and, after playing on the town for a few hours, made ſo conſiderable a breach, that on the 25th the generals reſolved to attack it, in which they were aſſiſted by ten pinnaces, manned by ſeamen well armed with hand-granadoes from the fleet. The beſieged were ſo terrified at this, that it was eaſily diſcerned the diſpute would not continue long; and indeed the Iriſh inſtantly capitulated [s].

But the very next day the fleet received orders to retire, which they did, leaving a ſquadron under the command of the duke of Grafton to aſſiſt the general: but that brave nobleman, having received a wound in the ſhoulder in the attack before-mentioned, died within a few days, when the command devolved upon captain Matthew Tenant, who was blown up in the Breda in Corke harbour; and then it fell to captain Crofts, who attended the earl of Marlborough till after the reduction of Kingſale, as well as Corke, which ſurrendered on the 15th of October, and then brought over the victorious general, who was preſented to his maſter at Kenſington on the 28th of that month, after having

[s] We have a very fair account of this matter both in Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, and in biſhop Kennet's complete hiſtory: yet neither of thoſe prelates were enough maſter of the ſubject to give their readers a proper idea of this extraordinary affair. The earl of Marlborough's expedition, all circumſtances conſidered, was beyond compariſon the moſt ſucceſsful undertaking in the whole reign of king William; and even the reduction of Corke was ſuch a mark of penetration as king William never forgot, ſince it depended entirely on his lordſhip's conſidering the ſituation of the place, and obſerving that all the pains taken in fortifying it were thrown away. If king James's French generals had underſtood as much, they would not have put four thouſand men, and ſome of their beſt officers, into ſuch a place; and, on the other hand, if king William's foreign officers had joined the light of genius to the knowledge they had acquired by experience, they would not have informed the king as they did, that the place could not be taken in leſs than ſix weeks even by a regular ſiege.

achieved, in a very few weeks, more than all the foreign generals had been able to do ſince the beginning of the war in Ireland[t].

The fleet arrived in the Downs on the 8th of October, bringing over with them, by the earl of Marlborough's deſire, the governor of Corke, and ſeveral perſons of quality, who were made priſoners when that city was taken. There the admirals received orders to divide their fleet into ſmall ſquadrons for ſeveral ſervices, and leave only a ſtrong ſquadron in the Downs under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who cruized the remaining part of the year in the Soundings, without any ſucceſs remarkable enough to deſerve notice, except that the Deptford and the Crown, two ſmall ſhips, took a ſmall French man of war called the Fripon, commanded by captain St. Marca, one of the briſkeſt officers in the French ſervice. She carried but eighteen guns and ten pattereroes, and but a little before had engaged four Dutch privateers, whom ſhe obliged to ſheer off, though with the loſs of thirty men killed and wounded: yet now, notwithſtanding her force was ſo much weakened, ſhe fought till her captain and lieutenants were deſperately wounded, and her maſter killed; nor did ſhe yield at laſt, till her main-maſt was ſhot away by the Crown, and ſhe boarded by the crew of that ſhip. When the rear-admiral had ended his cruize, he ſent ſome of his ſhips to the coaſt of Ireland, others into the Soundings, and returned with the reſt into the Downs[u]; and thus ended the naval operations in Europe.

We ought next to proceed to the Weſt-Indies, where, within the compaſs of this year, there paſſed many things worthy of notice; but as the critical obſervation of time in this caſe would neceſſarily occaſion a great deal of perplexity in the narration, and force us to conſider it in ſuch a manner as muſt render it very obſcure as well as unconnected, we ſhall therefore refer the hiſtory of the naval tranſactions there to that period in which they were completed, and ſo take in the whole together, uniting

[t] Burchet's memoirs. p. 56, 57, 58. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. ix. p. 536—541, 551. wherein is an excellent account of this expedition, and very judicious remarks on its conſequences. Lediard's life of the duke of Marlborough, vol. i. book iii. ch. 2. Life of king William, p. 283. [u] Burchet's memoirs, p. 63.

the circumſtances of the ſeveral expeditions in as clear and ſuccinct a manner as the nature of the ſubject will allow. In the mean time, let us return to the inquiry made this winter into the conduct of the earl of Torrington, which was a point that exerciſed the thoughts of the miniſtry, and of both the houſes of parliament, as well as it had done before the tongues of the people.

The king, upon his return from Ireland, expreſſed great concern about this affair; the honour of the nation was in ſome meaſure affected, the common cry was very ſtrong againſt the earl, and the queen had engaged her royal promiſe to the Dutch, that his conduct ſhould undergo a ſtrict examination. On the other hand, the earl had been very inſtrumental in the revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had found the means of perſuading many, that, inſtead of being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being ſacrificed to the intrigues of his enemies, and the reſentment of foreigners, merely for preſerving the Engliſh fleet. The great difficulty lay in the manner of bringing him to a trial: the king was reſolved it ſhould be by a court-martial; the friends of the earl maintained, that he ought to be tried by his peers. A doubt was likewiſe ſtarted as to the power of the lords of the admiralty; for though it was allowed, that the lord high-admiral of England might have iſſued a commiſſion for trying him, yet it was queſtioned, whether any ſuch authority was lodged in the commiſſioners of the admiralty or not; and, though ſome great lawyers gave their opinions in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient to ſettle ſo important a point by authority of parliament [w].

In order to obviate this difficulty, a new law was made, declarative of the power of the commiſſioners of the admiralty [x]; and,

[w] The reader may find much of this in Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c. Yet our account is chiefly taken from the journals of parliament, and ſome memoirs of thoſe times, of which I ſhall give the reader a farther account in the memoirs of the earl of Torrington.

[x] Stat. 2 W. & M. ſeſſ. ii. cap. 2. it is declared, That all and ſingular authorities, juriſdictions, and powers, which by act of parliament or otherwiſe are inveſted in the lord high-admiral of England for the time being, have always appertained to, and ſhall be uſed and executed by the commiſſioners of the admiralty, as if they were ſo uſed and executed by the lord high-admiral. Every officer

and, immediately after the paſſing of this, theſe commiſſioners directed a court-martial to be held for the trial of the earl, who was then ſick in the Tower. On the 10th of December this court-martial met on board the Kent Frigate at Sheerneſs, Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement, being preſident, and all the members of the court ſuch as were believed to be abſolutely independent of the perſon they were to try. The charge againſt the earl was, that, in the late engagement off Beachy-head, he had, through treachery or cowardice, miſbehaved in his office, drawn diſhonour on the Engliſh nation, and ſacrificed our good allies the Dutch.

His lordſhip defended himſelf with great clearneſs of reaſon, and with extraordinary compoſure of mind. He obſerved, that, in the ſeveral councils of war held before the fight, not only himſelf but all the admirals in the fleet were againſt engaging. He took notice of the queen's expreſs order, which obliged them to fight againſt their own opinion, and without any probability of ſucceſs. He remarked the inequality of the confederate and French fleets, the former conſiſting but of fifty-ſix, and the latter having eighty-two actually engaged. He aſſerted, that the Dutch were deſtroyed by their own raſhneſs, and that, if he had ſuſtained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet muſt have been ſurrounded as they were; and as ſome reflections had been thrown out of his having a pique to the Dutch, to gratify which he had given them up, he not only juſtified himſelf very warmly on that point, but concluded his defence with ſaying, that his conduct had ſaved the Engliſh fleet, and that he hoped an Engliſh court-martial would not ſacrifice him to Dutch reſentment[y].

After a full hearing, and ſtrict examination of all that had been advanced on both ſides, his lordſhip was unanimouſly ac-

officer preſent upon trials of offenders by court-martial, to be held by virtue of any commiſſion granted by the lord high-admiral, or commiſſioners of the admiralty, ſhall, before any proceeding to trial, take this oath, to be adminiſtered by the judge-advocate, or his deputy, *viz.*

"You ſhall well and truly try the matter now before you between our ſove-
"reign lord and lady the king and queen's majeſty and the priſoner to be tried.
"SO HELP YOU GOD."

[y] See a farther account of this matter in the ſubſequent memoirs of the earl of Torrington.

quitted [z]. And though ſome writers of our own, as well as of another nation, have taken great liberties with this judgment of the court-martial [a], yet on the whole there ſeems to be no juſt ground either for cenſuring them, or fixing any imputation on the memory of that noble perſon [b]. It is true, the day after his acquittal, the king took away his commiſſion, and he was thenceforward laid aſide; which might be a very right ſtep in politics, as it tended to ſatisfy our allies, and gave his majeſty an opportunity of employing a more fortunate officer [c].

[z] Burchet's memoirs, p. 51. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 603. Life of king William, p. 275.

[a] Biſhop Burnet in his hiſtory of his own times expreſſes himſelf with his wonted ſharpneſs. "The commiſſioners of the admiralty," ſays he, "named a "court to try him, who did it with ſo groſs a partiality, that it reflected much "on the juſtice of the nation; ſo that, if it had not been for the great intereſt "the king had in the ſtates, it might have occaſioned a breach of the alliance "between them and us. He came off ſafe as to his perſon and eſtate, but much "loaded in his reputation, ſome charging him with want of courage, while "others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty ſullenneſs of temper that made "him, ſince orders were ſent him contrary to the advices he had given, to re"ſolve indeed to obey them and fight, but in ſuch a manner as ſhould caſt the "blame on thoſe who had ſent him the orders, and give them cauſe to repent "of it."—The malignity of theſe reflections deſtroys their credit, and the weight of the charge overturns it. If the proceedings of the court-martial had been ſcandalouſly unjuſt, our prelate would not have been at a loſs for the earl of Torrington's crime. His judges were upon oath, and regarded nothing therefore but proof. Indeed this was happy for him; for had they been governed, like the biſhop, by conjectures, and gueſſed at the thoughts of his heart, inſtead of examining his actions, he might have been puniſhed, though he had not been guilty. The ſieur de Monte, in his political Mercury for the month of January, 1691, cenſures the judgment of the court-martial ſeverely, and ſays, the king was ſo diſpleaſed with it, that he reſolved never to employ any of its members. What credit is due to this, we may eaſily gueſs, if we conſider that Sir Ralph Delaval, the preſident of that court-martial was immediately employed as vice-admiral of the blue. Another foreign writer ſays, that the king diſmiſſed ſome of the members of that court, and forty-two captains of the navy, who were ſuppoſed to be in the earl's intereſt. This alone is ſufficient to ſhew his innocence. An Engliſh admiral, capable of cowardice or treachery, could have no ſuch intereſt.

[b] Biſhop Kennet tells us, that in the year 1697 ſeveral French officers coming over after the peace, when they could not be ſuſpected of partiality, openly juſtified and commended the earl's conduct, and ſaid, "He deſerved to be re"warded rather than cenſured, ſince he had preſerved the beſt part of the fleet "from being deſtroyed."

[c] Burchet's memoirs, p. 51. Columna roſtrata, p. 258. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iii. p. 145.

The

The care of the adminiſtration to repair all paſt errors in naval affairs, and to retrieve the honour of the maritime powers, appeared viſibly in the meaſures taken for ſending a great fleet early to ſea in the ſpring of the year 1691. In order to this, the week after the earl of Torrington was diſmiſſed from his command, Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; was appointed admiral and commander in chief, and immediately received inſtructions to uſe the utmoſt expedition in drawing together the ſhips of which his fleet was to be compoſed; and a liſt of them, to the number of ninety-one, of which fifty-ſeven were of the line of battle, was annexed to his inſtructions. He executed theſe directions with the utmoſt ſkill and diligence, and by the 7th of May was ready to put to ſea.

The blue ſquadron was commanded by Henry Killegrew, Eſq; as admiral, Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear-admiral. Admiral Ruſſel in the Britannia commanded the red ſquadron, having, for his vice and rear admirals, Sir John Aſhby, and George Rook, Eſq;: as to the particular ſtrength of theſe ſquadrons, having ſeen a more perfect liſt than that exhibited by Mr. Burchet, I have given an abſtract of it at the bottom of the page[d]. His orders were to proceed in the Soundings as ſoon as he ſhould be joined by the Dutch, and he was likewiſe directed to take care to block up the port of Dunkirk, in order to prevent the French privateers from diſturbing our trade. Theſe directions, however, were but indifferently executed, which our writers attribute to the ſlowneſs of the Dutch in ſending their ſhips to join the confederate fleet, which they had ſtipulated to do by the beginning of May, according to the proportion of five to eight, though biſhop Burnet

[d]

BLUE SQUADRON.	Guns.	Men.
2 Firſt rates,	200	1,600
6 Second rates,	570	3,960
16 Third rates,	1,090	7,040
4 Fourth rates,	200	1,000
28	2,060	13,600
3 Frigates.		
2 Hoſpital ſhips.		
1 Yacht.		
10 Fire-ſhips.		

RED SQUADRON.	Guns.	Men.
3 Firſt rates,	300	2,400
5 Second rates,	470	3,300
16 Third rates,	1,090	7,040
5 Fourth rates,	250	1,250
29	2,110	13,990
3 Frigates.		
2 Hoſpital ſhips.		
1 Yacht.		
10 Fire-ſhips.		

ſays,

ſays of three to five, of equal rates and ſtrength. Secretary Burchet, however, complains, that it was late in the month of May before there were ſo many as twenty-eight Dutch ſhips in the fleet, whereas, according to the liſt publiſhed by the ſtates-general in the very ſame month, there ought to have been forty-ſix, and thoſe too very large ſhips[e]. This, however, is certain, that, notwithſtanding all his ſkill and care, admiral Ruſſel found his fleet but indifferently manned, and very ſcantily victualled; at the ſame time that he was ſo perplexed by his orders, and with the difficulties ſtarted upon every occaſion by the Dutch admiral, who very probably was as much cramped by his, that a great part of the months of May and June were ſpent to very little purpoſe; and, though the French fleet was not in ſuch forwardneſs this year as it had been the laſt, yet it was at ſea ſome time before ours had any intelligence of it[f].

If we may judge from appearances, one may ſafely ſay, that Lewis XIV. ſhewed a ſingular vanity in maintaining a prodigious naval force, to make all Europe ſee how ſoon, and how effectually, his councils had been able to create a maritime power. He had at this time to deal with the Engliſh, Spaniards, and Dutch; and, as he was now in the zenith of his glory, he exhauſted his treaſures, in order, had it been poſſible, to render himſelf maſter at ſea. He appointed the count d'Eſtrees, vice-admiral of France, to command in the Mediterranean a fleet conſiſting of four large men of war, five frigates, twenty-ſix gallies, and three bomb-veſſels[g]: and, on the other hand, count Tourville was directed to aſſemble the grand fleet intended for the ocean: it conſiſted of three ſquadrons, the white and blue commanded by M. Chatteau Renault in the Royal Dauphin of one hundred guns; the white ſquadron commanded by count Tourville in perſon in the Royal Sun, the fineſt ſhip in France, which carried one hundred and ſix guns; the blue ſquadron un-

[e] According to this liſt the Rotterdam ſquadron conſiſted of eleven ſhips from 80 to 50 guns; the Amſterdam ſquadron of ſixteen from 92 to 50 guns; the North Holland of five from 86 to 50 guns; the Friezland of ſix from 70 to 52 guns; the Zealand of eight from 92 to 50 guns; in all forty-ſix capital ſhips carrying 3,002 guns.

[f] Burchet's memoirs, p. 63, 64. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 73 Columna roſtrata.

[g] Hiſt. militaire, tome ii. p. 446. Pere Daniel hiſt. de France.

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der the marquis d'Amfreville in the Superbe of ninety-eight guns[h]. This fleet, though very conſiderable, and excellently provided with every thing neceſſary, yet was inferior in force to that of the confederates; and therefore count Tourville was inſtructed to avoid an engagement as much as poſſible, and to amuſe the enemy, by keeping, as long as might be, in the channel. This great officer did all that could be expected from him, in order to put early to ſea; but, in ſpite of all his diligence and application, it was the middle of June before he left the port of Breſt. But then it muſt be obſerved, that a ſquadron had been ſent under the command of the marquis de Neſmonde to carry ſupplies of all ſorts for the relief of king James's army in Ireland[i].

Theſe were indeed great things, and what, all circumſtances conſidered, one could ſcarce conceive the French able to perform; yet they were far ſhort of what it was believed in England at that time they were in a condition to undertake, and therefore ſo many acounts were ſent to our admiral from court, of deſcents to be made here, forces to be convoyed there, and other ſtrange projects, that he was hindered from purſuing either the orders that were firſt given him, or executing his own deſigns; and, though he diſcovered a good deal of uneaſineſs under this, yet he continued for many weeks to complain and obey[k].

The Smyrna fleet was expected home this ſpring, and, as the Engliſh and Dutch had a joint concern therein to the amount of upwards of four millions ſterling, both nations were extremely apprehenſive of its being attacked by the French, and therefore very preciſe orders were ſent to admiral Ruſſel to uſe his utmoſt care for its preſervation; and this he performed with equal induſtry and ſucceſs; for, having appointed ſingle ſhips to cruize for them on every point of the compaſs, he croſſed with the body of the fleet to Cape-Clear on the Iriſh coaſt, and, being off Kingſale, received advice, that the Smyrna fleet was arrived ſafely in that harbour. Upon this, he ſent orders to captain

[h] I take this from the marquis de Quincy, who has given us an exact liſt of them, according to which the blue and white ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-four ſhips, the white of twenty-five, and the blue of twenty-four; in all ſeventy-three capital ſhips, carrying 1,544 guns, and 29,450 men, together with twenty-one fire-ſhips.

[i] Hiſt. militaire, tome ii. p. 455.

[k] Burchet's memoirs, p. 71.

Aylmer

Aylmer to join him immediately with the ſquadron under his command, reſolving to conduct the Smyrna fleet as far as Scilly, and then, if they had a fair wind, to leave them to proceed up the channel, having firſt taken the neceſſary precaution of ſending a frigate before to Plymouth, that he might be ſatisfied none of the enemy's ſhips were upon the coaſt [l].

Upon parting with this fleet, the admiral determined to ly off Uſhant, and, if the French were gone from thence, to follow them to Belle-Iſle; but, being afterwards of opinion that they lay in the ſea purpoſely to avoid him, he altered his reſolutions, and reſolved to go into a more proper ſtation in ſearch of them; ſo that, parting with the Smyrna fleet off Scilly the 13th of July, he firſt bent his courſe towards the French coaſt, from whence he ſent a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, deſiring that it might be conſidered, whether the fleet, before its return, could be ſerviceable towards the reduction of Ireland; for that the proviſions on board would laſt no longer than the latter end of Auguſt; and, after that month was expired, he thought it not ſafe for the great ſhips to be out of harbour, but he deſired that ſupplies of proviſion might be ready at Plymouth, that ſo the want of them might not incapacitate the fleet to perform any neceſſary ſervice.

Arriving in this ſtation, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was ſent to look into Breſt, where he ſaw about forty ſail coming out of that port, which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ſhips from Bretagne, eſcorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudeſley, to decoy theſe ſhips into his hands, made uſe of an excellent ſtratagem: he knew the French had intelligence that a ſmall ſquadron of their fleet had made prizes of ſeveral Engliſh merchantmen; laying hold, therefore, of this piece of falſe news, he ordered part of his ſquadron to put out French colours, and the reſt to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally ſuppoſe it that ſquadron with their prizes. This ſucceeded in part; but the enemy diſcovered the cheat before he was near enough to do much miſchief [m].

Towards the latter end of the month of July, admiral Ruſſel fell in with a convoy going to the French fleet with freſh provi-

[l] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 441. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 622. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 65. [m] Burchet's memoirs, p. 87.

ſions; ſome of theſe were taken, and from them he learnt that count Tourville had orders to avoid fighting, which he very punctually obeyed, keeping ſcouts at a conſiderable diſtance on all points of the compaſs by which he could be approached, and theſe being chaſed by ours, they immediately ran, making ſignals to others that lay within them; ſo that it was impoſſible to come up with the body of their fleet, though that of the Engliſh and Dutch ſailed in ſuch a poſture, that the ſcouts on each wing, as well as thoſe a-head and a-ſtern, could in clear weather ſee twenty leagues round [n].

The admiral, being ſenſible of the dangers that might attend this ſituation, wrote home for freſh orders, which he received, but found them ſo perplexed, that, having intelligence of the French fleet's being gone into Breſt, he, in the beginning of Auguſt, purſuant to the reſolution of a council of war, returned to Torbay, from whence he wrote up to court to have his laſt orders explained. In return he was directed to put to ſea again, which he did; and notwithſtanding his frequent repreſentations of the inconvenience of having ſuch large ſhips expoſed to the rough weather, which uſually happens about the equinox, he was obliged to continue in the Soundings to the 2d of September, when he met with ſuch a violent ſtorm, that, after doing all that could be done for the preſervation of the fleet, he was conſtrained to bear up for ſo dangerous a port as Plymouth; and in doing this, through the violence of the wind, and the hazineſs of the weather, the ſhips were ſo ſcattered, that the greateſt part of them were not ſeen when the admiral himſelf came to an anchor in the Sound; but, when it grew ſomewhat clearer, one of the ſecond rates (which proved to be the Coronation) was diſcovered at anchor off Ram-head, without any thing ſtanding but the enſign-ſtaff, and ſoon after ſhe foundered, her commander captain Shelton, together with her company, except a very inconſiderable number, being loſt. Many of the biggeſt ſhips were not able to weather the eaſtermoſt point of land at the entrance into Plymouth-ſound, and therefore were conſtrained to take ſanctuary there, in that unavoidable confuſion, which a lee-ſhore, thick weather, and a very hard gale of wind, will always

[n] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xi. p 117, 239.

occaſion, inſomuch that the Harwich, a third rate, ran on ſhore, and bulged near Mount Edgcombe-houſe, and the Royal-Oak and Northumberland tailed on the ground, though afterwards they were luckily got off. A great Dutch ſhip was ſeen at anchor above five leagues in the offing, with all her maſts gone; and ſeveral there were that very narrowly eſcaped the danger of the Ediſtone [o].

The admiral immediately gave orders for refitting ſuch of the ſhips as had been damaged in the ſtorm, and left Sir Cloudeſley Shovel at Plymouth to ſee it performed, directing him, as ſoon as they were in a condition to ſail, to ſend a ſquadron of ten ſail into the Soundings for the ſecurity of the homeward-bound trade, himſelf, with the reſt of the fleet, ſteering for Spithead, where ſoon after he received orders to ſend the largeſt ſhips about to Chatham, as the Dutch admiral did to return home, with the firſt and ſecond rates under his command. Admiral Ruſſel was likewiſe directed to form a ſquadron of thirty ſail of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips to be ſent to the coaſt of Ireland, and he accordingly appointed vice-admiral Delaval for this command, who four times attempted to execute his orders, and was as often forced back by contrary winds, which, however, proved of no detriment to the ſervice, ſince the intelligence received of the French ſending a fleet to Limerick, proved falſe [p]. Thus ended the naval operations of the year 1691, very little to the profit, honour, or ſatisfaction of the nation. Yet certainly nothing could be charged on the admiral's conduct, who did all that could be expected from an able and vigilant officer, though his endeavours were fruſtrated by many claſhing and contradictory orders from home, the artful conduct of a cautious enemy, and the unavoidable effects of high winds and boiſterous weather.

We need not wonder, therefore, either at the attempts made in the houſe of commons to faſten upon him the miſcarriages, as they were called [q], at ſea, or the ill-natured cenſures glanced at

[o] Burchet's memoirs, p. 103. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 622. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 65. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xi. p. 448. [p] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 449, 450.

[q] The houſe ordered the admiral's inſtructions, and the letters written to, and by him, to be laid before them, which ſufficiently cleared him from all blame.

his

his memory by ſome peeviſh writers[r], with whom want of fortune will always imply want of ſkill and integrity: theſe are things not to be avoided, or indeed much to be heeded. The ſtorm in the houſe of commons never gathered to a head; for thoſe who miſinterpreted the admiral's conduct found, on inſpecting papers, that it was not for their intereſt to examine it; and as for our cenſorious authors, their reflections have recoiled upon themſelves.

It was now become evident to the whole nation, that, with reſpect to our honour and intereſt in this war, the management of affairs at ſea was chiefly to be regarded; and yet, by an unaccountable ſeries of wrong councils, the management of theſe affairs was in reality leſs regarded than any thing elſe. The abſolute reduction of Ireland, and the war in Flanders, ſeemed to occupy the king's thoughts entirely, and the care of the navy was left wholly to the board of admiralty, who, to ſpeak in the ſofteſt terms, did not manage it very ſucceſsfully, or much to the ſatisfaction of the nation. There were, beſides, ſome other things which contributed to make our maritime councils move ſlowly. There was a faction grown up in the fleet againſt the admiral, and at the ſame time the government entertained a great jealouſy of many of the officers, though to this hour it remains a ſecret, whether it was or was not well-grounded[s].

The truth ſeems to be, that king James was better known to the officers of the fleet, than to any other ſet of men in England; moſt of them had ſerved under him when lord high-admiral, and many had been preferred by him; which rendered it highly probable they might have an eſteem for his perſon; but that any of theſe officers intended to act in his favour, in conjunction with a French force, againſt their country, is very unlikely, eſpecially if we conſider the unanimity with which they went into the revolution, which had been openly acknowledged, and they ſo-

[r] Biſhop Burnet ſays, the ſeaſon went over without any action, and Ruſſel, at the end of it, came into Plymouth in a ſtorm; which was much cenſured; for that road is not ſafe; and two conſiderable ſhips were loſt upon the occaſion. Great factions were amongſt the flag-officers, and no other ſervice was done by this great equipment, but that our trade was maintained.—This remark is worth nothing, unleſs admiral Ruſſel had it in commiſſion to direct the winds; for in a ſtorm folks do not make for the beſt but for the neareſt port.

[s] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92. Kennet, Oldmixon.

lemnly thanked for it by the convention. Yet the report of the contrary was grown wonderfully loud, and ſeems to have been very artfully propagated by the enemies of particular perſons, as well as by thoſe who were no friends to the government; for it muſt be allowed, that king James's agents here boaſted in all the advices they ſent him, that they had brought back many of the officers of the navy to his intereſt; and they went ſo far as to name ſome of them, which they might do from many other motives than that of ſpeaking truth[t]. However it was, this is certain, that in parliament, at court, and in the navy, nothing was heard of but jealouſies, ill conduct, and want of ſufficient ſupplies for the ſervice; a kind of diſcourſe that laſted all the winter, and was productive of many bad conſequences.

In the ſpring of the year 1692, a little before the king went to Holland, he began to communicate his intentions, as to the employment of the fleet, to admiral Ruſſel, who had been again appointed admiral and commander in chief by commiſſion, dated December the 3d, 1691. At this time, however, he was very far from ſtanding in high favour[u]. He had expoſtulated freely with his majeſty on the diſgrace of the earl of Marlborough, and lived on no extraordinary terms with the new ſecretary lord Nottingham; but his character as an officer, and his known ſteadineſs in revolution-principles, ſupported him, and the king reſolved to confide the fleet to his care almoſt whether the admiral would or not.

The principal thing that ſeems to have been intended was, convincing not France alone, but alſo all Europe, that the maritime powers were ſtill lords of the ſea, by fitting out early ſuch a fleet as ſhould keep their enemies in awe, while a deſcent was made in Normandy. Something of this kind king William intimated

[t] The agent ſent over by king James's adherents was one captain Lloyd, to whom they gave a very exact liſt of the Engliſh fleet, and directed him particularly to inform the king, that, amongſt other great ſea-officers, they had brought over rear-admiral Carter to his ſervice; when this was firſt talked of, a report prevailed, that he had 10,000 pounds given him; but of the falſehood of this ſtory we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more largely hereafter. See Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 639. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 73.

[u] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xii. p. 206.

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in his ſpeech to the parliament, and was certainly expected both by this nation and the Dutch. When, therefore, the king left England in the beginning of March, his inſtructions to admiral Ruſſel were, to uſe all imaginable diligence in getting the fleet out to ſea; and at the ſame time he was promiſed, that his majeſty would not fail to quicken the Dutch: but we ſhall ſoon ſee, that all theſe ſchemes were ſuddenly altered, and that, if the king's new miniſtry had been but furniſhed with tolerable intelligence, theſe ſchemes could never have entered into their heads [w]. To be clear in this point, we muſt look over to the tranſactions in France.

As ſoon as Lewis XIV. perceived, either through unavoidable misfortunes, or the intrigues of his own miniſters, that it was a thing impoſſible to ſupport the war in Ireland any longer to advantage, he came to a reſolution of employing the forces, that were ſtill left king James, to ſerve his purpoſe another way. With this view he concerted, with the malecontents in England, an invaſion on the coaſt of Suſſex; and though for this deſign it was neceſſary to draw together a great number of tranſports, as well as a very conſiderable body of forces, yet he had both in readineſs, before it was ſo much as ſuſpected here. The land-army conſiſted of fourteen battalions of Engliſh and Iriſh troops, and about nine thouſand French, commanded by marſhal de Belfondes; ſo that in all there could not be leſs than twenty thouſand men [x]. The fleet of tranſports conſiſted of three hundred ſail, and was well provided with every thing neceſſary for the invaſion. In ſhort, nothing was wanting to the execution of this deſign, in the beginning of April, but the arrival of count d'Eſtrees's ſquadron of twelve men of war, which was to eſcort the embarkation, while the count de Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was alſo ready to put to ſea,

[w] In order to prove the truth of this account, I ſhall refer the reader to the Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xii. p. 421, 422. wherein we are aſſured, that the ſcheme of making a deſcent on France was taken from king William's own mouth, that orders were given for having a prodigious number of pontons and flat-bottomed boats ready by the latter end of June, and that the duke of Leinſter (who was ſon to marſhal Schomberg) was to command the forces employed in this ſervice. See alſo Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92.

[x] Hiſtoire militaire, tome ii. p. 473, 577. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 93. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xii. p. 525, 526.

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but was detained by contrary winds. Things being in this ſituation, king James ſent over colonel Parker, and ſome other agents of his, to give his friends intelligence of his motions; and ſome of theſe people, in hopes of reward, gave the firſt clear account of the whole deſign to our government at home; upon which, order after order was ſent to admiral Ruſſel to haſten out to ſea, in whatever condition the fleet might be at this time[y].

There were at this very critical juncture two conſiderable ſquadrons at ſea; one under the command of Sir Ralph Delaval, which was ſent to bring home a fleet of merchantmen from the Mediterranean, the other under rear-admiral Carter, near the French coaſt. It was apprehended, that the French would have endeavoured to intercept the former, and therefore, on the laſt of February, orders were ſent by the Groin packet-boat to vice-admiral Delaval, to avoid coming near cape St. Vincent, but rather to ſail to Dingle-bay, the mouth of the Shannon, or ſome other port thereabouts[z]. But, for fear theſe orders might not reach him ſoon enough at Cadiz, an advice-boat was ordered to cruize for him off Cape-Clear, with inſtructions to put into Corke or Kingſale. However, both theſe orders miſſed him, and he was ſo fortunate as to arrive in the beginning of March ſafe in the Downs.

As for rear-admiral Carter, he was ordered to continue cruizing with his ſquadron of eighteen ſail, as near the French coaſt as it was poſſible, in order to be the better and more certainly informed of what they were doing[a]. His majeſty king William, as ſoon as he arrived in Holland, took care to haſten the naval

[y] Queen Mary behaved on this occaſion with great wiſdom and firmneſs of mind; for, without diſcovering any apprehenſions of danger, ſhe took all the precautions that were neceſſary to prevent it, by publiſhing a proclamation requiring all Papiſts to quit the cities of London and Weſtminſter, another for aſſembling both houſes of parliament, and a third for apprehending the earls of Scarſdale, Litchfield, Newbourg, Middleton, and Dunmore, the lords Griffin and Forbes, Sir John Fenwicke, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, Sir Andrew Forreſter, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, ſuppoſed to be in her father's intereſt. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xii. p. 551, 553.

[z] Burchet's memoirs, p. 129.

[a] See the London Gazette, N° 2749. whereby it appears, that Sir Ralph Delaval's ſquadron conſiſted of ſixteen Engliſh and Dutch men of war, and had under convoy ſeventy merchantmen richly laden. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 461. Kennet, and other writers.

preparations

preparations with unuſual diligence; ſo that the fleet was ready to put to ſea much ſooner than had been expected, or at leaſt much ſooner than it had done the year before, and was alſo in a much better condition. As for our admiral, he went on board in the beginning of May; and, obſerving how great advantage the French might reap by the diviſion of ſuch conſiderable ſquadrons from our fleet, his firſt care was to write to court on this ſubject, and to deſire, that a certain place might be fixed for their conjunction, and that timely notice might be given to all perſons concerned. In return to this, he had orders ſent him to cruize between Cape la Hogue and the Iſle of Wight, till the ſquadrons ſhould join with him, though he had propoſed the junction ſhould be made off Beachy-head. However, he obeyed his orders as ſoon as he received them, and plyed it down through the ſands with a very ſcanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were againſt hazarding ſo great a fleet in ſo dangerous an attempt; and yet to this bold ſtroke of the admiral, which was his own, was owing all his following ſucceſs.

On the 8th the fleet came ſafe off Rye, and that night the admiral ſent to the Dutch admiral to weigh and make ſail after him, that no time might be loſt; and he alſo ſent a ſquadron of ſmall ſhips to look for Sir Ralph Delaval, being in great pain till the whole confederate fleet was in a body. On the 11th of May he ſailed from Rye-bay for St. Helen's, where in two days time he was joined by Sir Ralph Delaval, and rear-admiral Carter, with their ſquadrons[b]. While they lay here, the admiral received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, as ſecretary of ſtate, written by queen Mary's direction, wherein he was informed, that a ſcandalous and malicious report was ſpread, as if ſome of the officers of their majeſties fleet were diſaffected, or not hearty in their ſervice; and that her majeſty had thereupon been preſſed to the diſcharge of many of them from their employments: but her majeſty charged the admiral to acquaint his officers, that ſhe was ſatisfied this report was raiſed by the enemies of the government, and that ſhe repoſed ſo entire a confidence in their fidelity, that ſhe had reſolved not to diſplace ſo

[b] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 464.

much

much as one of them. Upon this the flag-officers and captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal addreſs, dated from on board the Britannia at St. Helen's, May the 15th, 1692, which was the ſame day tranſmitted to court, and on the next preſented by the lords of the admiralty to her majeſty, who was pleaſed to make this wiſe and gracious anſwer, which was publiſhed that night in the Gazette: "I always had this opinion of the com-"manders; but I am glad this is come to ſatisfy others[c]."

When all the ſhips, Engliſh and Dutch, were come together, the admiral propoſed, that a ſmall detachment of ſix or eight frigates might be ſent to hover about the coaſt of Normandy; that at the ſame time the forces intended for a deſcent ſhould embark, and be landed at St. Maloes, and the grand fleet ly weſtward of that place, in order to protect them from the enemy. This propoſition being in part approved, he detached ſix light ſhips to gain intelligence; and, it being left to him to proceed as a council of war ſhould adviſe, he on the 18th of May ſailed for the coaſt of France. The next day, about three in the morning, the ſcouts, weſtward of the fleet, fired ſwivel-guns, and, being in a ſhort time in ſight, made the ſignal of diſcovering the enemy. Immediately orders were given for drawing into a line of battle, and the ſignal was made for the rear of the fleet to tack, in order to engage the ſooner, if the French had ſtood to the northward. A little after four, the ſun diſperſing the fog, the enemy were ſeen ſtanding ſouthward. The admiral upon this cauſed the ſignal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and bore away with his ſhip ſo far leeward, as that each ſhip in the fleet might fetch his wake, and then be brought to, and lay by, with his fore-top-ſail to the maſt, that ſo others might have the better opportunity of placing themſelves according to the manner formerly directed on ſuch an occaſion[d].

The

[c] I give in ſome reſpects a different account of this affair from what the reader will meet with in Burchet, and the reſt of our hiſtorians. But then I do this from the Gazette itſelf, N° 2767. wherein the reaſons I have aſſigned are expreſsly mentioned. See likewiſe the Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xii. p. 646.

[d] Burchet's memoirs, p. 138, 139. It will be proper to give the reader here an abſtract of the force of the reſpective fleets:

The confederate fleet was in good order by eight, having the Dutch ſquadron in the van, the red in the centre, and the blue in the rear. About ten the French fleet bore down upon them with great reſolution. About half an hour after eleven count Tourville in the Royal Sun, brought to, and began the fight with admiral Ruſſel, being within three quarters muſket-ſhot. He plyed his guns very warmly till one, but then began to tow off in great diſorder, his rigging, ſails, and top-ſail yards being very much wounded. About two the wind ſhifted; ſo that five of the enemy's blue ſquadron poſted themſelves, three a-head, and two a-ſtern of their admiral, and fired very briſkly till after three. The admiral and his two ſeconds, Mr. Churchil and Mr. Aylmer, had all theſe ſhips to deal with. There was ſo thick a fog about four, that the enemy could not be ſeen; and, as ſoon as it was cleared up, the French admiral was diſcovered towing away northward; upon which the admiral followed him, and made the ſignal for chaſing.

While this paſſed between the admirals, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was got to the windward of count Tourville's ſquadron, and

THE RED SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
5 Firſt,	3,835	500
3 Second,	1,800	270
16 Third,	6,400	1,100
7 Fourth,	1,860	350
31	13,895	2,220

The right honourable EDWARD RUSSEL, Eſq; admiral, commander in chief.
Sir RALPH DELAVAL, vice-admiral.
Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, rear-admiral.

THE BLUE SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
1 Firſt,	780	100
7 Second,	4,655	636
18 Third,	7,740	1,270
6 Fourth,	1,500	304
32	14,675	2,310

Sir JOHN ASHBY, admiral.
GEORGE ROOKE, Eſq; vice-admiral.
RICHARD CARTER, Eſq; rear-admiral.

THE DUTCH SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
9 Firſt,	4,515	796
10 Second,	3,766	772
9 Third,	2,925	640
8 Fourth,	1,845	406
36	13,051	2,614

Admiral ALLEMONDE.
Vice-admiral CALLEMBERGH.
Rear-admiral VANDERGOES.

THE FRENCH FLEET.

The VAN.
26 Ships from 90 to 60 guns.
The CENTRE.
25 Ships from 104 to 54 guns.
The REAR.
12 Ships from 94 to 54 guns.

So that admiral Ruſſel had 99 ſhips of the line under his command, and count Tourville but 63, ſome of which were detached at the time of the action.

engaged them; but, the fog growing darker than before, they were forced to anchor: and about this time it was that captain (ſome liſts call him colonel) Haſtings, in the Sandwich, was killed, driving through thoſe ſhips of the enemy, by reaſon his anchors were not clear. The weather clearing up a little, the French followed their flying admiral, and the Engliſh chaſed the beſt they could. About eight in the evening it grew foggy again, and part of the Engliſh blue ſquadron, having fallen in with the enemy, engaged about half an hour, till they, having loſt four ſhips, bore away for Conquet-Road [e]. In this ſhort action rear-admiral Carter was killed, whoſe laſt words effectually confuted the baſe reports ſpread to blemiſh his reputation; for, finding himſelf mortally wounded, he recommended it to captain Wright, who commanded his ſhip, to fight her as long as ſhe could ſwim [f].

The 20th of May proved ſo dark and foggy, that it was eight o'clock before the Dutch diſcovered the enemy; and then the whole fleet began to chaſe, the French crowding away weſtward. About four in the afternoon both fleets anchored; about ten they weighed again, and about twelve admiral Ruſſel's fore-top-maſt came by the board [g].

On the 22d, about ſeven in the morning, the Engliſh fleet continued the chace with all the ſucceſs they could deſire; about eleven the French admiral ran a-ſhore, and cut her maſts away; upon this her two ſeconds plyed up to her, and other ſhips began to hover about them; upon which the admiral ſent to Sir Ralph Delaval, who was in the rear, to keep with him a ſtrength ſufficient to deſtroy thoſe ſhips, and to ſend the reſt, that were under his command, to join the body of the fleet. In the evening a great number of the enemy's ſhips were ſeen going into La Hogue. On the 23d the admiral ſent in Sir George Rooke, with ſeveral men of war, fire-ſhips, and all the boats of the fleet, to deſtroy theſe ſhips in the bay. On their entering, it was

[e] Burchet's memoirs, p. 139, 140, 141. Life of king William, p. 332.

[f] The manner of his death ſhews how falſe the aſperſion was, that he had taken ten thouſand pounds to fire upon the French only with powder, who were to return the like, and then he was to go over to them with his ſquadron. As he certainly died like a man of honour, it is but juſt to believe, that he was ſtrictly ſuch while he lived.

[g] Burchet's memoirs, p. 143.

perceived,

perceived, that there were thirteen ſail; but they were got up ſo high, that none but the ſmall frigates could do any ſervice. Sir George, however, was reſolved to execute his orders; and therefore, having manned his boats, he went in perſon to encourage the attempt, burnt ſix of them that night, and the other ſeven the next morning, together with a great number of tranſport ſhips, and other veſſels laden with ammunition. One would think this was a remarkable piece of ſervice: indeed it was by much the greateſt that happened during the whole affair; for it was performed under a prodigious fire from the enemy's battery on ſhore, and within ſight of the Iriſh camp, and with the loſs only of ten men [h]: yet biſhop Burnet, by an odd ſtroke, either of ill-humour or great negligence, has thought fit to blame Sir George, as if he had not been inclined to fight.

Sir John Aſhby, with his own ſquadron and ſome Dutch ſhips, purſued the reſt of the French fleet, till they ran through the race of Alderney, among ſuch rocks and ſhoals as our pilots were abſolutely againſt following them; for which that admiral has been alſo cenſured, though perhaps without cauſe, ſince ſome of the ableſt ſeamen in England were of opinion, that there could not be a more deſperate undertaking than the flight of the French ſhips through that paſſage. But, though deſpair might juſtify them, yet it does not appear to me an argument, that Sir John Aſhby ought to have followed them [i]. The two following original letters will ſet ſome other circumſtances in a better light, and with greater weight of evidence, than could be done otherwiſe. Beſides they are (the latter eſpecially) become ſo ſcarce, as hardly to be met with.

[h] It appears by admiral Allemonde's letter to the ſtates-general, that this was a moſt difficult and dangerous undertaking; and his letter was dated the very morning the thing was done, which is a much ſtronger proof of admiral Rooke's merit, than if it had been written by an Engliſh admiral. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 422. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xii. p. 624.

[i] The reader will be ſatisfied of this, if he caſts his eye upon a ſea-chart, and conſiders the prodigious riſk the French ran, in order to get through the race of Alderney. This circumſtance is particularly taken notice of in our tar-ſong on the victory of La Hogue, which ſhews what the ſeamen thought of it.

Sir RALPH DELAVAL's Letter to the Earl of Nottingham. From on board the Royal Sovereign.

" I believe it my duty to acquaint you, that on the 21ſt inſtant, admiral Ruſſel having made the ſignal for the fleet to cut their cables, I obſerved the French to be forced from the race of Alderney, where they anchored, to the eaſtward; and, finding that ſome of them endeavoured for the bay of Cherburgh, I ſtood in for that place, where I found three three-decked ſhips of the enemy, but ſo cloſe to the ſhore, and within ſome rocks, that it was not ſafe for me to attempt them till I had informed myſelf of the road, they being hawled into ſhoal water.

" I immediately took my boats, and ſounded within gun-ſhot of them, which they endeavoured to prevent by firing at us. And, that no time might be loſt, I went immediately on board the St. Alban's, where, for the encouragement of the ſeamen, I hoiſted my flag, and, having ordered the Ruby with two fire-ſhips to attend me, I ſtood in with them, leaving the great ſhips without, as drawing too much water. But, coming very near, they galled ſo extremely, and, finding the five ſhips could not get in, I judged it beſt to retreat without ſhot, and there anchored, and immediately called all the captains, where it was reſolved to attack them in the morning with all the third and fourth rates, and fire-ſhips. But, after having drawn them into four fathoms and a half water, I found we could not do our buſineſs, the water being ſhoal. Upon which I ordered three fire-ſhips to prepare themſelves to attempt the burning of them, going myſelf with all the barges and tenders to take them up, if by the enemy's ſhot they ſhould miſcarry.

" Indeed I may ſay, and I hope without vanity, the ſervice was warm, yet, God be praiſed, ſo effectually performed, that, notwithſtanding all their ſhot both from their ſhips and fort, two of our fire-ſhips had good ſucceſs by burning two of them; the other, by an unfortunate ſhot, was ſet on fire, being juſt going on board the enemy. Indeed, ſo brave was the attempt, that I think they can hardly be ſufficiently rewarded,

" warded, and doubt not but their majeſties will do them right. " The third French ſhip being run a-ſhore, and obſerving the " people on board to go a-ſhore by boats-full, I ordered the " St. Albans, the Reſerve, and others, to fire upon her, judging it might cauſe them to quit her. And, after having battered her ſome time, I obſerved ſhe made no reſiſtance, I took " all the boats armed, and went on board her.

" I found abundance of men on board, and ſeveral wounded, " but no officers; and having cauſed all the people, as well " thoſe that were wounded as others, to be taken out, I ſet her " on fire, and had I not had notice by my ſcouts, that thirty " ſhips were ſtanding with me, had ſent all the French on ſhore, " who are now very troubleſome to me. The ſhips we ſaw " proved to be Sir John Aſhby and the Dutch, coming from " the weſtward. We are proceeding together to the eaſtward " to La Hogue, where I am informed three or four of the enemy's ſhips are; and, if ſo, I hope God will give us good " ſucceſs. I expect to find the admiral to-morrow, where I " hope to hear he has deſtroyed ſome of the enemy's ſhips, having left him in chaſe of them laſt night, ſtanding to the eaſtward, and pretty near them, as I judged. My lord, I hope " you will excuſe me, if I preſume to pray you will uſe your " intereſt with the queen, that a reward may be given to the " three captains of the fire-ſhips, and ſeveral of the others; for " greater zeal and greater bravery I never ſaw. I pray your excuſe for being thus tedious, and thus particular. Pray God " preſerve their majeſties; and that their arms may be ever " crowned with ſucceſs by ſea and land, ſhall be the prayers " and endeavours of, *&c.*

" Cherburgh, May 22, 1692.

" *P. S.* Captain Heath burnt Tourville's ſhip the Royal Sun, " which was the moſt difficult; captain Greenway burnt the " other, called the Conquerant. The Admirable was burnt by " our boats. Captain Fowlis attempted the Royal Sun, but was " ſet on fire by the enemy's ſhot, yet deſerves as well as the " others."

Admiral

Admiral RUSSEL's Letter to the Earl of Nottingham.

" My LORD, Portſmouth, June 2, 1692.

" SINCE your lordſhip ſeems to think, that an account in " general of the fleet's good ſucceſs, is not ſo ſatisfactory as one " ſetting forth the particulars, I here ſend it with as much bre- " vity as the matter will admit of. I muſt confeſs I was not " much inclined to trouble you in this nature, not being ambi- " tious to ſee my name in print on any occaſion; but ſince it is " your lordſhip's command, I am the more inclined to give you " the beſt information I am able of the action, having ſeen ſe- " veral printed relations not very ſincere.

" Wedneſday in the evening, being the 18th of May, ſtand- " ing over for Cape la Hogue, I ordered captain Gillam in the " Cheſter, and the Charles galley, to ly at ſuch a diſtance to " the weſtward of the fleet, that they might diſcover any ſig- " nals made from me.

" Thurſday the 19th, ſtanding with a ſmall gale S. S. W. " the wind at W. and W. by S. hazy weather, Cape Barfleur " bearing then S. W. and by S. from me, diſtant about ſeven " leagues. Between three and four in the morning, we heard " ſeveral guns to the weſtward, and in a ſhort time I ſaw the " two frigates making the ſignal of ſeeing the enemy, with their " heads lying to the northward, which gave me reaſon to think " that the enemy lay with their heads that way. Upon which, " I ordered the ſignal to be made for the fleet's drawing into a " line of battle; after which I made the ſignal for the rear of " the fleet to tack, that, if the enemy ſtood to the northward, " we might the ſooner come to engage. But ſoon after four " o'clock, the ſun had a little cleared the weather, and I ſaw " the French fleet ſtanding to the ſouthward, forming their line " on the ſame tack that I was upon. I then ordered the ſignal " for the rear to tack to be taken in, and at the ſame time bore " away with my own ſhip ſo far to leeward, as I judged each " ſhip in the fleet might fetch my wake or grain; then brought " to again, lying by with my fore-top ſail to the maſt, to give " the ſhips in the fleet the better opportunity of placing them- " ſelves as they had been before directed. By eight o'clock we

" had

" had formed an indifferent line, ſtretching from the S. S. W. " to the N. N. E. the Dutch in the van, the red in the centre, " and the blue in the rear.

" By nine o'clock the enemy's van-guard had ſtretched almoſt " as far to the ſouthward as ours, their admiral and rear-admi- " ral of the blue, that were in the rear, cloſing the line, and " their vice-admiral of the ſame diviſion ſtretching to the rear of " our fleet, but never coming within gun-ſhot of them. About " ten they bore down upon us, I ſtill lying with my fore-top- " ſail to the maſt. I then obſerved monſieur Tourville, the " French admiral, put out his ſignal for battle. I gave orders " that mine ſhould not be hoiſted till the fleets began to engage, " that he might have the fairer opportunity of coming as near " me as he thought convenient; and at the ſame time I ſent " orders to admiral Allemonde, that, as ſoon as any of his " ſquadron could weather the enemy's fleet, they ſhould tack " and get to the weſtward of them, as alſo to the blue to make " ſail, and cloſe the line, they being at ſome diſtance a-ſtern; " but, as ſoon as the fleet began to engage, it fell calm, which " prevented their ſo doing. About half an hour after ele- " ven, monſieur Tourville in the Royal Sun (being within " three quarters muſket-ſhot) brought to, lying by me at that " diſtance about an hour and a half, plying his guns very " warmly, though I muſt obſerve to you, that our men fired " their guns faſter. After which time, I did not find his guns " were fired with that vigour as before, and I could ſee him in " great diſorder, his rigging, ſails, and top-ſail yards being ſhot, " and no body endeavouring to make them ſerviceable, and his " boats towing of him to windward, gave me reaſon to think " he was much galled. About two the wind ſhifted to the N. W. " and by W. and ſome little time after that, five freſh ſhips of " the enemy's blue ſquadron came and poſted themſelves three " a-head of monſieur Tourville, and two a-ſtern of him, and " fired with great fury, which continued till after three.

" About four in the evening there came ſo thick a fog, that " we could not ſee a ſhip of the enemy's, which occaſioned our " leaving off firing for a long time; and then it cleared up, and " we could ſee monſieur Tourville towing away with his boats " to the northward from us. Upon which, I did the ſame, and

" ordered

" ordered all my diviſion to do the like; and about half an hour " after five we had a ſmall breeze of wind eaſterly. I then " made the ſignal for the fleet to chaſe, ſending notice to all the " ſhips about me, that the enemy were running. About this " time I heard ſeveral broadſides to the weſtward; and, though " I could not ſee the ſhips that fired, I concluded them to be " our blue that, by the ſhift of wind, had weathered the ene- " my; but it proved to be the rear-admiral of the red, who had " weathered Tourville's ſquadron, and got between them and " their admiral of the blue, where they lay firing ſome time; " and then Tourville anchored with ſome ſhips of his own divi- " ſion, as alſo the rear-admiral of the red, with ſome of his. " This was the time that captain Haſtings in the Sandwich was " killed, he driving through theſe ſhips by reaſon of his an- " chors not being clear. I could not ſee this part becauſe of " the great ſmoke and fog, but have received this information " from Sir Cloudeſley Shovel ſince.

" I ſent to all the ſhips that I could think were near me, to " chaſe to the weſtward all night, telling them I deſigned to " follow the enemy to Breſt, and ſometimes we could ſee a " French ſhip, two or three, ſtanding away with all the ſail " they could make to the weſtward. About eight I heard firing " to the weſtward, which laſted about half an hour, it being " ſome of our blue fallen in with ſome of the ſhips of the enemy " in the fog. It was foggy, and very little wind all night.

" Friday the 20th, it was ſo thick in the morning that I could " ſee none of the enemy's ſhips, and but very few of our own. " About eight it began to clear up: the Dutch, who were to " the ſouthward of me, made the ſignal of ſeeing the enemy; " and, as it cleared, I ſaw about thirty-two or thirty-four ſail " diſtant from us between two and three leagues, the wind at " E. N. E. and they bearing from us W. S. W. our fleet cha- " ſing with all the ſail they could make, having taken in the " ſignal for the line of battle, that each ſhip might make the " beſt of her way after the enemy. Between eleven and twelve " the wind came to the S. W. The French plied to the weſt- " ward with all the ſail they could, and we after them. About " four, the tide of ebb being done, the French anchored, as alſo " we in forty-three fathom water, Cape Barfleur bearing S. and

" by W. About ten in the evening we weighed with the tide " of ebb, the wind at S. W. and plied to the weſtward. About " twelve my fore-top maſt came by the board, having received " ſeveral ſhot.

" Saturday the 21ſt we continued ſtill plying after the enemy " till four in the morning. The tide of ebb being done, I an- " chored in forty-ſix fathom water, Cape la Hogue bearing S. " and by W. and the iſland of Alderney S. S. W. By my top- " maſt's going away, the Dutch ſquadron and the admiral of " the blue, with ſeveral of his ſquadron, had got a great way " to windward of me. About ſeven in the morning, ſeveral of " the enemy's ſhips, being far advanced towards the race, I per- " ceived driving to the eaſtward with the tide of flood. Between " eight and nine, when they were driven ſo far to the eaſtward " that I could fetch them, I made the ſignal for the fleet to cut " and follow the enemy, which they all did, except the afore- " mentioned weathermoſt ſhips, which rid faſt to obſerve the " motion of the reſt of the enemy's ſhips that continued in the " race of Alderney. About eleven I ſaw three great ſhips, fair " under the ſhore, tack and ſtand to the weſtward; but, after " making two or three ſhort boards, the biggeſt of them ran " a-ſhore, who preſently cut his maſts away; the other two, " being to leeward of him, plied up to him. The reaſon, as I " judge, of their doing this, was, that they could not weather " our ſternmoſt ſhips to the weſtward, nor get out a-head of " us to the eaſtward.

" I obſerving that many of our ſhips hovered about thoſe, I " ſent to Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, who was " in the rear of our fleet, to keep ſuch a number of ſhips and " fire-ſhips with him as might be ſufficient to deſtroy thoſe of " the enemy, and to order the others to follow me, I being " then in purſuit of the reſt of the enemy: an account of the " performing that ſervice I. do not trouble your lordſhip with, " he having given it you already. About four in the afternoon " eighteen ſail of the enemy's ſhips got to the eaſtward of Cape " Barfleur, after which I obſerved they hauled in for La Hogue: " the rear-admiral of the red, vice-admiral of the blue, and " ſome other ſhips, were a-head of me. About ten at night I " anchored in the bay of La Hogue, and lay till four the next " morning, being

"Sunday the 22d; and then I weighed and ſtood in near the "land of La Hogue; but, when we found the flood came, we "anchored in a good ſandy ground. At two in the afternoon "we weighed again, and plied cloſe in with La Hogue, where "we ſaw thirteen ſail of the enemy's men of war hauled cloſe "in with the ſhore. The rear-admiral of the red tells me, that "the night before he ſaw the other five, which made up the "eighteen I firſt chaſed, ſtand to the eaſtward.

"Monday the 23d, I ſent in vice-admiral Rooke with ſeveral "men of war and fire-ſhips, as alſo the boats of the fleet, to "deſtroy thoſe ſhips; but the enemy had gotten them ſo near "the ſhore, that not any of our men of war, except the ſmall "frigates, could do any ſervice; but that night vice-admiral "Rooke, with the boats, burnt ſix of them.

"Tueſday the 24th, about eight in the morning, he went in "again with the boats, and burnt the other ſeven, together with "ſeveral tranſport ſhips and ſome veſſels with ammunition, the "names of which ſhips I am not yet able to give your lordſhip "any other account of than what I formerly ſent you, which "are as follow:

Ships names.	Commanders.	Guns.
Soleil Royal,	Count de Tourville,	104
L'Ambitieux,	Chevalier de la Villette, vice-admiral of the blue,	104
L'Admirable,	Monſieur Beaujeau,	90
La Magnifique,	Monſieur Cottologon, rear-admiral of the blue,	76
Le St. Philip,	Monſieur Infreville,	76
Le Conquerant,	Du Magnon,	76
Le Triumphant,	Monſieur Bellemont,	74
L'Etonant,	Monſieur de Septime,	80
Le Terrible,	Monſieur Septvilla,	80
L'Amiable,	Monſieur de Raal,	68
Le Fier,	Monſieur Larſethoir,	68
Le Glorieux,	Le C. Chateaumoorant,	60
Le Serieux,	Monſieur Bernier,	60
Le Trident,	Monſieur Monteaud,	56

"All the priſoners report a three-deck ſhip burnt by acci-"dent, and the following ſunk, how true I do not know.

Ships

Ships names.	Commanders.	Guns.
Le Prince,	Monſieur Bagneuz,	60
Le Sanſpareil,	Monſieur Ferille,	60

" Though theſe be all the names that I have been able to " learn, yet I am ſure there are ſixteen ſhips of conſequence " burnt.

" Wedneſday the 25th, I ſailed from La Hogue, ordering " the admiral of the blue, with a ſquadron of Engliſh and " Dutch ſhips under his command, to run along the enemy's " coaſt as far as Havre de Grace, in hopes that ſome of the " before-mentioned five ſhips, that ſtood to the eaſtward, might " have been got thither; but he informs me that, upon his ap- " pearing before that place, he could perceive but one or two " ſmall veſſels. The number of the enemy's ſhips did not ex- " ceed fifty men of war, by the beſt information, from fifty-ſix " to one hundred and four guns; and though it muſt be con- " feſſed, that our number was ſuperior to theirs, which proba- " bly at firſt might ſtartle them, yet, by their coming down " with that reſolution, I cannot think it had any great effect " upon them: and this I may affirm for a truth, not with any " intention to value our own action, or to leſſen the bravery of " the enemy, that they were beaten by a number conſiderably " leſs than theirs, the calmneſs and thickneſs of the weather " giving very few of the Dutch or the blue the opportunity of " engaging, which I am ſure they look upon as a great misfor- " tune; and, had the weather proved otherwiſe, I do not ſee " how it was poſſible for any of them to have eſcaped us.

" This is the exacteſt account that I am able to give you, " which I hope will prove to your lordſhip's ſatisfaction. Vice- " admiral Rooke has given me a very good character of ſeveral " men employed in the boats, and I have ordered him to give " me a liſt of the names of ſuch perſons whoſe behaviour was " remarkable, in order to their reward. I am [k],

" My LORD,

" Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful

" humble ſervant,

" E. RUSSEL."

[k] Admiral Ruſſel's letter to the earl of Nottingham, containing an exact and particular relation of the late happy victory and ſucceſs againſt the French fleet. Publiſhed by authority. In the Savoy printed by Edward Jones, 1692; folio.

It is very remarkable, that, though the confederate fleet was near double to that of the French, yet ſcarce half of it could engage, which was owing to their original diſpoſition, (by which, as the reader may remember, the blue ſquadron, of which Sir George Rooke was vice-admiral, was directed to tack northward, and to weather), not at all to any deficiency in that admiral, as biſhop Burnet alledges [l]: yet the defeat was one of the moſt ſignal that ever happened at ſea. If, indeed, Sir John Aſhby could have reached thoſe that took ſhelter in St. Maloes, it had in a good meaſure put an end to the French power at ſea [m]. As it was, we muſt acknowledge it a moſt glorious victory, and that we ought to pay a juſt tribute of praiſe to the memories of all the brave men who achieved it.

We find this affair, notwithſtanding all the ruinous conſequences that attended it, treated in ſuch a ſtyle by the French writers, as to make it appear rather a victory than a defeat; and all this founded on the ſingle circumſtance of their attacking the Engliſh fleet [n]. In order to explain that, we muſt obſerve, that count Tourville found himſelf obliged to take this ſtep, in obedience to his orders, which were ſo expreſs, that they did not leave any room for him to exerciſe his judgment. He called a council of war, indeed, the night before the engagement, wherein moſt of the officers gave their opinions, that, conſidering the ſuperiority of the confederate fleet, and the ſituation themſelves were in, it was moſt prudent to avoid fighting. Upon this, after declaring his own ſentiments to be the ſame with theirs, he produced the king's orders, which appeared to be ſo preciſe for fighting the Engliſh, whether ſtrong or weak, that it was unanimouſly reſolved to obey them [o]. Several reaſons have been aſſigned for the French king's giving ſuch orders; and

[l] See his hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 93. [m] Burchet's memoirs, p. 146. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 640, 641. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 73. Columna roſtrata, p. 260, 261. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xii. p. 651. [n] Hiſt. militaire de Louis XIV. tome ii. p. 583. Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. par P. Daniel, p. 164. Hiſt. de milice Françoiſe, tome ii. p. 491. Memoirs de Forbin. Reincourt, tome iii. p. 218. Hiſtoire chronologique du dernier ſiecle, p. 226. See Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xii. p. 634, 639.

[o] Hiſt. militaire, tome ii. p. 580, 581. Reincourt, tome iii. p. 216. In all probability count Tourville called this council of war to juſtify himſelf in reſpect to the ſenſe in which he underſtood the king's orders.

amongſt

amongſt theſe the moſt probable is, that he was miſtaken as to the ſtrength of both fleets.

As to his own, he looked upon it as certain, that count d'Eſtrees, with his ſquadron, would have joined the fleet before any opportunity offered of fighting, and that count Tourville's line of battle ſhould have conſiſted of ſixty-ſix ſhips at leaſt. He was, however, deceived in both: count d'Eſtrees met with ſuch bad weather in paſſing the ſtreights of Gibraltar, that, notwithſtanding all the pains he could take, his ſquadron did not arrive at La Hogue till after the battle; and, though there were at that time ſixty-ſix French men of war at ſea, yet, from the detachments made for particular ſervices, count Tourville had but forty-four actually under his command, when he took this reſolution to fight [p]. On the other ſide it was preſumed, that the Engliſh and Dutch fleets could not have joined ſo early, and that, if they had, ſtill it would be impoſſible for them to unite with their two great ſquadrons then at ſea, before the junction of the French fleets. In this, too, the king's foreſight failed him; but then it was owing to that bold ſtroke of admiral Ruſſel beforementioned, by which he joined the Dutch ſquadron ten days ſooner than he could have done, if he had taken his pilot's advice [q].

There is yet another circumſtance mentioned by French authors, as ſuppoſed by ſome to have been a reaſon for the king's orders, and it is this, that the greateſt part of the Engliſh fleet were expected to deſert, from which it is pretended they were deterred by finding count Tourville ſo weak [r]. As theſe very authors treat this ſtory as a calumny, there ſeems to be the leſs reaſon for my refuting it: yet, ſince it may be done in very few words, I cannot but obſerve, that this is abſolutely contradicted by another circumſtance, in which both our writers and theirs agree, *viz.* that, upon the junction of our fleet, the French king ſent two orders by different routes to count Tourville, to forbid his fighting for that reaſon: but the maſter of a ſmall veſſel,

[p] P. Daniel, M. de Quincy, and indeed all the foreign writers in general, agree in this.

[q] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 467. I have likewiſe had the ſame confirmed to me by officers who ſerved on board the fleet.

[r] Hiſt. militaire, *ubi ſupra.*

which

which carried one, was taken off Cape Barfleur by captain Wyville, before he could join the French fleet; and the other, which came over land, was too late by ſeveral days[s]. This, however, plainly proves, that king Lewis did not depend upon the deſertion of the Engliſh fleet, but upon their not joining the Dutch.

After a particular account of the firſt day's engagement, the marquis de Quincy proceeds thus: "As to the advantage gained in this fight, it muſt be allowed us, that count Tourville did not loſe ſo much as a ſhip, nor had he any that were diſabled; while, on the other hand, the enemy loſt two, one ſunk, and the other diſabled. The reſt of their ſhips were as ill treated as his, beſides their ſpending abundance of fire-ſhips without any effect. Thus, in ſpite of the prodigious inequality of the fleets, the ſucceſs was at leaſt equal in the firſt day's engagement: it is true, it happened otherwiſe in the ſucceeding days, in which, however, there fell out nothing that ought to tarniſh the reputation of France at ſea, ſince, while there remained any room for courage to exert itſelf, they not only acted gallantly in their own defence, but made themſelves reſpected by their enemies. What afterwards followed was the effect of unforeſeen accidents, and inevitable misfortunes[t]."

Yet, after this fine flouriſh, the marquis fairly confeſſes, the French flags ran for it, and that their other ſhips did the beſt they could to follow them; but partly through the want of ſafe ports on their own coaſts, and partly through the vigorous purſuit of the Engliſh, they were burnt and deſtroyed in the manner before-related[u]. Neither doth this writer, or any other of the French hiſtorians, pretend to diminiſh their own loſs, or to ſay that our admirals did not do their duty. On the contrary they aſcribe the ſafe retreat of part of their ſhips into the road of St. Maloes to their lucky paſſage through that dangerous ſtreight which I have before mentioned[w].

[s] Burchet's memoirs, p. 468. and the French author laſt cited. [t] Hiſt. militaire, tome ii. p. 587. But all this muſt be owned extremely modeſt to father Daniel's account. [u] Hiſt. militaire, P. Daniel, &c. [w] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 640. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 73. Life of king William, p. 332.

When

When admiral Ruſſel was ſatisfied, that the grand fleet could not do any farther ſervice againſt the French, the ſeaſon of the year and their circumſtances conſidered, he reſolved to return to St. Helen's, as well to refit the veſſels that were damaged in the late fight, as to obtain a ſupply of proviſions and ammunition. This deſign he executed very happily, ſince he had ſcarce left the French coaſt, before the weather became ſo tempeſtuous, that his heavy ſhips muſt have ſuffered exceedingly, and ſuch as had loſt their maſts would probably have periſhed. Yet this meaſure, ſo prudent in itſelf, and ſo fortunate in its event, has been cenſured, as if the admiral had ſhewn too great eagerneſs to be at home, and too little care to proſecute his victory[x].

However, before he took this ſtep, he left Sir John Aſhby with twelve Engliſh ſhips, and three fire-ſhips, in conjunction with a Dutch ſquadron of like force, commanded by vice-admiral Callemberg, with orders to ſail to Havre de Grace, and to endeavour the deſtruction of ſo many of the French fleet as had taken ſhelter there; which ſervice, indeed, they did not perform, the enemy's ſituation, and the ſtormy weather, rendering it altogether impracticable[y]. So that to blame the admiral for not expoſing the fleet, when it was impoſſible for him to have done any thing, is to ſhew a diſpoſition of finding fault at the expence of the nation's ſafety, ſince ſucceeding commanders are not like to uſe their judgments freely, when they find their predeceſſors ſuffer in reputation for doing what prudence, and regard to the ſafety of the fleet, directed. The true reaſon, or rather the principal reaſon, which influenced admiral Ruſſel on this occaſion, was his deſire to make the moſt of his victory, by immediately taking on board the troops intended for a deſcent, and carrying them over, with all poſſible expedition, to the coaſt of France[z].

It is not eaſy to give any tolerable account of this deſcent, ſince neither our public hiſtorians, nor the writers of private memoirs, have been able to leave us any certain ſcheme of this deſign farther than that it was to be a deſcent on the French coaſt, in order to alarm and diſtract that nation. Thus much is certain, that both we and the Dutch ſeemed to have very great

[x] Burnet's hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 94. [y] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 467, 468. [z] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 642. 648.

confidence

confidence in this expedition, which was provided for at a vaſt expence, and in order to which a promotion of officers was made on purpoſe. At firſt ſeveral regiments of horſe were intended to have been ſent; but at laſt theſe were reduced to fifty horſe, and two hundred dragoons[a]. It is evident enough from his conduct, that admiral Ruſſel was not in the ſecret of this ſcheme, if indeed there was any ſuch ſecret, but knew in general only, that theſe troops were deſigned to land in France, and therefore he thought this the moſt proper opportunity for executing the project, be it what it would.

This was his great motive for returning to the Engliſh coaſt; and, to be ſure, he acted therein with great judgment and prudence. In his paſſage, however, he met with very rough weather, and, on his arrival, with a very great diſappointment; for inſtead of finding the troops ready to embark, and himſelf furniſhed with orders and inſtructions for the execution of the enterprize, he was informed by letters from the ſecretary of ſtate, that no certain reſolution was as yet taken in what ſervice to employ them, but that this was left to be ſettled by a general council of land and ſea-officers, when the fleet and the tranſports ſhould be joined[b]. The plain ſource of all this confuſion was, that the miniſters of ſtate were not diſpoſed to take upon themſelves the direction of an affair, which they were apprehenſive would miſcarry, but were willing to put it upon the land and ſea officers, that they alone might remain accountable for whatever happened.

At laſt, very late in the month of July, the tranſports, with the forces on board, joined the fleet; and, on the 28th of the ſame month, a council of war was held on board the Breda, where the ſchemes or rather hints of the miniſtry were ſeriouſly conſidered, and, upon the whole, reſolved to be impracticable[c]. The

[a] Memoires hiſtoriques. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xiii. p. 104, 215, 225. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 74. Columna roſtrata, p. 261. [b] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 471. Memoirs of admiral Ruſſel.

[c] We have this in Burchet from the original; and, as it is abſolutely neceſſary for the perfect underſtanding this part of the hiſtory, I ſhall lay it before the reader.

At a council of war, held on board the Breda the 28th of July, preſent, flag-officers, the right honourable Edward Ruſſel, admiral; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral;

The admiral, however, ſent Sir John Aſhby with a ſtout ſquadron to endeavour, if poſſible, to intercept the French fleet, which was every day expected to ſail from St. Maloe's to Breſt;

admiral of the red; George Rooke, Eſq; vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; David Mitchell, Eſq; firſt captain to the admiral.

DUTCH. Admiral Allemonde; vice-admiral Callemberg; rear-admiral Vandergoes; rear-admiral Evertzen; rear-admiral Muys.

General and field-officers. His grace the duke of Leinſter, lieutenant-general of all the forces; earl of Galway; Sir Henry Bellaſiſe; monſieur de la Meloniere; Sir David Collier; colonel Beveride; monſieur de Cambon; colonel Selwin; earl of Argyle.

The reſolutions they came to, follow: "The matter of burning the ſhips at "St. Maloe's being maturely conſidered, vice admiral Rooke, and vice-admiral "Callemberg, (who were lately ſent with a ſquadron of ſhips before that port), "repreſenting the great difficulty of carrying the ſhips in there, by reaſon of "the multitude of rocks, and the rapidity of the tides, and the pilots refuſing "to conduct any frigates or fire-ſhips into the harbour, becauſe the marks might "be removed, it was the opinion of the flag-officers, that it was not practicable "to attempt any thing againſt the enemy's ſhips at St. Maloe's, with any part "of the fleet, until the town itſelf could be ſo far reduced by the land-forces, "as that ſhips might not receive any great annoyance from the enemy's guns "in the attempt; and the general and field-officers of the army were of opinion, "that the troops could not do any ſervice at that place without the aſſiſtance of "the fleet.

"It was then conſidered, whether it was feaſible to make any attempt on the "enemy's ſhips at Breſt; and although the flag-officers were of opinion, that an "attempt might be made there with ſome hopes of ſucceſs, if the ſummer had "not been ſo far ſpent, yet, conſidering the winter was approaching, they did "not think it proper to attack the enemy's ſhips in that port, ſince the fleet "might be expoſed to very great inconveniencies, ſhould they be wind-bound "near that place: and it was the opinion of the general and field-officers of the "army, that they ſhould not be able to do any ſervice there againſt the enemy, "unleſs they could be protected by the fleet. The flag officers, likewiſe, thought "it not ſafe for the fleet to attempt any thing againſt the enemy at Rochfort, "the ſeaſon of the year being ſo far ſpent, and the place itſelf lying ſo deep in "the bay.

"It was in the next place conſidered, whether the fleet might ly with ſafety "on the coaſt of Normandy to protect the army in an attempt either at Havre "de Grace, La Hogue, or any place thereabouts; and the flag-officers judged, "that it might ly with ſafety on that coaſt, until towards the end of the next "month, in caſe their majeſties ſervice ſhould require it."

The flags came alſo to the following ſeparate reſolution:

"That, ſince the tranſport-ſhips with the land-forces were come to the fleet, "in order to try what might be done againſt the enemy either at St. Maloe's, "Breſt, or Rochfort, it was their opinion, that ſomething might have been at-"tempted with probability of ſucceſs, were not the ſeaſon of the year ſo far "ſpent as not to admit of the fleet's going with ſafety thither."

and, as ſoon as this was done, the admiral, with the reſt of the fleet and the tranſports, ſailed for La Hogue.

Secretary Burchet ſeems to ſay, that in his paſſage he received orders from the queen to return, and that, in obedience to theſe orders, he came back in a few days to St. Helen's [d]. Yet there is ſomething very improbable in this, if we conſider, that as ſoon as an expreſs, deſpatched by the duke of Leinſter, arrived at Whitehall with this news, the queen ſent down to the fleet the marquis of Caermarthen then lord-preſident of the council, the earl of Devonſhire lord-ſteward, the earl of Dorſet lord-chamberlain, the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter, and the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to know the reaſon of their return, and to take proper meaſures for their putting to ſea again immediately [e]. Theſe lords on their arrival found all the troops, except two regiments, on board, and the fleet wind-bound. Every body then expected that the troops would reimbark, and at laſt they did ſo; but, inſtead of proceeding to France, they ſailed under the eſcort of a ſquadron of men of war, part to Oſtend, and part to Newport. There were two hundred and forty tranſport-ſhips, ſix or ſeven thouſand men, a prodigious quantity of ammunition of all ſorts, and whatever ſeemed requiſite for executing a great deſign, though ſo little came of it [f].

One cannot wonder, that, on ſo flagrant a miſcarriage as this, the mouths of all the world were opened. The Engliſh, who are not very famous for their patience on ſuch occaſions, made no difficulty of ſaying, that the nation was plundered and abuſed, and that, after immenſe ſums were drawn out of the people's pockets by the moſt grievous and burdenſome taxes, they were idly ſquandered away in chimerical projects. The Dutch ſcrupled not to exclaim againſt the treachery of the king's counſellors, and to affirm that every thing, that was tranſacted at London, was ſo ſpeedily betrayed to the French court, that it was in vain to hope any ſucceſs from deſigns concerted there. The French, according to their uſual manner, exulted ſtrangely on their deliverance, and attributed to the wiſdom and power of

[d] Naval hiſtory, p. 476. [e] Life of king William, p. 344. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xiii. p. 226. Kennet.

[f] The political memoirs for the month of September, 1692, ſay, there were 16,000; but all our hiſtorians mention the numbers I have inſerted.

Lewis

Lewis XIV. what was the pure effect of croſs accidents and party reſentments [g].

I muſt not, however, forget, that ſome refined politicians pretended, that this ſcheme had its effect; that king William intended no more than alarming the French court, and obliging them to keep great bodies of men conſtantly on their coaſts, and to be at a vaſt expence to watch the motion of this ſmall body of troops, which gave his majeſty the greater liberty of acting in Flanders. Yet this appears ſtrangely improbable, if we conſider the return of the fleet to St. Helen's, ſince, if this had been the deſign, it would certainly have proceeded directly to Oſtend. Others would perſuade us, that the intention of the court was to have landed the forces at port St. Sebaſtian's; but, when the orders were opened at ſea, all the admirals were of opinion, that it was utterly impracticable. The reſolutions of the council of war ſhew, that this conjecture was groundleſs. The bottom of the buſineſs was a deſign upon Breſt, which might have been executed, if the tranſports had been ready, as the admiral adviſed, in May [h]. It is certain, therefore, where-ever the fault lay, it was not in him.

After the ſending theſe troops into Flanders, the great ſhips were ordered about to Chatham, and the fleet divided into ſquadrons, as was judged moſt convenient for the ſervice: and thus ended the public tranſactions of this year [i]. It may not, however, be amiſs, before we ſpeak of the parliamentary inquiry into the miſtakes in the management of the navy, to mention one or two extraordinary exploits at ſea, though of a private nature, and the rather, becauſe otherwiſe things of this kind, though in reſpect to the perſons who perform them very worthy of remembrance, muſt naturally ſink into oblivion.

On the 24th of February, a French privateer took a ſmall ſhip called the Friend's Adventure, belonging to the port of Exeter; and on the 29th captain Fitzgerald, who commanded the privateer, took out of her the maſter and five of his men, leaving none on board but the mate, Robert Lyde of Topſham,

[g] See Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, and the firſt volume of the ſtate tracts in the reign of king William.

[h] The reader will find this clearly explained hereafter.

[i] Burchet's memoirs, p. 167, 168. and naval hiſtory, p. 476.

a man of twenty-three years of age, and John Wright a boy of ſixteen, with ſeven Frenchmen, who had orders to navigate the ſhip to St. Maloe's. But, when they were off Cape La Hague, a ſtrong ſouth-eaſt wind drove them from the French coaſt; upon which the man and boy, on the 6th of March, took their opportunity, when two of the Frenchmen were at the pump, one at the helm, one on the forecaſtle, and three ſleeping in their cabbins, to attack them [k]. The mate with an iron crow killed one of the men at the pump, and knocked down the other at one blow; the boy at the ſame inſtant knocked down the man on the forecaſtle, and then they ſecured and bound the man at the helm. One of the Frenchmen, running up from between decks to the aſſiſtance of his companions, was wounded by the mate; but the two others, coming to his relief, ſeized, and had like to have ſecured him, if the boy had not come up briſkly to his aſſiſtance, and, after a ſharp ſtruggle, killed one, and gave the other quarter. Having thus made themſelves maſters of the ſhip, they put the two, who were diſabled by their wounds, into bed, ordered a third to look after them, and ſecured them between decks; one they kept bound in the ſteerage, and made uſe of the remaining man to navigate the veſſel, which on the 9th of March they brought ſafely into Topſham, with five priſoners on board [l].

About the ſame time one captain Richard Griffith, and his boy John Codanon, recovered their ſloop, called the Tryal, from five Frenchmen, put on board them by a captain of a man of war; and having wounded three, and forced all five down into the hold, brought the veſſel, with their priſoners, ſafe into Falmouth [m]. Theſe, though ſtrong teſtimonies of prodigious firmneſs of mind, and daring reſolution, yet at the ſame time ſhew, how much our trade was expoſed to the French privateers; and indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that it ſuffered far leſs in the prece-

[k] A true and exact account of the retaking a ſhip, called the Friend's Adventure, of Topſham, from the French, after ſhe had been taken ſix days; and they were upon the coaſts of France with it four days, where one Engliſhman and a boy ſet upon ſeven Frenchmen, killed two of them, took the other five priſoners, and brought the ſhip and them ſafe to England; their majeſties cuſtoms of the ſaid ſhip amounting to a thouſand pounds and upwards. Performed and written by Robert Lyde, mate of the ſame ſhip. London, 1693, 4to, p. 2.

[l] See the London Gazette, N° 2749.

[m] See the London Gazette, N° 2743.

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ding year, when the French were maſters at ſea, than in this, when their grand fleet was blocked up in their ports[n].

This circumſtance of our loſing ſo many ſhips, after ſo great a victory at ſea, excited much clamour, eſpecially among the merchants, though the reaſons aſſigned for it by the board of admiralty were very plauſible at leaſt, if not ſatisfactory. They ſaid, that the loſs the French ſuſtained ſo early in the year was the occaſion of their ſeamen being diſmiſſed the king's ſervice, and ſuffered to go on board privateers, which rendered them more numerous, and of greater force than ever, while, on the other hand, our keeping ſo great a fleet ſo long at ſea rendered it impoſſible for the admiralty to furniſh the merchants with proper convoys, at the ſame time that ſo large a number of men, as were employed on board the navy, forced our commanders of merchant-ſhips to proceed in their reſpective voyages worſe manned than uſual[o].

The king opened the ſeſſions of parliament on the 4th of November, in which he took notice both of their great ſucceſs, and great diſappointments at ſea, which gave occaſion to the ſubſequent inquiries. On the 11th the houſe of commons thanked admiral Ruſſel, in very ſtrong terms, for his courage and conduct in the affair of La Hogue; but this did not prevent a warm debate on account of the opportunities that were ſaid to be loſt after that ſignal victory[p]. The admiral furniſhed the houſe with all the letters, papers, and inſtructions that were neceſſary for their information, and entered into a large account of the whole affair. Then Sir John Aſhby was examined as to his not executing the orders that were given him to deſtroy the French ſhips which got into St. Maloe's. Sir John cleared himſelf ſo handſomely, and ſet the whole matter in ſo fair a light, that the ſpeaker, by order of the houſe, took notice of his ingenious be-

[n] This we find very ſtrongly inſiſted upon by biſhop Burnet in the hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 94.

[o] See Chandler's debates in the year 1692. My account is taken from a MS. entitled, Reflections on the preſent complaints of ill management at ſea.

[p] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 647. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p 103. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 78.

haviour

haviour at the bar, which gave ſuch ſatisfaction, that he was diſmiſſed from farther attendance [q].

Then the buſineſs of the deſcent was brought on the carpet, which was alſo thoroughly explained by the admiral, who ſhewed, that there were no leſs than twenty days intervened between his letter to the earl of Nottingham and his lordſhip's anſwer. The houſe of lords entered alſo into an examination of this matter, where the earl of Nottingham not only juſtified himſelf, but reflected very ſeverely upon admiral Ruſſel; and the houſe went ſo far into his reſentments, that, at a conference, they communicated to the commons ſome papers which the king, at that lord's requeſt, had directed to be laid before them. But this was ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that, immediately on the reading them, the commons reſolved, that admiral Ruſſel in his command of the fleet, during the laſt ſummer's expedition, had behaved himſelf with fidelity, courage, and conduct [r].

In theſe debates it appeared clearly to the houſe, that one great check on the public ſervice was the want of timely and ſufficient ſupplies; to remedy which in the ſucceeding year, they, on the 2d of December, reſolved, that the ſum of 1,926,516 l. be granted to their majeſties for the charge of the navy, including the charge of the ordnance, and the finiſhing their majeſties naval yard at Hamoſe near Plymouth, and the building four bomb-veſſels and eight new ſhips of the fourth rate [s]. They likewiſe took notice of admiral Ruſſel's inveighing againſt the want of knowledge in ſea-affairs in ſuch as pretended to direct them; and therefore a motion was made, that they ſhould come to a reſolution of addreſſing his majeſty to conſtitute a board of admiralty, compoſed of ſuch perſons as were of known experience

[q] See the votes of the houſe of commons, Chandler's debates, *&c.* So much eaſier it is to ſatisfy one of the houſes of parliament, than to eſcape a critical hiſtorian.

[r] See the votes. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 648. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 103. The biſhop ſays, that, notwithſtanding lord Nottingham aggravated the admiral's errors and neglects, the houſe juſtified him, and gave him thanks over and over again; and, with reſpect to the papers, that the commons did not deign to read them, but renewed their firſt votes that juſtified Ruſſel's fidelity, courage, and conduct.

[s] This ſhews a true Britiſh ſpirit; they join amendment with the diſcovery of the miſchief.

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in maritime affairs; but here the weight of the board, as it then ſtood, fully appeared, by its paſſing in the negative[t].

Yet, to ſhew their diſtaſte of the earl of Nottingham's interfering ſo much in maritime affairs, they addreſſed the king, that for the future all orders for the management of the fleet ſhould paſs through the hands of the commiſſioners of the admiralty[u]. But the admiral's victory here coſt him too high a price; for the king, conceiving that he had ſhewn a much greater concern for his own intereſt and reputation than for his ſervice, reſolved, notwithſtanding the great things he had done, to lay him aſide for the preſent, and employ ſuch as might make his affairs go eaſy; which deſign was executed ſoon after, though, as might have been readily foreſeen, it failed of ſucceſs[w].

The warmth the parliament had expreſſed in providing for the ſea-ſervice, joined to the clamour that had been raiſed on the defeat of the late expedition, obliged the king to take very early care of whatever related to the affairs of the navy, that nothing might hinder the ſending a ſtout fleet to ſea in the beginning of the ſpring. In the month of January, therefore, his majeſty was pleaſed to make a great change in the command of the fleet, in which he was ſuppoſed to follow chiefly the advice of the earl of Nottingham. Inſtead of appointing an admiral and commander in chief, he granted a commiſſion to Henry Killegrew, Eſq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, to execute that office[x]. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the two firſt were thought to be ſo much in king James's intereſt, that it was believed the king was putting the fleet into the hands of ſuch as would betray

[t] It was rightly foreſeen, that a lord high-admiral might be much more eaſily called to account than lords-commiſſioners, becauſe, whenever the latter is done, the commiſſioners (if they have ſeats in parliament) muſt act againſt themſelves. In this caſe the grand argument againſt the addreſs was, that it reflected on his majeſty's judgment, and ſo regard to compliment got the better of concern for the public.

[u] This addreſs had a right intention; for, as things were managed before, the admiral was frequently more puzzled to underſtand his orders, than to execute them: and, whenever diſputes aroſe about them, the admiral was ſure to ſuffer; for the ſecretary intrenched himſelf behind his directions; ſo that there was no coming at him but through the council.

[w] Biſhop Burnet repreſents the king's conduct in this reſpect in its true light, vol. ii. p. 103.

[x] London Gazette, N° 2839. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xiv. p. 231.

him;

him; for, though no exception lay againſt Shovel, yet he was but one to two[y]. Whether the biſhop's conjecture was well grounded or not, I cannot pretend to determine; but the event very fully proved, that ſuch a joint commiſſion was a very bad expedient. Soon after his majeſty made George Rooke, Eſq; vice-admiral of the red, and Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; rear-admiral of that ſquadron. John lord Berkley, vice-admiral, and David Mitchell, Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue; and theſe promotions were declared on the 8th of February following[z].

To give ſtill a higher proof of the king's concern for, and attention to this neceſſary part of the public ſervice, his majeſty ſoon after went down to Portſmouth, as well to take a view of the ſtate of the place and its fortifications, as to examine in perſon into the condition of that part of the fleet which was then there. On this occaſion his majeſty went on board the ſhip where vice-admiral Rooke had hoiſted his flag, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon that admiral; after which he returned to London very well ſatisfied as to the condition of the fleet at Spithead[a]. On the 12th of April the right honourable Anthony, lord-viſcount Falkland, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, baronet, Henry Prieſtman, Eſq; Robert Auſten, Eſq; Sir Robert Rich, baronet, Henry Killegrew, Eſq; and Sir Ralph Delaval, knight, were appointed commiſſioners of the admiralty[b].

The war in Flanders requiring his majeſty's preſence early in the ſpring, the admirals were inſtructed to make all poſſible diſpatch in getting out the fleet to ſea, to endeavour, if poſſible, to block up the enemy in their ports, eſpecially in Breſt, which was thought very practicable, and to take all poſſible care of the merchants. In order to comply with the firſt part of their charge, they began to take half the ſeamen out of privateers; but this, notwithſtanding the preſſing occaſions of the public, and the great ſcarcity of men, was thought ſo heavy a grievance, and was beſides ſo viſible a favour to the enemy, that it was dropped. Then five regiments of foot were put on board, with a view to the debarkment at Breſt, which was a ſcheme of ſome

y See his hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 104. z London Gazette, No 2843. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xiv. p. 232. a See the memoirs of Sir George Rooke in the fourth volume. b London Gazette, No 2861.

of the land-admirals, and was always thought, (what it afterwards appeared to be), by the ableſt of our ſeamen, a very dangerous, and at the ſame time a very impracticable project. Proviſions running ſcarce, a meſs was increaſed from four to ſix men; and yet, in ſpite of all theſe contrivances, they were not able to form a line of battle at St. Helen's till the 7th of May, 1693, which loſt them the opportunity of blocking up either of the French ſquadrons[c].

As to the merchants, their complaints grew ſtill louder than ever: ſuch as were concerned in the Levant or Mediterranean trade, had their ſhips lying waiting for a convoy many months, nay, ſome above a year and a half; and the excuſes they received from the admiralty were of ſuch a nature, as put it out of their power to judge when they might expect a convoy; for this, they were told, depended on the intelligence of the board, and the merchants were but too ſenſible they had no intelligence at all[d]. This, indeed, appears to have been the conſtant defect, and to have been pregnant with numberleſs misfortunes. It may deſerve conſideration, whether this is not incident to the very nature of ſuch a commiſſion. Perſons might be found, who would riſque correſponding with one great man; but to give informations to, or which may be laid before a whole board, and which may afterwards be called for by a houſe of commons, is ſcarce to be hoped for or expected. The ſingle remedy for this is to leave the procuring intelligence chiefly to the firſt lord, and impowering him to reward and to promiſe ſecrecy.

When the Engliſh and Dutch fleets joined, they made a formidable appearance, and every body expected ſomething very

[c] Burchet's memoirs, p. 166, 167.

[d] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 114, 115. See the preſent ſtate of Europe for the months of May and June, 1693, p. 193, 227. The complaints made by the merchants did not only run high, but were extremely well ſupported. They ſhewed, beyond the power of refutation, the folly of ſuffering ambition, intereſt, or intrigue, to prefer unqualified men to that board, which directed the naval power of England: and yet the miſchief was not, in truth could not, be amended, becauſe the more experienced people, who had been long in the ſervice, were thought diſaffected; and ſo it was feared the remedy might have proved worſe than the diſeaſe.

conſiderable would be performed [e]. It appeared, however, but too ſoon, that things were in their old condition; that, in ſhort, the admirals had not proper orders to warrant their doing any thing of moment, and were too much divided in their opinions, to undertake any thing of themſelves. In ſhort, the only thing they could reſolve on was, that Sir George Rooke ſhould command the ſquadron appointed to convoy the Mediterranean fleet, and that, in caſe they had no exact intelligence of the French ſquadrons, the fleet ſhould accompany Sir George into a certain latitude [f].

If this deſign had been executed as ſoon as it was formed and talked of, it had been honourable for the nation, and happy for the merchants; but the admirals were ſo timorous and diffident of their own power, that it was the beginning of June before they ſailed; and even then they had no intelligence of the enemy's motions, but took their meaſures at random: a circumſtance not raſhly to be aſſerted, and yet too important to be concealed, when ſupported by undeniable evidences [g].

The French, on the other hand, acted with greater prudence, in the diſpoſition of their naval ſtrength this year, than they had done during the continuance of the war. In order to repair the

[e] The line of battle publiſhed here and in Holland ſtood thus:

ENGLISH.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	Fire-ſhips.
Vice of the blue,	0	3	5	1	0	0	3
Admiral of the blue,	2	1	5	1	0	1	3
Rear of the blue,	0	2	6	1	0	0	2
Rear of the red,	1	2	5	1	0	0	2
Commander in chief,	3	1	5	1	2	2	3
	6	9	26	5	2	3	13

In all, 51.

DUTCH.							
Vice-admiral,	1	2	4	2	0	0	2
Admiral,	2	1	6	1	0	2	3
Vice-admiral,	3	0	4	3	0	1	1
	6	3	14	6	0	3	6

In all, 32.

[f] Burchet's memoirs, p. 181.

[g] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 481, 482. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 657. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 86. Life of king William, p. 363, 364. State tracts in the reign of K. William, and, in ſhort, all the memoirs of that time. Authors differ as to the preciſe time of the ſailing of this fleet. See the London Gazette, N° 2875, 2878.

mighty

mighty loſs he had ſuſtained at La Hogue, the French king bought ſeveral large ſhips, and turned them into men of war; cauſed ſuch as wanted repair to be put, during the winter, into a condition to go to ſea; and, that they might not be detained for want of men, he ſuſpended in a manner the whole trade of France for a year, by forbidding any ſhips to go to ſea till his ſquadrons were manned: laſtly, to raiſe the ſpirits of the ſeamen, as well as to encourage ſuch officers as had done their duty in the laſt unlucky engagement, he made a grand naval promotion, which had preciſely the effect he expected from it, and excited ſuch a ſpirit of diligence and emulation, as is eaſier to be conceived than deſcribed [h]. The reader will be convinced of the truth of this, when he is informed, that the French fleet ſailed from the ocean for the Mediterranean in the middle of the month of May, in three ſquadrons, conſiſting all together of ſeventy-one ſhips of war, beſides tenders, bomb-veſſels, and fire-ſhips; ſo that they were actually on the coaſt of Portugal, before our Smyrna fleet ſailed [i]. Almoſt all our writers agree, that the French fleet had very exact intelligence from hence, and laid their ſcheme for ſurpriſing this rich fleet very early in the winter. I cannot find any thing of this ſort in the French writers I have met with; and yet they are ready enough to magnify the policy of their court upon other occaſions: I would not, however, be underſtood to diſcredit what our authors ſay on this ſubject, ſince it is very probable they are in the right, and the French hiſtorians might either want proper information, or think it more glorious for the French arms to let this treacherous correſpondence paſs in ſilence [k].

The Engliſh fleet left Sir George Rooke with the Streight's ſquadron on the 6th of June in the evening, about fifty leagues W. S. W. off Uſhant, and returned to take up the cruizers, having all this time had no intelligence of the enemy. The lords of the admiralty at home, however, had an account directly from Portugal of M. Tourville's coming into Lagos-bay, be-

[h] Hiſt. militaire de Louis XIV. tome ii. p. 593, 705. Memoirs de Fourbin. P. Daniel. Limiers, tome ii. p. 577. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 426. [i] Burchet's memoirs, p. 183. Hiſt. militaire, tome ii. p. 707.
[k] Theſe points are fully cleared in the proceedings againſt Mr. Abraham Anſelm, ſecretary to the admirals Killegrew, Delaval, and Shovel, &c. 4to, 1694.

tween Cape St. Vincent and Faro, with no leſs than one hundred and fourteen ſail, great and ſmall. This exceedingly alarmed the government, and advice was inſtantly deſpatched to the fleet, which conſiſted now of ſixty-nine ſhips of the line of battle[l].

On the 23d of June a council of war was held at Torbay, in which it was reſolved to bear away for Liſbon directly, in caſe they could be properly victualled; but, to prevent all danger, orders were immediately deſpatched to Sir George Rooke, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. If this reſolution had been purſued, and the fleet had actually ſailed for Liſbon, ſomething might have been done worthy of the Engliſh nation. But upon the 1ſt of July another council of war was held, in which, though the queen's orders were produced for their executing what themſelves had before propoſed, yet the flags came to a new reſolution, which was to ſubmit it to her majeſty, whether, if the French ſquadrons were joined, and ſhould ſail north-about, the coaſts of England might not be expoſed to ſome inſult during their abſence[m].

This was doing what they had always charged the council with doing, *viz.* altering their ſcheme when it ought to be put in execution. They knew well enough, that a hint of the coaſt being in danger would be ſufficient to prevent their quitting it; and this was certainly what they now intended, and might eaſily have been diſcerned to be, what its conſequences ſhewed it, a weak and ruinous meaſure, which expoſed Sir George Rooke, and the rich fleet under his care, to be attacked by the whole force of France, while we had a ſuperior fleet riding, to no purpoſe in the world, in our channel. But it is now time to leave it, and ſpeak of the conduct and fortune of that vice-admiral on this critical occaſion. All theſe diſaſters proceeded from the factions then ſubſiſting, when every officer acted according to the humour of his patron in the miniſtry; and, as there was a ſtrange diſagreement in the public councils, this produced a like want of harmony amongſt thoſe who commanded the fleet.

[l] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 483. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 115, 116. London Gazette, N° 2883. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xv. p. 83, 94, 95. [m] Burchet's memoirs, p. 185.

It

It has been before obſerved, that the grand fleet quitted Sir George Rooke on the 6th of June, 1693, without having at that time any certain intelligence either of the force of the French ſquadrons, or where they were ſailed; which put that admiral under very great difficulties, and therefore we cannot wonder, that he expreſſed ſome concern at the great riſk the numerous fleet of merchantmen, under his convoy, was like to run [n]. It is true, his ſquadron was very ſtrong, conſiſting of no leſs than twenty-three men of war, and he had under him two flag-officers of great courage and experience, *viz.* the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes and rear-admiral Hopſon. But then the merchantmen under his care were near four hundred, and theſe not only Engliſh and Dutch, but Danes, Swedes, Hamburghers, Flemings, *&c.* ſo that our reputation as a maritime power was in a manner ſtaked for their ſafety [o].

When he left the fleet, he had a very fair and ſtrong gale of wind, which carried him at ſuch a rate as prevented any of the advice-boats, ſent with thoſe freſh inſtructions we mentioned, from coming up with him; and he was ſo unlucky too as not to meet with any ſhips at ſea that could give him notice of marſhal Tourville's fleet being in that part of the world. In this ſituation of things he purſued, as was his duty, his original inſtructions; and having left by the way the veſſels bound for Bilboa, Liſbon, St. Ubes, and other places, he continued his courſe for the Streights [p].

[n] Burchet's memoirs, p. 185. See this matter farther explained in our memoirs of Sir George Rooke.

[o] Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, and the ſtate of Europe for July 1693.

[p] The new orders ſent him were to this purpoſe, that, in caſe he was obliged to go into the river of Liſbon, and received certain intelligence during his ſtay there, that the Toulon ſquadron had joined the reſt of the French fleet, and were together gone northward from the coaſt of Portugal, he ſhould leave a proper number of ſhips, both Engliſh and Dutch, to proceed up the Streights with the Turky fleet, and himſelf return with the reſt, and join the body of our fleet in thoſe ſeas; and, not meeting them in his paſſage, to make the port of Plymouth, and there expect farther orders. But theſe inſtructions could be of no uſe to him, ſince they were not ſent till the 23d, and he fell in with the French three days afterwards. Secretary Burchet indeed ſays, they were ſent the 3d of June; but his own account ſhews that to be impoſſible, ſince he owns, that Sir George did not quit the grand fleet till the 6th.

On

On the 15th of June he ordered the Lark, a ſixth rate man of war, and a prime ſailer, to ſtretch a-head of his ſcouts in Lagos-bay, to get what intelligence they could of the enemy; but, through ſome overſight in the captain, this was not properly executed. The next day the ſcouts diſcovered two of the enemy's ſhips, and engaged them in the afternoon, till, perceiving eight or ten ſail under the cape, they thought fit to quit the Frenchmen, to inform the admiral of what they had ſeen. Upon this a council of war was called, in which the admiral's opinion, for lying by till the enemy's ſtrength could be known, was over-ruled [q].

On the 17th, about break of day, ten ſail of French men of war were diſcovered, with ſome ſmall ſhips, which were chaſed by part of the Engliſh ſquadron, and a fire-ſhip taken, the crew of which poſitively aſſerted, that the whole ſquadron, though there were three flags amongſt them, conſiſted of no more than fifteen ſhips of the line. About noon the falſity of this aſſertion was diſcovered, and Sir George Rooke eaſily counted eighty ſail of men of war. Sixteen of theſe (amongſt which were three flags) plied up to the Engliſh ſquadron, while the vice-admiral of the white ſtood off to ſea, that he might fall in among the merchant-ſhips [r].

The Dutch vice-admiral about three o'clock ſent a meſſage to Sir George, that being now ſenſible of the ſtrength of the French fleet, which he doubted before, as well as of their deſign, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to avoid fighting, as it could only tend to their abſolute ruin. At this time they were within four miles of the enemy, and it was the ſentiment of Sir George himſelf, that they were too far advanced to think of retreating; and therefore, before he received this meſſage, he was reſolved to puſh for it; but conſidering afterwards, that, if the Dutch admiral had formed a right judgment, and both the ſquadron and the fleet under their convoy ſhould ſuffer greatly

[q] This ſeems to have been the principal cauſe of all the miſchief that afterwards followed. Indeed the admiral was ſo ſenſible of the dangerous conſequences that might attend the not taking this ſtep, as to call in five or ſix captains who were on board his ſhip by chance, in order to have their opinions; and they agreeing with the council of war, he was forced to ſubmit after all, directly contrary to his judgment. See the London Gazette hereafter cited.

[r] Burchet's memoirs, p. 189. See alſo captain Littleton's letter in the ſtate of Europe for the month of Auguſt, 1693.

by

by this meaſure, the blame would fall entirely on himſelf, he brought to, and ſtood off with an eaſy ſail, that the Dutch and the heavy ſhips might work up to the windward. He, at the ſame time, ſent orders to the ſmall ſhips that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in the night to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. This was all that was in the power of the admiral to do, and it is certain, that theſe orders were extremely well calculated for leſſening, as much as poſſible, the misfortune; and it ſhewed great preſence of mind in Sir George Rooke, to provide ſo wiſely for the moſt diſtant part of the fleet, when himſelf and thoſe about him were in ſuch imminent danger [s].

The admiral and vice-admiral of the blue, with about ten ſail of the enemy's fleet, fetched up the Engliſh ſquadron very faſt, ſo that about ſix in the evening they came up with two Dutch men of war, and ſome merchant-ſhips of that nation. The men of war were commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel, who finding themſelves under the wind, and therefore in no probability of eſcaping, tacked in for the ſhore, and thereby drew the enemy after them, which ſaved the reſt of the fleet. The Dutch captains made a moſt gallant and deſperate defence, but were at laſt overpowered by numbers, and taken [t].

[s] Burchet's memoirs, p. 190. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuart's, vol. ii. p. 86. Account in the London Gazette. Le Clerc hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, tome iii. p. 426.

[t] It is very ſtrange, that even our beſt hiſtorians ſhould be ſo inaccurate as to their dates. According to Burchet, this engagement happened on the eighteenth of June; according to biſhop Kennet, it muſt have been the ſixteenth. One would have thought the former moſt like to be in the right, on account of the opportunities given him by his office; and the rather in this particular, becauſe I am ſatisfied he copied Sir George Rooke's narrative: and yet he is abſolutely wrong, as appears not only from other accounts, but from his own. The marquis de Quincy places this action on the twenty-ſeventh, N. S. that is the ſeventeenth, and it muſt have happened on that day, even according to Burchet's account; for he tells us, that the day after the engagement was Sunday: now it appears that the eighteenth of June, 1693, fell on a Sunday; conſequently the action muſt have happened on the ſeventeenth, and ſo, indeed, Sir George Rooke's original account, and all the papers of thoſe times, have it, as hath alſo the London Gazette, N° 2888. in which the reader will find the relation publiſhed by authority. See likewiſe the London Gazette, N° 2893.

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The admiral ſtood off all night, having a freſh gale at N. N. W. and the next morning found fifty-four ſhips about him, among which were only two Dutch, and one Hamburgher. Five ſail of the enemy's ſhips appeared to the leeward, and two to the windward, which laſt dogged him all day. On the nineteenth Sir George Rooke ſent for the officers of the men of war, and merchant-ſhips, on board, in order to get the beſt account he could of the ſtate they were in, and to concert the moſt proper meaſures for ſecuring the remainder. In this council, moſt of the officers preſent were for going either to Liſbon, or bearing away for Ireland. The admiral, however, conſidering that they had not water enough on board, to enable them to carry the laſt-mentioned ſcheme into execution, and having alſo ſome hopes of meeting with part of his ſcattered fleet at the Madeiras, he determined to ſail thither; which he accordingly performed [u].

If the enemy, in executing this deſign of theirs, had ſhewed the ſame dexterity as in contriving, it is not eaſy to conceive how any part of the fleet of merchant-men could have been ſaved. But whether their admirals made a wrong diſpoſition, or whether their orders were but indifferently obeyed, certain it is, that they did not ſtrike near ſo heavy a blow as they might have done. Yet the miſchief they did was very great, and ſeverely felt both by the Engliſh and Dutch trade. According to ſome accounts, beſides four of the largeſt Smyrna ſhips, which M. Coetlogon burnt or ſunk at Gibraltar, and ſeven which he took, M. de Tourville and the count d'Eſtrees took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace, and an Engliſh man of war; took twenty-nine merchant-men, and deſtroyed about fifty more [w]. The value of the cargoes, and the men of war together, might amount to one million ſterling, or thereabouts; whereas the French, if they had taken the whole fleet, (as, conſidering their prodigious ſuperiority, they might eaſily have done), muſt have been gainers of upwards of four millions. As it

[u] Burchet's memoirs, p. 196. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 116. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, London Gazette, N° 2895.

[w] Kennet, Burnet; but more particularly the Preſent State of Europe, for the year 1693.

was, the loſs fell very heavy upon us, without much enriching them [x].

The French writers treat this affair as one of the moſt glorious actions ever performed by their arms at ſea. M. de Quincy gives us a very conciſe account of the engagement, and then runs into a long detail of the prizes that were taken, and of the rich cargoes with which they were laden. He ſeems to be miſtaken in many circumſtances; particularly in reporting our ſquadron to have conſiſted of twenty-ſeven men of war, and theſe too he makes much larger ſhips than they were. Father Daniel informs us, that M. Tourville at firſt apprehended the whole confederate fleet to have been ready to attack him; and, as he had not yet joined count d'Eſtrees, he thought proper to detach twenty ſail of ſtout ſhips to fall upon the Engliſh, in caſe they proved the Smyrna fleet, and diſpoſed the reſt of his ſhips in the beſt order poſſible for ſupporting them. This, he ſays, was executed ſo vigorouſly, that ſixty merchant-men were burnt, ſunk, or run aſhore, and twenty-ſeven taken [y].

The different relations publiſhed at that time admit a great miſmanagement in the French commanders; ſome of them charge it upon M. Tourville, others on M. Gabaret [z]. The truth ſeems to be, that M. Tourville's orders for ſtretching out to ſea, at the beginning of the action, were not well obeyed; and that the preſſing ſo hard on the two Dutch men of war, and the ſhips that remained with them, was a falſe ſtep they could never afterwards recover. In order, however, to hide

[x] I ground my computation on the account given by the Dutch writers; for, notwithſtanding the noiſe this affair made in England, and its becoming afterwards, as the reader will find, the ſubject of a parliamentary inquiry; yet no certain or exact account was ever publiſhed here.

[y] Theſe accounts are to be found in the Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. ii. p. 708. and in the Hiſtoire de la milice Françoiſe, tom. ii. p. 492. As to the account taken from the memoirs of the count de Fourbin, upon which ſome of our writers lay a great ſtreſs, I muſt confeſs I do not believe it, becauſe I am convinced thoſe memoirs are not genuine.

[z] I meet with this in the Gazettes and Journals of thoſe times, which ſay, that M. Tourville threw the blame upon Gabaret, as not punctually obeying his orders; as, on the other hand, Gabaret charged it on the marſhal, as not acting vigorouſly enough, which reflection is ſaid to have put him upon expoſing himſelf in ſuch a manner at Malaga, as had like to have coſt him his life.

theſe miſtakes from the eyes of the people of France, and to magnify the advantage gained to the utmoſt, a pompous account was printed at Toulon, full of very extraordinary circumſtances, and ſwelling the loſs of the Engliſh and Dutch to the amount of ſixty millions of livres; that is, to about three times as much as it really was[a]. The modeſty and impartiality of the Dutch accounts of this unfortunate affair, deſerve particular notice. They ſtate the loſs very near as high as the beſt French writers; but at the ſame time they confeſs it had been much greater, but for the prudence of Sir George Rooke, on whoſe conduct they beſtow ſuch praiſes, as a complete victory would ſcarce have extorted from his countrymen. I am, however, inclined to think he deſerved them; becauſe even biſhop Burnet, who was no great friend to that admiral, does not pretend to find out one wrong ſtep in this whole proceeding[b].

But the conſequences of this engagement were no leſs fatal than the action itſelf; for M. Tourville, to make amends for letting ſo great a part of the Engliſh fleet eſcape, reſolved to do his utmoſt to take or deſtroy ſuch ſhips as had retired into the Spaniſh ports. With this view, he came on the twentieth of July before Malaga, and ſent a meſſage to the governor, that he had no deſign to injure the town, unleſs they attempted to defend the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips; in which caſe he would bombard it. The governor anſwered, he had the king of Spain's orders to protect them, and therefore, as his duty required, he would do it to the utmoſt of his power. There were four Dutch ſhips and one Engliſh in the mole, which he

[a] An extract of this account I have ſeen and read; and which, though calculated to do honour to the French nation, does in reality much more to the Dutch; for it is confeſſed, that eighteen French ſhips had much ado to maſter two of the ſtates men of war.

[b] The ſieur du Mont, who then wrote a political journal in Holland, gives this account of the matter.

"This is certain, that they miſſed the greateſt part of the convoy, and that "Sir George Rooke, upon this occaſion, acquired infinitely more honour than "thoſe who commanded the French fleet. While the one, though unable to "reſiſt ſuch as attacked him, in the midſt of threatening dangers, by his pru-"dence, dexterity, and courage, ſaved the beſt part of the fleet committed to "his charge, at a time that others ſuffered themſelves to be deprived, by the "ſuperior ſkill of this admiral, of a booty, which, if they could have kept "fortune put into their hands."

attacked

attacked with great fury[c]. The men on board the ſhips made a long and gallant defence, eſpecially the Union frigate, which the French twice attempted to burn, and were as often repulſed. But when it appeared a thing impoſſible to preſerve the ſhips any longer, againſt ſo unequal a force, the maſters thought proper to bore holes and ſink them[d].

To Cadiz they ſent a ſquadron of fourteen men of war, and two bomb-ketches, and ſoon after followed with the whole fleet. But they were able to effect little; for the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips immediately retired out of the road into the port, where they were ſo well protected by the cannon of the place, that the French were forced to content themſelves with burning two ſhips they had intercepted in the road, and had hindered from getting in with the reſt[e]. At Gibraltar, after an obſtinate defence, ſeveral rich ſhips were burnt and ſunk, together with a Dutch man of war. The marquis de Quincy, after relating theſe exploits particularly, tells us, that marſhal Tourville ſent twenty-four prizes into Toulon, and computes the whole loſs at thirty-ſix millions of livres, or thereabouts[f]. It is now time to return to admiral Rooke, and the care taken by him of the remainder of the fleet of merchantmen under his protection.

When he formed a reſolution of going to the Madeiras, he ſent home the Lark man of war with the news of his misfortune, and then continued his courſe for thoſe iſlands, where he

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 489. London Gazette, N° 2895. Quincy hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 597, 598. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom xv. p. 332.

[d] Some have condemned this, as done too haſtily; but, without queſtion, the next thing to preſerving a ſhip and cargo, is deſtroying it in time.

[e] According to a Spaniſh liſt printed at Seville, the ſhips preſerved here were three Engliſh men of war, ſixteen merchant-men, two Dutch men of war, eleven merchant ſhips, three Danes, two Hamburghers, one Swede, one Oſtender, and one Venetian. Burchet reflects, notwithſtanding this, on the governor of Cadiz; but, for all that I can find, without any reaſon; for, as to ſending M. Tourville ſome freſh proviſions for his own table, I look upon it as an act of civility, not of treachery.

[f] The marquis ſteers in the middle. Marſhal Tourville's own account ſays, the maſters of the ſhips that were taken, computed the loſs at twenty millions; and the relation publiſhed by authority at Toulon, ſpeaks of ſixty millions.

found at his arrival the Monk, captain Fairborne, and no other ſhip[g]. After taking in water, and what elſe he had occaſion for there, on the twenty-ſeventh of June he ſailed for Ireland, and, on the twenty-ninth of July 1693, he arrived ſafely at Corke, with about fifty ſail of ſhips of all ſorts, men of war and merchant-men[h]. Soon after his arrival he received orders from the admirals, to ſend ſix of the largeſt ſhips to the fleet, and to go with the reſt to Kingſale. But Sir George, conceiving that little ſervice could be expected from the latter, becauſe they were in a very bad condition, choſe therefore to ſend them under the command of captain Fairborne to Kingſale, and went in perſon with the ſix men of war to the fleet[i], of the proceedings of which, from the time of Sir George Rooke's departure, we are next to ſpeak, though that is both a difficult and unpleaſant ſubject.

The flag-officers held a council of war on the ninth of July, in which it was reſoved to ſail forty leagues S. W. of Uſhant, and there to conſider what would be the next convenient ſtep for intercepting the enemy's fleet in their return from the Mediterranean. In purſuance of this reſolution, they put to ſea two days after: but were ſo terribly ruffled by a ſtorm, that they were forced to return into Torbay. Upon the ſeventeenth, the wind proving fair, they put to ſea again, and proceeded to their intended ſtation, from whence they ſent out light ſhips in ſearch of Sir George Rooke, and to cruize on the Spaniſh coaſt, in order to get ſome intelligence of the enemy. The former carried the orders we have before mentioned to the admiral; but the latter were not ſo lucky as to give any light into the proceedings of the French fleet[k].

While things were in this condition, an accident happened which might have been attended with very ill conſequences.

[g] Burchet's memoirs, p. 196.

[h] The ſieur du Mont, in his memoirs for the month of Auguſt, 1693, ſays, Sir George Rooke arrived with twelve ſail of Engliſh and Dutch men of war, and between forty and fifty ſail of merchant ſhips. See alſo the London Gazettes, N° 2894, 2895.

[i] Burchet's memoirs, p. 196, 197. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 116. Preſent ſtate of Europe for Auguſt, 1693, p. 298. [k] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 499.

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Our fleet had ſailed when they were very indifferently furniſhed with proviſions, upon a promiſe that theſe ſhould be immediately ſent after them. In the beginning of the month of Auguſt, fifty veſſels, laden with proviſions, proceeded from the river of Thames in queſt of the fleet, under the convoy of two Engliſh and five Dutch men of war: but the fleet being forced from their ſtation, they not only miſſed them, but loſt their convoy. They met, however, with Sir George Rooke's ſquadron, in its paſſage from Kingſale, and he brought them ſafe to the fleet on the ſixteenth of Auguſt[l]; and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month they had orders to return to St. Helen's, where they put the four regiments, that had been on board the whole ſummer, on ſhore; and then the fleet was diſperſed, having done as little for the honour of the Engliſh nation, as any fleet that ever was fitted out[m].

On the nineteenth of September 1693, fifteen Dutch ſhips of the line of battle, and two frigates, were ordered by his majeſty to Holland; and twenty-ſix men of war, and ſeven fire-ſhips, were aſſigned for the winter guard[n], which it was then thought would have put an end to the military operations of this year; but it ſoon after appeared, that there was yet a ſecret expedition to be attempted, in order to ſoften a little the joy of the French for having taken the Smyrna fleet[o].

On the thirteenth of November, commodore Benbow, in conjunction with captain Philips, the engineer, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-veſſels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, ſailed for St. Maloe's, where they arrived on the ſixteenth, and about four in the afternoon anchored before Quince-fort. Three of the bomb-veſſels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in, and anchored within half a mile of the town. About eleven they began to fire, and continued firing till four in the morning, when they were conſtrained to warp, to prevent grounding. On the ſeventeenth they went in again, and threw ſeventy bombs that day. They continued firing on

[l] London Gazette, N° 2898. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. xv. p. 341. Memoirs of admiral Rooke. [m] London Gazette, N° 2901. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 116. [n] Burchet's memoirs, p. 201. [o] It is remarkable that this is not ſo much as mentioned by ſecretary Burchet. See the Preſent ſtate of Europe for 1693, p. 404.

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the eighteenth, but with frequent intermiſſions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw: however, they landed on an iſland near the town, and burnt a convent. On the nineteenth, being Sunday, they lay ſtill till the evening, when, by the favour of a freſh gale of wind, a ſtrong tide, and a very dark night, they ſent in an extraordinary fire-ſhip [p], of about three hundred tons burden, (which the French will have to be a monſtrous machine), and which was intended to have reduced the town to aſhes; and indeed would have done it, but for an unforeſeen accident, for ſhe ſtruck upon a rock, within piſtol-ſhot of the place where they intended to have moored her.

The engineer, who was on board, did all he could to get her off, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, finding the veſſel begin to open, and fearing ſhe might ſink, he ſet fire to her. The ſea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcaſſes from taking fire. The exploſion, however, was terrible beyond deſcription; it ſhook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glaſs and earthen ware for three leagues round, and ſtruck off the roofs of three hundred houſes. The moſt extraordinary thing of all was this, that the capſtern of the veſſel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a houſe it fell upon down to the ground [q]. The greateſt part of the walls towards the ſea fell down

[p] I take theſe particulars from commodore Benbow's account. See London Gazette, N° 2927. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. xv. p. 669. Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 661.

[q] The French writers ſay, that this was one of thoſe dreadful machines ſtyled infernals; which the Dutch made uſe of to deſtroy the bridge over the Scheidt, when the prince of Parma ſeized Antwerp, in the year 1585. The reader will perceive, by the following deſcription, that it was in fact a fire-ſhip, contrived to operate when moored cloſe to the town walls. It was a new ſhip of about three hundred, or, as M. de Quincy ſays, three hundred and fifty tons. At the bottom of the hold were a hundred barrels of powder; theſe were covered with pitch, ſulphur, roſin, tow, ſtraw, and faggots; over which lay beams bored through, to give air to the fire; and upon theſe lay three hundred carcaſſes filled with grenadoes, chain-ſhot, iron bullets, piſtols loaded, and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glaſs bottles. There were ſix holes or mouths, to let out the flames, which were ſo vehement, as to conſume the hardeſt ſubſtances; and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the engineer, who contrived this veſſel, was

down alſo; and if there had been a ſufficient number of land-troops on board, the place might with eaſe have been taken and pillaged. As it was, they demoliſhed Quince-fort, carried off eighty priſoners, and frightened moſt of the people out of the town. This expedition was well timed, and well executed. It ſtruck a panic into the inhabitants of St. Maloe's, whence the moſt troubleſome of the French privateers were fitted out, and it ſerved to awake that whole nation from their golden dreams of the empire of the ſea, by ſhewing them what a very ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips could do, when commanded by men of reſolution and experience.

The king returned to England in the latter end of the month of October, 1693, under the eſcort of a ſmall ſquadron of men of war, commanded by rear-admiral Mitchel[r]. On the ſixth of November, his majeſty declared his reſolution to employ admiral Ruſſel the next year at ſea[s]. On the ſeventh the parliament met, and his majeſty opened the ſeſſions with a ſpeech[t], which began thus: "I am always glad to meet you "here, and I could heartily wiſh that our ſatisfaction were not "leſſened at preſent, by reflecting upon the diſadvantages we "have received this year at land, and the miſcarriages in our "affairs at ſea. I think it is evident, that the former were "only occaſioned by the great number of our enemies, which "exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, "which has brought ſo great a diſgrace upon the nation, I "have reſented it extremely[u]; and, as I will take care that "thoſe

was blown up in her; becauſe they found the body of a man, well dreſſed, upon the ſhore, and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition. He was, however, only a mate to one of the veſſels.

[r] London Gazette, N° 2919. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. xv. p. 589. [s] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 657. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 123. London Gazette, N° 2921.

[t] London Gazette, N° 2921.

[u] There had been an inquiry ſet on foot before the council, as appears from the following notice, printed in the London Gazette, October 26th, 1693, N° 2917.

"Whereas a report had been raiſed, and ſpread, by Henry Killegrew, Eſq; "Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, admirals of their majeſties "fleet, that the right honourable the lord viſcount Falkland, one of the lords of "their majeſties moſt honourable privy council, (he was alſo at the head of the "admiralty),

" thoſe who have not done their duty ſhall be puniſhed, ſo I " am reſolved to uſe my utmoſt endeavours that our power at " ſea may be rightly managed for the future. And it may well " deſerve your conſideration, whether we are not defective " both in the number of our ſhipping, and in proper ports to " the weſtward, for the better annoying our enemies and pro- " tecting our trade, which is ſo eſſential to the welfare of this " kingdom." Upon this the houſe of commons came unanimouſly to a reſolution, that they would ſupport their majeſties and their government, inquire into the miſcarriages of the fleet in the preceding ſummer, and conſider of all poſſible ways and means for conſerving the trade of the nation.

The houſe of commons, to ſhew they were in earneſt, examined all the admirals ſtrictly, particularly Sir George Rooke, though he was ſo ill as to be ſcarce able to ſpeak, and withal ſo lame of the gout, that a chair was ſet for him at the bar of the houſe. On the ſeventeenth of November they came to a reſolution, " That, upon examination of the miſcarriage of the " fleet, this houſe is of opinion, that there hath been a noto- " rious and treacherous miſmanagement in that affair." Yet, afterwards, a negative was put on a reſolution to cenſure the admirals commanding in chief; and ſo, by degrees, after much noiſe and clamour, the matter blew over.

Two circumſtances contributed principally to their ſafety; the firſt was, that it could not be made clear to the houſe, that the admirals had information of the Breſt ſquadron's putting to ſea on the 11th of May, though it was evident that ſuch advice had been given to the privy-council; the ſecond, that the lord Falkland, who was very active in this proſecution of the admirals, fell under the diſpleaſure of the houſe for very indirect practices in relation to the navy; which gave the more offence, becauſe he was at that time firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty. Upon

" admiralty), did, upon reading a paper at the board, ſtifle ſomething that was " material to their juſtification; the lords of the council, having conſidered " and examined into the matter, are ſatisfied, and do declare, that the report " is falſe and ſcandalous. Although, upon the ſaid examination, it did alſo ap- " pear, that ſomething happened which might miſlead the admirals into that er- " ror. And it is ordered in council, that this be printed and publiſhed in the " Gazette."

the whole, regard to truth obliges me to ſay, that there was enough done in this affair to irritate and inflame, and very little to calm or ſatisfy the nation; which laſt, however, ought to be the end of all parliamentary inquiries [w].

But, notwithſtanding the admirals eſcaped, yet many things were laid open in the houſe of commons, which reflected extremely on the management of the navy. It appeared, particularly, that the ſum of 1,036,415 l. was due for ſeamen's wages. This ſtruck the houſe with aſtoniſhment, and accounted at the ſame time very fully for the backwardneſs of the ſailors in entering into the public ſervice. To provide a remedy for ſo great an evil, and to encourage the ſeamen for the future, the commons voted 500,000 l. towards the diſcharge of the debt, and 2,000,000 l. for the ſervice of the fleet, that his majeſty might

[w] What biſhop Burnet ſays on this ſubject is ſo conciſe, and at the ſame time ſo ſtrong, and to the purpoſe, that I think myſelf obliged to lay it before the reader for his farther information:

"The inquiry into the conduct at ſea, particularly with relation to the Smyrna "fleet, took up much time, and held long. Great exceptions were taken to "the many delays, by which it ſeemed a train was laid, that they ſhould not "get out of our ports, till the French were ready to ly in their way, and inter- "cept them. Our want of intelligence was much complained of: the inſtruc- "tions, that the admirals who commanded the fleet had received from the cabi- "net-council, were thought ill given, and yet worſe executed. Their orders "ſeemed weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective: nor had they ſhewed any "zeal in doing more than ſtrictly to obey ſuch orders: they had very cautiouſly "kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a tittle "They had uſed no diligence to get certain information concerning the French "fleet, whether it was ſtill in Breſt, or had ſailed out. But in that important "matter they had truſted general and uncertain reports too eaſily. Nor had "they ſailed far enough with Rooke to ſee him paſt danger. To all this their "anſwer was, that they had obſerved their orders: they had reaſon to think the "French were ſtill in Breſt; that therefore it was not ſafe to ſail too far from "the coaſt of England, when they had, as they underſtood, ground to believe, "that they had left behind them a great naval force, which might make an im- "preſſion on our coaſt, when they were at too great a diſtance from it. The "getting certain intelligence from Breſt was repreſented as impracticable. They "had many ſpecious things to ſay in their own defence, and many friends to "ſupport them: for it was now the buſineſs of one party to accuſe, and of an- "other to juſtify their conduct. In concluſion, there was not ground ſufficient "to condemn the admirals, ſince they had followed their inſtructions: ſo a vote "paſſed in their favour."

be able to perform the promiſe he had made them of taking care that things ſhould go next year better at ſea[x]. His majeſty alſo made ſeveral changes in the miniſtry, which gave great ſatisfaction; for the late inquiries had made it evident, that the dependants on ſome great men were principally concerned in giving information to the French of all our motions: a conduct which, however coloured or clouded, was a moſt groſs and glaring treaſon againſt their country, ſuch as ought to have drawn upon them the ſevereſt puniſhments while living, and which deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity with a proper note of infamy, to prevent like practices in ſucceeding times.

Before we ſpeak of the naval operations of the year 1694, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the ſending Sir Francis Wheeler with his ſquadron into the Mediterranean, as that was a meaſure not only concerted, but executed in the preceding year, though its being altogether independent of other affairs made it not ſo proper to mention it before. The great blow the Engliſh and Dutch commerce had received there by the intercepting the Smyrna fleet, and the danger there was in leaving the remains of that fleet any longer in Spaniſh harbours, engaged the board of admiralty to ſend their orders for Sir Francis Wheeler to proceed with a ſquadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with a Dutch vice-admiral and his ſquadron, to the Mediterranean, where he had inſtructions to uſe his utmoſt endeavour to procure the ſafe return of the plate-fleet into Cadiz; then he was to leave a ſufficient convoy for bringing home the ſhips in that port to England: he was next to convoy the Turkey ſhips as far as the channel of Malta; then, in conjunction with the Spaniſh fleet, he was to annoy the enemy's trade, till he judged his detached ſhips were about to return, and, after joining them at the appointed place of rendezvous, he was to bring back with him all the merchant-ſhips ready to ſail from any of the ports in the Streights, or from Cadiz[y].

On

[x] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 658, 659. The preſent ſtate of Europe for November 1693, p. 448. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 418, 420.

[y] Theſe inſtructions may be found at large in Burchet's memoirs, p. 201. and are indiſputably thoſe given to the admiral. But the French publiſhed abundance of

On the 27th of November, in purſuance of theſe inſtructions, he ſailed, and on the 4th of December ſent the ſhips bound to Oporto thither under a convoy, as two days after he did thoſe bound for Liſbon and St. Ubes; and, having by his vigilance prevented a deſign of the French to intercept part of the merchant-ſhips under his convoy, he arrived on the 19th of January in the bay of Cadiz, having loſt company in his paſſage with only one of a hundred and ſixty-five ſhips which ſailed with him from England [z]. So happy was the beginning of an expedition, which proved afterwards ſo unfortunate!

On the admiral's arriving at Cadiz, he found the Spaniſh fleet in no condition to ſail, but had the ſatisfaction of finding the flota ſafely arrived [a]. On the 25th of January rear-admiral Neville joined him with the ſhips he had ordered to cruize off Cape St. Vincent, together with the detached convoys which the French in vain had endeavoured to intercept. Sir Francis Wheeler, upon this, appointed a ſquadron of four Engliſh and as many Dutch men of war, with a fire-ſhip, under the command of vice-admiral Hopſon, to bring home the merchant-ſhips that were ready, and on the 10th of February ſailed with the reſt of the ſquadron to execute the remaining part of his inſtructions. On the 17th of the ſame month, being off the bay of Gibraltar, and having been driven out of the Streights-mouth, he met with a ſtorm, which increaſed till the 19th in the morning, when the admiral, ſeeing the Gut, ſtood away for it, and made a proper ſignal to the reſt of the fleet, and was followed by vice-admiral Callemberg, who firſt ſaw his ſignal, and other ſhips. But they, having the bay of Gibraltar open, and in all probability miſtaking it for the ſtreights-mouth, put in there, which occaſioned their unhappy misfortune; for it being a lee ſhore, foul ground, and their ſails flying into the air, they were forced to let go their

of ſtrange ſtories about Sir Francis Wheeler's commiſſion, ſuch as that he intended to bombard Genoa, in order to force that republic to comply with the demands of the king of Spain; that he had views on the pope's territories, and whatever elſe they thought might contribute to incenſing the Italian princes.

[z] See the preſent ſtate of Europe for January, 1694. [a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 206.

anchors, of which many were loſt, moſt of their cables ſpoiled, and ſeveral of their ſhips run on ſhore [b].

In the mean time the Suſſex, on board which the admiral was, foundered at ſea, and himſelf, with all his crew, to the number of five hundred and fifty, were loſt, only two Turks eſcaping. The admiral's body was ſoon after found on a ſand-bank, in his ſhirt and ſlippers: it was gueſſed from thence, that, ſeeing the ſhip about to ſink, he intended to have thrown himſelf into the ſea, and attempt to ſave himſelf by ſwimming [c]. The whole ſquadron ſuffered extremely, and were obliged to remain, by contrary winds, a long time at Gibraltar, and at length, in the beginning of May, ſailed for Cadiz [d]. In the mean time vice-admiral Hopſon, in purſuance of the orders before-mentioned, ſailed with the homeward-bound ſhips, and arrived ſafely off the Lizard on the 5th of April, 1694 [e].

We have before obſerved, one of the firſt ſteps taken by king William after his return from Flanders, and his hearing of the unfortunate affair of the Smyrna fleet, was the appointing Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; admiral and commander in chief of the fleet which ſhould put to ſea the next ſpring. As a farther teſtimony of his majeſty's confidence in that great man, he directed a new commiſſion of admiralty, wherein Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; Sir John

[b] The particulars of this misfortune may be ſeen in the following liſt:

	Men.
The Cambridge, a ſhip of 70 guns, run aſhore about four in the morning, and loſt,	100
The Lumley Caſtle, loſt,	130
The Serpent bomb-veſſel, foundered,	15
The William ketch, ran aſhore,	15
The Mary ketch, foundered,	16
The Great George, a Turkey ſhip, loſt,	90
The Aleppo Factor, loſt,	3
The Golden Frigate of Venice, loſt,	23
The Berkſhire, a Turkey ſhip,	15
The Indian Merchant, a Turkey ſhip,	2
The William, for Leghorn, loſt,	1
	409

[c] We have ſeveral accounts of this in the Gazettes; and his body was afterwards embalmed, and ſent into England.

[d] Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 661. Life of K. William, p. 373. Columna roſtrata, p. 63. [e] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 494, 495.

Lowther,

Lowther, Henry Prieſtman, Eſq; Robert Auſten, Eſq; Sir Robert Rich, Sir George Rooke, and Sir John Hoblon, were included[f]. The command of the fleet being thus provided for, the next thing was, to fix on ſuch deſigns as were proper for retrieving the glory of the Engliſh arms, and blotting out the memory of the unfortunate accidents that had lately happened. In the firſt place it was reſolved, that a formidable deſcent ſhould be actually made on the French coaſt, in order to effect what had been long ago propoſed, the erecting a fort on a certain promontory near Breſt, which ſhould command that haven, and entirely prevent the aſſembling, as the French were wont to do, their grand fleets there[g]. It was alſo judged requiſite to ſend a ſtrong fleet into the Mediterranean, as well to ſuccour the king of Spain, whoſe affairs were much diſtreſſed by the French naval power, as to prevent the Toulon ſquadron from coming into the ocean, and hindering the French thereby from making any figure this year at ſea[h]. In order to accompliſh theſe ſchemes, all imaginable pains were taken, and no expence ſpared, either in England or Holland, to fit out a more numerous fleet, and to ſend it earlier to ſea, than in any year ſince the war began.

On the 1ſt of May admiral Ruſſel took the command of the fleet at St. Helen's, which conſiſted of fifty-two Engliſh and and forty-one Dutch ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and other ſmaller veſſels. On the 3d the admiral ſailed with the grand fleet, leaving Sir Cloudeſley Shovel with a ſtrong ſquadron at Portſmouth, in order to embark the land-forces. On the 9th, being fifteen leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, the admiral was informed by the captain of a Swediſh ſhip, that there lay in Bertaume-bay a fleet of French merchantmen, bound to the eaſtward; upon which he immediately detached captain Pritchard in the Monmouth, together with the Reſolution and the Roebuck fire-ſhips, with orders either to take or deſtroy them. Accordingly, on the 10th, as ſoon as it was light, they made the French ſhore about ſeven miles from the fleet, and by five o'clock they ſaw ſeveral ſhips behind a point of land near

[f] See the preſent ſtate of Europe for May, 1694, p. 166. [g] Hiſt. militaire. P. Daniel. Memoirs du temps. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 129, 130. [h] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 664. Life of king William, p. 376. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 91.

Conquet-

Conquet-bay, which, upon a ſignal given from one of their ſcouts, immediately put to ſea. In the mean time captain Pritchard purſued the man of war that was their convoy, and forced her to haul in with the ſhore, and run againſt the rocks under the outermoſt caſtle; and this man of war proved to be the Jerſey frigate, which the enemy had taken from us in the Weſt-Indies, and which ſoon after blew up, and with her two ſloops of between ten and ſixteen guns. The merchant-ſhips were in all about fifty-five ſail, of which thirty-five were burnt or ſunk, twenty-five in Whiteſand-bay, four on the ſouth ſide of the point of the bay, and ſix on the ſouth ſide of Conquet, their lading being for the moſt part ſalt, wine, and brandy. Some few days after, two other ſhips took and deſtroyed ſeventeen French veſſels laden with corn and other proviſions[j].

The admiral returned back again to St. Helen's by that time he judged that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel could have executed the orders he had left with him; and finding the land-forces completely embarked, and every thing ready, he ſailed with the whole fleet on the 29th of May, having before given the neceſſary directions for the ſeparating, at a proper ſtation, of the ſquadron that was intended for the Breſt expedition, and which was to be commanded by the lord Berkley[k]. On the laſt day of the month, at nine in the morning, a council of war was held on board the Britannia, at which were preſent the following perſons, *viz.* Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; admiral of the fleet, the lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, vice-admiral of the red, colonel Aylmer, vice-admiral of the blue, colonel Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, the marquis of Caermarthen, rear-admiral of the blue, captain Byng, eldeſt captain to the admiral, lieutenant-general Talmaſh, the earl of Macclesfield, the lord Cutts, Sir Martin Beckman, admiral Allemonde admiral of the Dutch, vice-admiral Vanderputtin, vice-admiral Schey, vice-admiral Vander-Goes, rear-admiral Evertzen, and captain Vander-Duſſen, in which it was reſolved, that the fleet deſigned for Breſt ſhould immediately proceed to Camaret-bay, and ſhould

j Life of K. William, p. 376. Preſent ſtate of Europe for May, 1694, p. 167. Columna roſtrata, p. 263. Le Clerc hiſt. des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 427.

k Journal of the Breſt expedition, by the marquis of Caermarthen, 1694, London, 4to, p. 5.

land

land the forces on board under the direction of lieutenant-general Talmash, and the neceſſary inſtructions were for this purpoſe given to lord Berkley, and the officers that went to command under him [1].

On the 5th of June the lord Berkley parted, with his ſquadron, from the grand fleet, having with him twenty-nine Engliſh and Dutch men of war of the line, beſides ſmall frigates, fire-ſhips, machines, tenders, well-boats, and five bomb-ketches. On the 6th a council of war was held, in which the proper meaſures were taken for landing the forces; and it was agreed, that lord Cutts ſhould command ſix hundred grenadiers, and lieutenant-general Talmash advance in perſon at the head of the troops that were to ſupport them. On the 7th the fleet came to an anchor between Camaret-bay and the bay of Bertaume, the French playing upon them with bombs from four batteries. The marquis of Caermarthen demanded leave of lord Berkley the admiral to go into Camaret-bay, in order to obſerve the ſituation of the forts, and the poſture of the enemy. On his lordſhip's return, and making his report, the admiral ordered two ſixty-gun ſhips to go in and cover the boats while they were landing: to which the marquis objecting that it was too ſmall a force, a council of war was called on the 8th, in which it was reſolved to ſend in three Engliſh and as many Dutch frigates, beſides the two men of war before-mentioned.

One of theſe, however, the Richmond, deſerted the poſt aſſigned her, and the marquis of Caermarthen carried in the other five, and poſted them in their proper places, which, though a very neceſſary, was a moſt dangerous ſervice, ſince, at their going in, a bomb broke over the Monk, a great piece of which ſtruck through her poop, and two decks more, and came out again into the water near one of the ſtern-ports on the larboard-ſide, in the gun-room, killing three marines, and one of them by the ſide of the marquis. So ſoon as the Monk got into the bay, and came up with the weſtern point, Camaret-fort fired upon her very warmly; and, when the reſt of the ſhips were properly diſpoſed, they were ſurpriſed to find themſelves played upon from three batteries, not one of which was diſcerned till

[1] See his inſtructions in Burchet's memoirs, p. 215.

they

they felt the ſhot from it. Theſe military compliments they returned with great ſpirit, and, by keeping a briſk and continual fire, covered the troops in their landing, which was not, however, performed with that regularity that might have been expected [m].

The reaſon of this, ſince I do not find it already ſet down in any of our hiſtorians, I think myſelf obliged to give, as I have had it from the mouths of many who were engaged in that warm ſervice. The French had been ſo well informed of our deſign, and ſuch ſtrange delays had been made in embarking the forces, that, when our fleet came upon the coaſt, they found the French every where covered by impregnable entrenchments, and ſupported by a body of regular troops, more numerous than the forces intended for this deſcent. This was repreſented to lieutenant-general Talmaſh in the council of war, and he was adviſed not to expoſe himſelf or his men: to which he anſwered; "This advice comes too late: the honour of the Engliſh nation "is at ſtake, and therefore I muſt and will land. I know that "I ſacrifice myſelf and the men; but it is neceſſary, and muſt "be done, that both our enemies and allies may know, that "even deſperate undertakings cannot daunt Engliſh courage [n]."

He embarked on board the ſmall veſſels, with about eight hundred men, and landed as many of them as he could, but to very little purpoſe; for ſeveral of the well-boats ſticking, all that were in them were either killed or wounded before they could get to the ſhore, and thoſe that did land were very ſoon driven back to their boats, and with much difficulty carried off again. Amongſt the wounded was lieutenant-general Talmaſh himſelf, who received a ſhot in his thigh, of which he ſoon after died [o].

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[m] See the marquis of Caermarthen's account, p. 21. Burchet's memoirs, p. 222. Life of king William, p. 377.

[n] This project, as I have been informed, was firſt propoſed by a land-officer to the earl of Nottingham ſome years before; and hints of it having been given to the French, they reſolved to ſpare no coſt or pains, in order to prevent a ſcheme from taking effect, which they knew would have deprived them of the beſt port they have in this part of the world.

[o] Both the marquis de Quincy and father Daniel commend the bravery of ſome French officers, who, they ſay, attacked and routed the Engliſh troops that were landed, and this with ſo ſmall a force as one hundred and twenty men,

The marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, whoſe courage no man ever called in queſtion, tells us on this occaſion, that, if the Engliſh force had been double to what it was, they would have found the attempt impracticable.

When the men on board the ſhips ſaw only a few boats come off again, and the whole affair over, they began to be out of heart, and the marquis had much ado to bring them out of the bay. The Monk had not either a yard or a ſail, but was towed off; the reſt of the veſſels were alſo brought away with great difficulty, except a Dutch frigate called the Teeſep, of thirty guns, which had twelve feet water in her hold, all her men being killed except eight; and, of half an Engliſh company that was accidentally left on board her, only an enſign, a drummer, and a private man, eſcaped; ſo that they were obliged to leave her behind. A council of war being called in the evening, it was reſolved therein to return to Spithead. The loſs upon this occaſion was computed at ſeven hundred of the land-forces killed, wounded, and taken, and about four hundred killed and wounded on board the ſhips [p].

The marquis de Quincy, who is at once the moſt exact and moſt moderate of all the French writers, informs us, that, at the time this attempt was made, M. de Vauban had taken care to

ſupported, however, by a regiment of dragoons. The glory of this will be ſufficiently diminiſhed, when it is known, that not above three hundred did land, and that many of theſe were wounded in getting aſhore, and were ſo much expoſed to the enemy's artillery, that they never could be formed into any tolerable order.

[p] The marquis of Caermarthen in his account does great juſtice to all the officers employed in this deſperate ſervice. He ſays, particularly, page 46. "My "lord Berkley, during all this expedition, has had a great deal of unuſual trouble "by reaſon of the imbarkations of the ſoldiers; notwithſtanding which, both by "his advice at councils of war, and iſſuing of orders, which his lordſhip has done "very methodically, he hath behaved himſelf, in my opinion, with all the con-"duct and prudence that could be expected from a gentleman in his ſtation.

"Lieutenant-general Talmaſh, the earl of Macclesfield, my lord Cutts, and "all the officers of the land-forces, I think, have ſhewn all the forwardneſs and "readineſs imaginable for the attempting any thing that was poſſible to be done "on this occaſion. There are no officers of note, that I can yet hear of, killed "in this action but monſieur Lamote; and lieutenant-general Talmaſh died, the "Tueſday following, of the wound he received in his thigh. But there are ſe-"veral captains, &c. who are either killed or taken, of whoſe names I am as "yet ignorant."

put the town of Breſt into an excellent ſtate of defence. It was ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, good ramparts, large and deep ditches cut in the rock, with baſtions and half-moons at proper diſtances. He had erected a new battery of ſixteen pieces of cannon and ſix mortars on the baſtion of the town, neareſt the caſtle, between it and the grand battery, with ſeveral ſmaller batteries in other places. He had likewiſe taken care to render all the vaults in the caſtle bomb-proof, and had made the beſt diſpoſition poſſible of ninety mortars, and three hundred pieces of large cannon. As for the veſſels in the port, they were placed out of the reach even of bombs; and, with reſpect to men, he had fourteen hundred bombardiers, three thouſand gentlemen who ſerved as volunteers, and of regular troops four thouſand foot, and a regiment of dragoons [q].

General Talmaſh's landing, therefore, with eight hundred men, might well be called a ſacrifice, and yet more than half of theſe could never be got on ſhore; we muſt, therefore, admit, that when the marquis ſays four hundred were killed, five hundred forty-eight ſoldiers and forty officers made priſoners, he carries the thing a little too far. Father Daniel, however, and ſome other writers, carry it as far; and indeed moſt of them agree in computing our whole loſs at two thouſand. As to what they ſay of ſhips being ſunk, and hundreds of men drowned in the retreat, they are mere ornaments, which from frequent uſe are become neceſſary to a French detail, as their having but forty-five men killed in this action is another ſtroke of the marvellous, which every reader perhaps may not be in the humour to credit [r].

After this unlucky attempt the poor wounded lieutenant-general propoſed, that a ſmall ſquadron of frigates and bomb-veſſels might be ſent into the harbour of Breſt to bombard that town; but this was judged to be a raſh, and, as things ſtood, an impracticable undertaking; and therefore lord Berkley ſailed immediately for our own coaſts, and arrived on the 15th of June, 1694, at St. Helen's. There they found the queen's orders to call a council of

[q] Hiſt. militaire, tome iii. p. 77, 78, 79. Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 177, 178.

[r] Limiers, tome ii. p. 565. See two letters written by monſieur de Nointel, intendant of Bretagne to Louis XIV. giving an account of the action, in the preſent ſtate of Europe for June, 1694, p. 202—204.

war,

war, to conſider how the ſhips and troops might, after this fatal miſcarriage, be beſt employed. After ſeveral conſultations, it was reſolved to keep no more than four regiments on board, and to make ſome attempts on the coaſt of Normandy. Advice of this being ſent to court, and an anſwer being returned on the 27th of June, it was reſolved, in another council of war, firſt to bombard the town of Diepe, and then to proceed along the French coaſt, and do every where what prejudice they could. In purſuance of this reſolution they came before that place, but were forced to ſea by a ſtorm, and afterwards anchored off Dungeneſs, from whence they ſailed on the 5th of July, and arrived once more in Diepe road on the 8th. The next day they intended to have bombarded the place, but were prevented by exceeding foul weather for ſeveral days together [s].

On the twelfth they began about nine in the morning to play upon the town of Diepe, and continued without ceaſing till about nine at night. About eleven they ſent in one of their machines which the French call infernals, with an intent to burn the pier; but ſeveral veſſels full of ſtones, being very providently ſunk before it, rendered that ineffectual; ſo that, except aſtoniſhing the town by the mighty noiſe, it did little miſchief [t].

Captain Dunbar, a Scots gentleman, who commanded it, acquired immortal honour by his intrepidity on this occaſion; for the train not taking effect as was expected, he went on board again, and finding the fuzee out, ſet fire to it a ſecond time, for which he and thoſe who went with him were deſervedly rewarded [u]. They continued the bombardment afterwards till day-light, and the ſtreets being narrow, the houſes old, and moſt of them built of timber, the town was on fire in twenty places at once; ſo that the far greater part of it was conſumed to aſhes [w]. The French court did all they could to ſtifle the

[s] Burchet's memoirs, p. 225. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 664. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 131. Columna roſtrata, p. 264.

[t] Life of king William, p. 379. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 92. Preſent ſtate of Europe for July, 1694, p. 236.

[u] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 501.

[w] In the dates I generally follow the French writers, reducing the new ſtyle to the old, becauſe they are uſually more exact than our own. Father Daniel owns the total deſtruction of Diepe, but ſays it was immediately built up again

the report of this, at leaſt at Paris; but the place was too near for any ſuch artifices to take effect; ſo that, by endeavouring to leſſen, they really increaſed the people's apprehenſions, and all the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts would have abandoned their towns and villages, if forces had not been ſent to reſtrain them [x].

After the bombardment of Diepe, the Engliſh ſquadron ſailed along the coaſt, and obliged the French to march their forces night and day, in order to prevent the debarking any troops; which, however, was a thing the Engliſh admiral never intended [y]. On the fifteenth, about noon, lord Berkley arrived at Havre de Grace, and about four o'clock he began to bombard it. On the ſixteenth, ſeventeenth, and eighteenth, the French poured troops and militia into the place, in order to aſſiſt the inhabitants to put out the fires lighted from time to time by the bombs; and as the wind continued blowing all that time directly from the ſhore, the Engliſh were not able to do much, though they remained ſtill before the place, which threw all the adjacent country into a terrible conſternation. On the twenty-firſt, the wind being favourable, the ſmall craft and bomb-veſſels were ſent in, and continued bombarding the place the whole night, by which a third part of the town was burnt down, a great part of the wall demoliſhed, and, which was worſt of all, abundance of poor people killed [z]. All this, however,

at the expence of the French king. If ſo, the inhabitants muſt be daily put in mind of the Engliſh maritime power, by this very improvement of their town.

[x] See ſeveral letters printed in the preſent ſtate of Europe, for the month of July, 1694; and the fact is confirmed by the French accounts.

[y] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 500, 501. Kennet. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92. Larrey, tom. ii. p. 226. Reincourt, tom. iii. p. 383. P. Daniel journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 178.

[z] The marquis de Quincy aſſerts poſitively, that there were not above twenty houſes burnt in the town; but then he admits, that not only the inhabitants, but a vaſt number of ſoldiers, who were ſent thither on purpoſe, laboured exceſſively in putting out the fires wherever the bombs fell; which muſt have been attended with great loſs of men and other inconveniencies. But I muſt confeſs, I ſee no juſt cauſe why a medal ſhould have been ſtruck on the bombarding this place, rather than that of Diepe. Yet ſuch a one there was; having on one ſide the king's head in profile, with theſe words, *Gulielmus magnus invictiſſimus*; on the reverſe was, Perillus's bull, with this inſcription, *Suis*

periit

however, could not be performed without loſs; many of the mortars melted, the Grenado bomb-ſhip was blown up, and the reſt of the ſmall craft ſo ſhattered, that it was thought convenient to retire. But, even in doing this, care was taken to give the French infinite diſquiet; for, appearing before La Hogue, their forces were drawn that way: but our ſquadron was in no condition to undertake any thing, and therefore, after alarming the enemy as much as poſſible, lord Berkley returned to St. Helen's, on the twenty-ſixth of July 1694, in order to refit [a].

The court was very deſirous that ſomething ſhould be undertaken againſt Dunkirk, and to that purpoſe ſeveral expreſſes were deſpatched to the fleet; but, upon a nice examination of the different propoſals made by the engineers and pilots, they were all of opinion that the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and that nothing could be undertaken this year with any probability of ſucceſs. A plan was then ſent of Calais, which came from the king in Flanders; but the ſcheme of bombarding that place was alſo judged impracticable by a council of war, which reſolution was chiefly owing to the diffidence of the pilots [b]. On the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt lord Berkley returned to London, and the command of the fleet, which conſiſted now only of frigates and ſmall ſhips, devolved on Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, whoſe inſtructions were expreſſed to undertake ſomething againſt Dunkirk at all events.

Mr. Meeſters, who was the inventor and director of the machines called infernals, was at this time in Flanders, endeavouring to collect pilots able to carry the ſquadron into the harbour of Dunkirk, or at leaſt ſo far into the road, as might enable them to deſtroy the enemy's ſhips. Sir Cloudeſley ſailed to the Downs in the beginning of September, and on the ſeventh was joined by Mr. Meeſters, with twenty-ſix Dutch pilots, when

perit ignibus auctor, alluding to the French king's having begun this barbarous kind of war, by burning the Palatinate, and bombarding Genoa. In the exergue, *Portus Gratiæ, exuſtus & everſus bombardis Anglo Batavis*, 1694. I. B. F. Gerard Van Loon hiſtoire metallique des Pays Bas, tom. iv. p. 165.

[a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 227. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 665. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 92. [b] Burchet's memoirs, p. 227.

captain

captain Benbow was appointed to command the ſmall ſhips, and to follow the inſtructions of Mr. Meeſters, whoſe pilots did not perform what was expected from them [c]. On the twelfth, however, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel appeared before the town of Dunkirk, with thirteen Engliſh and ſix Dutch men of war, two bomb-veſſels, ſeventeen machines, and other ſmall craft. In the evening captain Benbow went in, and ſounded the weſtern channel, between the Brake and the Main, notwithſtanding a prodigious fire from the ſhips and the citadel. The next day all the boats and ſmall veſſels were ſent in again, with the Charles galley, and two bomb-veſſels.

In the afternoon two of the machines were ſent in. The firſt took fire before ſhe was near enough to do any execution: whether it was that the cannon of the place ſet fire to it, as ſome of the French writers ſay, or that thoſe on board, finding it impoſſible either to bring it nearer or to get it off, were obliged to let it burn there. The other, which was the biggeſt, went in boldly, and advanced very near the mole-head; but the tide ſet her on one ſide, ſo that ſhe drove a cable's length, and then blew up [d]. It was found, that the French had, according to cuſtom, early intelligence of this deſign, and by driving piles before the pier-head, and ſinking ſhips on the back of the weſtermoſt pier, had ſecured themſelves againſt all attempts of this nature: Sir Cloudeſley Shovel being informed of this, and knowing that the ſpring-tides were over, ſailed away for Calais, and on the ſeventeenth ſent the bomb-veſſels in, and threw ſo many ſhells into the town, that about forty houſes were ruined; but the wind blowing hard that night, and a great ſwell of ſea happening, the admiral was forced to bear away, and the ſtorm continuing two days, he thought it not convenient to ſtay any longer, but returned with his whole ſquadron into the Downs,

[c] This ignorance, cowardice, or wilfulneſs of the pilots, ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of this miſcarriage; and whoever conſiders attentively what has been written upon this ſubject, by ſuch as are beſt acquainted with maritime affairs, will be of my opinion, that ſeamen, above all others, are leaſt inclined to expeditions of this ſort. And, as ſuch expeditions can only be executed by ſeamen, it may well be ſuppoſed that this is the great reaſon why they ſo ſeldom ſucceed.

[d] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 84, 85. Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 197.

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from whence the bomb-veſſels and machines were ſent into the river Thames[e].

It was the opinion of a very intelligent perſon, who had, without queſtion, good grounds for what he delivered, that the expence to which the nation was put by theſe bombardments, was more than equivalent to what the enemy ſuffered by them[f]. It is certain, that all the ſea-faring part of the world diſapproved this manner of purſuing the war at that time; and that all the writers who have touched upon this ſubject, have been carried away by the ſtream of their authority; which, however, has not the ſame effect on me. In the firſt place, I think the manner in which the French had conducted the war in Germany, their bombarding the city of Genoa, but, above all, their piratically lying in wait for, and plundering our Smyrna fleet, and their purſuing and bombarding the remains of it in the ports of Spain, fully juſtified this manner of proceeding. The *lex talionis* certainly ſubſiſts between nations, and as the French ſet ſuch an example at their expence, the allies could not be reaſonably blamed for writing after their copy. In theſe caſes, thoſe who ſet the precedent are to bear the blame as well as the loſs, that ſuffering and ſhame may teach them moderation for the future.

I muſt next obſerve, that, if we conſider the expence the king of France muſt have been at in providing for the ſecurity of Breſt, and the inconveniencies that muſt have attended the ſending M. Vauban that way, with a corps of no leſs than 12,000 regular troops, the marquis de Beauvron with a great detachment to Diepe, marſhal de Choiſeul to Havre de Grace, the duke of Maine, count Toulouſe, and marſhal Villeroy, with the greateſt part of the army in Flanders, to Dunkirk[g]: I ſay, take all theſe together, and it will appear the French ſuffered abundantly more than we.

But then, thirdly, this meaſure was abſolutely neceſſary: the French now ſtyled themſelves LORDS OF BOTH SEAS, that is, the ocean and the Mediterranean: their Gazettes were full of

[e] Preſent ſtate of Europe for September 1694, p. 304, 305. Columna roſtrata, p. 265. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. i. p. 406. [f] Naval memoirs, p. 234. [g] I take the whole of this affair from the French hiſtorians.

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the triumphs of their maritime force, and therefore the bombarding their ports was an effectual method to convince all Europe of the emptineſs of their bravadoes. It exalted the maritime power of the Engliſh nation, raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the people, gave ſatisfaction to the merchants whoſe veſſels had been plundered by the French privateers, and was therefore a great and glorious meaſure, whatever has been ſaid againſt it by thoſe who ſhew reſpect and compaſſion for a people who never ſhew us any marks of either, except when civility is the pure reſult of fear, or the conſequence of deep diſtreſs.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the Mediterranean, whither admiral Ruſſel ſailed with the grand fleet, as we have remarked, on the ſixth of June 1694. He arrived on the twenty-fifth off the rock of Liſbon, and thence ſent orders to rear-admiral Neville, who, as we before obſerved, commanded the ſquadron which protected the Engliſh merchant-ſhips at Cadiz, to join him, which he did, with the Dutch vice-admirals Callemberg and Evertzen, with ſixteen ſhips of the line, which increaſed the number of thoſe in the fleet to ſixty-three. The admiral then reſolved to ſteer immediately for Barcelona, in order to ſave that city, and the province of Catalonia, from falling into the hands of the French, who at that time had a numerous army, and a great naval force under the command of M. Tourville before, or at leaſt very near the place [h].

This ſhews the wiſdom of the adminiſtration in ſending ſo great a fleet into thoſe ſeas; for, without ſuch aſſiſtance, the Spaniards muſt have been undone, or, which was the view of that armament, forced to make a ſeparate peace, and the French would have continued boaſting and vapouring, as they had lately done, of their mighty maritime power, perſuading Algiers, and the reſt of the ſtates of Barbary, that the Engliſh were not able to look them in the face. But an end was now effectually put to thoſe bravadoes, by the admiral's procuring leave from

[h] The marquis de Quincy tells us, that admiral Ruſſel came into the Mediterranean very luckily for the preſervation of Barcelona, before which port he appeared on the laſt of July, with a fleet of 136 ſail, of which 88 were of the line of battle; and M. Tourville not being in a condition to look ſuch a fleet in the face, retired, purſuant to his orders, into the harbour of Toulon. Hiſt. militaire, tom. iii. p. 86.

the Dutch and Spaniards, who were at war with thoſe ſtates, that ſome Algerine men of war might have permiſſion to come and take a view of the fleet; which they did accordingly, and went home again very well ſatisfied [i]. On the other hand, the French admiral had no ſooner intelligence of the approach of our fleet, than he retired precipitately from before Barcelona, and ſoon after ſhut himſelf up in the port of Toulon, which put it entirely out of diſpute, that the maritime powers were now able to give law to France in all parts of the world [k]. The ſiege of Barcelona too was raiſed, to the infinite joy of the king of Spain, who teſtified his gratitude for this ſignal aſſiſtance, in the warmeſt and moſt public manner poſſible [l].

Our admiral, indeed, found the Spaniſh affairs in the moſt diſtreſſed condition imaginable. Their Armada conſiſted but of ten ſhips, and of theſe four only were of the line of battle; the reſt of ſmall force, and ſo rotten, that they could ſcarce endure the firing of their own guns. Their army in Catalonia was in a ſtill worſe condition; it conſiſted but of 9000 men, without clothes, without pay, without proviſions, without artillery, and even without tents. The towns on the ſea-coaſt were ſo meanly fortified, that, on the approach of a French ſquadron, the people had no other way to ſecure themſelves but by flight. Admiral Ruſſel ſtated all this in a letter to the king, and at the ſame time offered the viceroy of Catalonia to do all that was in his power for his aſſiſtance; which, however, was not much, for, on the other hand, the demands made by the viceroy were exceſſively unreaſonable, and what the admiral was able to do could not much benefit him; which was the reaſon that, together with an apprehenſion of proviſions grow-

[i] Burchet's memoirs, p. 239. where we are told, that, notwithſtanding the precautions taken by admiral Ruſſel, one of the Algerine frigates was ſoon after ſeized in his ſight, by a Dutch man of war, though ſhe was preſently releaſed upon his application.

[k] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 86. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 665. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 129. Life of king William, p. 376, 382.

[l] Preſent ſtate of Europe for 1694, p. 267, 271. His catholic majeſty is ſaid to have preſented admiral Ruſſel with a jewel of the value of fourſcore thouſand crowns, and another to vice-admiral Callemberg, of the value of twelve thouſand crowns.

ing ſhort, induced the admiral to deſire the fleet might return home; for which, when he had made all the neceſſary preparations, and was on the very point of quitting the Spaniſh coaſt, he received an order under his majeſty's ſignet and ſign manual, directing him to winter at Cadiz. This embarraſſed him extremely, and the rather, becauſe no care was taken to ſend commiſſioners for victualling; ſo that this fell entirely upon the admiral, and was no ſmall addition to the load of cares with which he was already oppreſſed[m].

Yet, conſidering the importance of the ſervice, the dangers to which the men would be expoſed by any miſmanagement in this affair, and how far the honour of the Engliſh nation was at ſtake, he applied himſelf to this new employment with ſuch diligence, that never men were better furniſhed with proviſions and wine; and this too was managed with ſo great economy, that notwithſtanding the apparent difference between obtaining proviſions for a great fleet and ſingle ſhips, yet the former was victualled at as ſmall an expence to the public as the latter, and in many circumſtances at a much cheaper rate; nor did the admiral, when he found it neceſſary, make any ſcruple of engaging his perſonal credit and private eſtate, for the ſervice of his country[n].

While the fleet continued before Alicant, the admiral deſpatched a ſquadron of ten ſail, under the command of rear-admiral Neville, with orders to cruize between the iſlands and the Barbary coaſt, as well to intercept any French veſſels that might paſs that way, as to procure wood and other neceſſaries for the fleet. Soon after this, the admiral falling ill of a fever and bloody flux, he devolved the care of the fleet on vice-admiral Aylmer, with orders to join rear-admiral Neville, and in caſe he had any news of the French fleet's being come out

m Burchet's memoirs, p. 241. Columna roſtrata, p. 264. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 129.

n See the ſubſequent memoirs of the earl of Orford, where it will appear, that, notwithſtanding all his pains and application, he was moſt cruelly and ſcandalouſly traduced on this account, as if he had procured the wintering of the fleet in the Mediterranean, purely to enrich himſelf by the management of their victualling; whereas, that meaſure was not only concerted without, but againſt his advice, and the government ſaved a great ſum of money by his frugal conduct in the other particular.

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of Toulon, to ſail in queſt of them without delay; but if not, to return to Alicant, which he did on the tenth of September. The admiral, though in a very weak ſtate of health, went very ſoon on board, and reſumed the command of the fleet, with which he proceeded to Cadiz, where he arrived on the eighth of November 1694, and took all the neceſſary precautions to prevent the French from paſſing the Streights, without receiving proper notice of their motions.

While he continued there, the Spaniards ſent him frequent advices of the French fleet's being ready to quit Toulon; which, however, he did not much regard, as having better intelligence of his own [o]. It is true, the French fleet was kept clean and well rigged during the winter, with deſign to have brought it round to Breſt; but the advices they had of admiral Ruſſel's force, and their knowledge of his diligence, had ſuch an effect on the mind of M. Tourville, that he could not be prevailed on to riſk the ſhips under his command in ſo dangerous a paſſage. His catholic majeſty was all this time ſoliciting our admiral to undertake impoſſibilities, ſuch as tranſporting five, then ſeven thouſand men, from Genoa on board his men of war, though he knew them to be foul by their being ſo long at ſea, and but indifferently provided with victuals; which, though the admiral refuſed, yet he did it with great decency, and at the ſame time offered unanſwerable reaſons in ſupport of his own conduct; adding, that he would write home to demand, amongſt other ſupplies, a reaſonable number of land-forces: and in this manner the remainder of the year was ſpun out [p].

It is now requiſite to take notice of what was done at home in relation to naval affairs; and, in the firſt place, I muſt obſerve, that the king, on his return from Flanders, under the eſcort of a ſmall ſquadron, commanded by the marquis of Caermarthen, called the parliament together on the twelfth of November, and opened the ſeſſions with a ſpeech, which began thus: "I am glad to meet you here, when I can ſay our affairs "are in a better poſture, both by ſea and land, than when we "parted laſt. The enemy has not been in a condition to op-

[o] The preſent ſtate of Europe for 1694. p. 346, 378. [p] Burchet's memoirs, p. 265.

" poſe our fleet in theſe ſeas; and our ſending ſo great a force " into the Mediterranean has diſappointed their deſigns, and " leaves us a proſpect of further ſucceſs." He recommended to them, at the ſame time, early and effectual ſupplies, and the paſſing ſome good law for the encouragement of ſeamen. The commons received theſe propoſitions very cheerfully, and having examined the eſtimates that were laid before them for the next year, voted a ſupply of 2,382,712 l. for the navy, which ſufficiently ſhewed how eaſy it was to engage the nation to give money, when they had any tolerable proſpect of ſeeing it well laid out [q].

The death of queen Mary, which happened towards the latter end of the year, ſerved not only to damp the ſpirits of the people, who had a wonderful affection for the perſon of that princeſs, but to give the enemies of the government an opportunity to attempt diſtreſſing the nation, by pretending that the parliament was legally diſſolved by her majeſty's demiſe [r]. This, however ſtrange and ſingular, was the ſentiment of her majeſty's uncle, the earl of Rocheſter, and of ſome others; but certainly it was very ill founded. The executive part of the government was, by law, in king William only, though the title, as well as the right, was declared to be in their majeſties jointly. The calling of a parliament was certainly an act of the executive power, and conſequently it ought to have been underſtood in law as the ſpecial and immediate act of the king, though the writs ran in the joint names of both their majeſties, as all other acts of ſtate did, yet without impeachment or diminution of the king's authority. Upon this principle, and no body's ſe-

[q] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 666. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 132. Preſent ſtate of Europe for November 1694, p. 376. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 446.

[r] This excellent princeſs was taken ill at Kenſington, on the twenty-firſt of December, 1694. Her diſtemper proved to be the ſmall-pox; a malady extremely fatal to her family, and which might therefore be ſuppoſed to make the greater impreſſion upon her ſpirits; this, joined to a bad conſtitution, and, as ſome ſay, the ill management of her principal phyſician, brought her to her end in the ſpace of a week. She was, at the time of her deceaſe, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the ſixth of her reign. She was exceedingly lamented at home and abroad; and her death, at this juncture, was a great diſadvantage to her ſubjects.

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conding the earl of Rocheſter in his motion in the houſe of lords, the parliament was held to be no way affected by her death, but proceeded in its deliberations as if no ſuch accident had happened [s].

It was then ſuggeſted, by ſuch as diſliked the adminiſtration, that the ſending admiral Ruſſel with ſo great a fleet into the Mediterranean, keeping him there for ſo long a time, and directing him at laſt to winter in thoſe parts, was contrary to the intereſt of the nation, an occaſion of vaſt ſums being remitted into foreign parts, and an act of too great complaiſance towards our allies. But, upon a long and ſharp debate, the houſe of lords ſaw reaſon to juſtify this meaſure, by a very warm addreſs to the throne, in which they ſay, "That the ſending ſo great a fleet into the "Mediterranean, and continuing it in thoſe parts, has been to "the honour and advantage of your majeſty and your kingdoms: "and having ſpent ſome time upon conſideration of the condi- "tion of the fleet both at home and abroad, and of the great "increaſe of the naval force and ſtrength of our neighbours, "conceive it to be our duty to your majeſty and the kingdom, "humbly to repreſent, that the honour and ſafety of this na- "tion, under the providence of God, chiefly depends upon "your ſtrength at ſea. And whereas, by the long continuance "of this war, the number of your ſhips muſt have been dimi- "niſhed, and thoſe remaining greatly impaired, we think it of "the higheſt importance to your majeſty's ſervice, and the ſe- "curity and intereſt of your people, that you would be pleaſed "to give ſuch ſpeedy and effectual directions for the repair and "increaſe of your royal navy, as may enable your majeſty not "only to continue a ſtrength in the Mediterranean during this "war, which may be ſuperior to that of our enemies, but like- "wiſe to maintain ſuch a force here at home, and in the Weſt-

[s] See Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol ii. p. 140. It is evident, if this could have been carried, and the parliament diſſolved, things muſt have run into the utmoſt confuſion; and therefore it is amazing that any man, who pretended the leaſt regard for his country, ſhould eſpouſe ſo deſtructive a ſcheme, even though his ſentiments had been oppoſite to thoſe of the perſons entruſted with the adminiſtration. But the misfortune in thoſe days was, that private intereſt, covered with pretences to party, boldly undertook whatever avarice or ambition dictated, and often injured the public from what they impoſed on the credulous for public ſpirit.

"Indies,

" Indies, as ſhall be a ſecurity for our coaſts and plantations, " and a protection of our trade, and ſufficient both for the an- " noying of our enemies, and for the protecting and convoying " all ſuch ſtores and proviſions as muſt be ſent to the fleet in " thoſe parts, upon the effectual and timely providing whereof " the ſafety of that part of your majeſty's navy does ſo much " depend." This addreſs, which was preſented in the beginning of the month of March, and to which the king returned a favourable anſwer, ſatisfied the minds of all the ſenſible part of the nation on this head, and reconciled them to the abſence of admiral Ruſſel, which otherwiſe they would not have borne but with great impatience [t].

A conſiderable ſupply being ſent to the fleet in the beginning of the year, admiral Ruſſel reſolved to ſend a ſmall ſquadron up the Streights; it was compoſed of ſix ſtout frigates, and the command given to captain James Killegrew, who had inſtructions to protect our own trade, and to annoy that of the enemy. In their cruize, on the 18th of January, 1695, they diſcovered two French ſhips, *viz.* the Content, commanded by the marquis du Chalard, of ſeventy guns, and the Trident, under count d' Aulnoy, of ſixty guns, between Cape Bona and the iſland of Pantalarea on the Barbary coaſt. The French men of war miſtook the Engliſh for merchantmen, and bore down upon them, but, quickly perceiving their miſtake, endeavoured to get away. It was four in the afternoon before captain Killegrew, in the Plymouth, could come up with them; and, the wind being then calm, ſhe alone engaged both the French ſhips for the ſpace of more than an hour, in which time captain Killegrew was killed with a cannon-ſhot. Then came up the Falmouth, captain Grantham, who engaged them for near another hour, till the other four Engliſh frigates came in: whereupon the French ſeparated, the Carliſle, Newcaſtle, and Southampton, purſued the biggeſt of them, and the Falmouth and Adventure

[t] The French took a great deal of pains to publiſh whatever was ſaid in England againſt this meaſure; and indeed they had good reaſon, ſince all thoſe arguments were in their favour. The Engliſh fleet giving law to them in the Mediterranean, while our ſquadrons bombarded their ports on the ocean, ſunk their pretenſions to maritime power ſo low, that it is no wonder they were deſirous of promoting the views of that party in England, which oppoſed meaſures ſo fatal to their glory.

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the leſſer, the Plymouth being forced to bear away for Meſſina, having loſt her fore-top-maſt, and her other maſts and rigging being very much ſhattered. The French made a running fight the night following and part of the next day, when, their ſhips being diſabled, and the count d' Aulnoy, one of their commanders, with many of their men killed, they both yielded. One of them, called the Trident, being leaky, and it blowing very freſh, the Engliſh ſent her to Gorgonti, and carried the Content to Meſſina, where they arrived the 2d of March. The Plymouth had fourteen men killed, and thirty wounded, and there might be about twice that number killed and wounded on board the reſt of the ſhips [u]. The brave captain Killegrew was interred at Meſſina with all the honours due to his rank and merit [w]. The news of this action reached home much about the time that the lords preſented their addreſs, which was a very fortunate circumſtance for the friends of the court, who mentioned it on all occaſions as a fact which fully ſupported their arguments. On the other ſide, a large account of this affair was printed at Paris, in which the marquis du Chalard ſaid a great many fine things of himſelf and his nation, but after all admits they were beat [x].

On the 5th of February, 1694, a great ſupply of proviſions arrived from England, and ſoon after admiral Ruſſel detached rear-admiral Neville, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to watch the motions of the French. In the beginning of April arrived the land-forces, conſiſting of about four thouſand five hundred men, under the command of brigadier Stuart and other experienced officers, and with them came a large fleet of victuallers, and twelve

[u] Burchet's memoirs, p. 266, 267. Columna roſtrata, p. 264.

[w] I think myſelf obliged to report from the mouth of an eye-witneſs, a very extraordinary circumſtance in relation to this engagement. When captain Killegrew came up with the Content, the whole French crew were at prayers, and he might have poured in his broadſide with great advantage; which, however, he refuſed to do, adding this remarkable expreſſion, "It is beneath the courage of "the Engliſh nation to ſurprize their enemies in ſuch a poſture."

[x] I ſhall not trouble the reader with any of the flouriſhes in this or other French accounts of this affair, but content myſelf with obſerving, that the marquis du Chalard ſays, the Content carried 54 guns, and 380 men, the Trident 42 guns, and 300 men, though in ſeveral of their own lines of battle, in the years 1692 and 1693, I find the former to be a ſhip of 64, and the latter of 60 guns; which is ſufficient to ſhew the credit due to theſe authors.

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bomb-veſſels [y]. The fleet then ſailed from Cadiz, and proceeded to Barcelona, before which port they arrived early in the month of May, and found the Spaniſh affairs in Catalonia in the ſame declining way in which they left them, notwithſtanding all the preſſing remonſtrances which had from time to time been made by our admiral to the Spaniſh court on that ſubject.

In the mean time rear-admiral Neville was ſent to eſcort a body of Spaniſh troops, which were to be tranſported from Final into that province. He had alſo directions to apply himſelf to the duke of Savoy, in order to be informed, whether, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet, he could undertake to invade any part of the dominions of France, or to aſſiſt in a deſign that was then formed againſt Toulon. But his highneſs, being intent upon taking Caſal, declined entering upon any meaſures of this nature; and therefore rear-admiral Neville was forced to content himſelf with the execution of the other part of his inſtructions, and rejoin the grand fleet with the Spaniſh troops under his protection, which he very happily performed [z].

It was about the middle of the month of July, when the marquis de Gaſtanaga, the Spaniſh governor of Catalonia, formed the deſign of retaking Palamos, in which he deſired the aſſiſtance of admiral Ruſſel. To this purpoſe he made him a viſit on board the fleet, where the admiral told him the ſituation things were in, the neceſſity he was under of ſending home Sir John

y Burchet's memoirs, p. 268, 271. The Spaniards were all this while ſoliciting for a convoy, and ſometimes expreſſed a good deal of uneaſineſs on account of its not being provided. Yet this was entirely their own fault; for, while the admiral thought there was no danger of the French coming out of Toulon, he had preſſed them as much to forward their embarkation at Final, telling them plainly, that after a certain time, which he fixed, he ſhould not think it ſafe to ſpare them a convoy. But they ſuffered it to elapſe, and then grew impatient, becauſe admiral Ruſſel would not hazard part of his fleet, and all their forces, by ſending the convoy at a time when the French fleet might have been at ſea on purpoſe to intercept them.

z This was one great end of ſending admiral Ruſſel into the Mediterranean: for if, with the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, he could have undertaken any thing againſt Marſeilles or Toulon, it would have completed the ruin of the French power at ſea. But the duke was ſo bent upon the conqueſt of Caſal, that he could not be drawn to undertake any other enterprize. Admiral Ruſſel, as ſoon as he underſtood this, reſolved to give him all the aſſiſtance poſſible in that deſign, and, by hindering the French from ſending any ſuccours, enabled him to make himſelf maſter of the place, which he could not otherwiſe have taken.

Munden with ſome of the largeſt ſhips, and the impoſſibility there was of ſuffering the troops to continue for above a week or a few days longer on ſhore. However, in ſpite of all theſe difficulties and diſappointments, he aſſured the marquis, that he was ready to do the very utmoſt in his power, both by landing the troops, and by ſending in a ſquadron of light veſſels to bombard the place. In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, the confederate forces, conſiſting of four thouſand Engliſh and Dutch, were landed; the former under the command of brigadier Stuart, the latter under that of count Naſſau [a].

This was on the 9th of Auguſt, and it was the next day before they joined the Spaniſh army, the very ſight of which was ſufficient to diſcourage them. To enumerate their wants, would be tedious and unneceſſary, ſince in truth they were in want of every thing; and, if our people had not by accident brought with them ſome pick-axes and ſhovels on ſhore, they could not have intrenched themſelves; which, however, was very neceſſary, ſince the French had not only a good garriſon in Palamos, but an army at leaſt equal to that of the Spaniards, within ſight of the place. The bombardment, however, ſucceeded better; the greateſt part of the town and caſtle were deſtroyed: but the admiral, being informed that the French fleet were coming out of Toulon, thought proper to reimbark his forces, and to ſail for the coaſt of Provence, in order to watch the motions of the enemy [b].

[a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 275. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 154, 155. Columna roſtrata, p. 264, 265.

[b] The French writers give us another account of this matter; they ſay, that the duke of Vendome, who commanded their army in Catalonia, finding himſelf too weak to attempt raiſing the ſiege of Palamos by force, had yet addreſs enough to effect it by a ſtratagem. He ſent a letter by the maſter of a fiſhing-bark, directed to Mr Nanclas, governor of that place, acquainting him, that he might depend on ſpeedy relief, the fleet having ſailed from Toulon in the beginning of September. The maſter of the fiſhing-boat had orders to put himſelf in the way of the Engliſh, which he did; and the admiral, being deceived by this letter, ſailed immediately for the coaſt of Provence. Hiſt. militaire, tome iii. p 178. yet, ſuppoſing this fact to be true, the French had no great cauſe to boaſt; for Palamos was reduced to ſo miſerable a condition by being bombarded, that the duke de Vendome thought fit ſoon after to withdraw his garriſon, and blow up the reſt of the fortifications.

After his departure from the coaſt of Catalonia, the admiral met with exceeding bad weather, which hindered him from accompliſhing ſome things he had in view. He found alſo, that his intelligence as to the deſigns of the French had not been very exact, and therefore thought it adviſable to retire down the Streights; which he did, and arrived, towards the latter end of the month of September, in the bay of Cadiz[c]. There he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſecuring our trade in the Mediterranean from any interruption, by leaving a ſufficient force to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy, and even to aſſiſt the Spaniards, in caſe they ſhewed any greater care of their own concerns after his departure than they had hitherto done: and, having taken theſe precautions, and given proper inſtructions to Sir David Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, who was to be left with a ſquadron of three and twenty ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb-veſſels, he turned his thoughts entirely to the carrying the reſt of the fleet back to England, moſt of the great ſhips being very foul, and many of them but indifferently manned. This deſign he very happily accompliſhed, arriving in November with twelve ſail of great ſhips, excluſive of the Dutch, a frigate or two, and ſome fire-ſhips, on our own coaſt[d].

We are now to conſider what paſſed at home, and how thoſe meaſures were proſecuted, which had been concerted for humbling the French in the ocean. Our attempts the year before had not indeed anſwered the ſanguine expectations of ignorant people, who imagined that they were not to have left a houſe ſtanding on all the French coaſt, and on the other hand ſeemed but to juſtify too well what ſuch as were beſt ſkilled in maritime affairs had advanced as to the impoſſibility of performing any great ſervices in the way of bombarding; yet it was reſolved, that this ſhould be purſued[e]. The great men in the cabinet, amongſt whom was the famous earl of Sunderland, perhaps the ableſt miniſter of his time, thought themſelves better judges of theſe matters than either the ſeamen or the people, and while they were able to ſhew their own force for the preſent, leſſen the French power for the future, and give infinite uneaſineſs to

[c] Preſent ſtate of Europe for 1695, p. 335. [d] Burchet's memoirs, p. 285, 286. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xix. p. 580. [e] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 207, 208.

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the whole French nation by ſuch expeditions, the expence of them, though conſiderable, was, in their judgments, very far from being thrown away.

They were, beſides, very ſenſible, that nothing could enable us and our allies to continue the war with any proſpect of ſucceſs, but our making ſuch uſes of our fleet as might leſſen the viſible ſuperiority of the enemy's forces by land. This had been effectually done by admiral Ruſſel while he continued in the Mediterranean; for though he found it impoſſible to enable the Spaniards to do any thing, who had little or rather no force at all, yet he had viſibly prevented the loſs of Barcelona, and indeed of all Catalonia, which nothing but his preſence could have kept, either this year or the laſt, out of the hands of the French, and the bombardments of laſt year had fruſtrated all the French ſchemes, and kept their whole naval force uſeleſs in their ports, which had been otherwiſe employed to our prejudice [f].

The fleet intended for this ſervice was in ſuch forwardneſs by the middle of June, that the lord Berkley of Stratton, who was to command it, had orders to repair on board. On his arrival at Spithead, a council of war was called, in order to conſider what ſhould be firſt undertaken; and, upon mature deliberation, it was reſolved, that there was the greateſt probability of ſucceeding againſt St. Malo's. But the Dutch admiral Allemonde having acquainted lord Berkley, that he had the king's abſolute orders to conſider the project for attacking Dunkirk before all others, this occaſioned a freſh delay. However, when it was propoſed that the Dutch ſhould act ſeparately in this laſt undertaking, it was by them declared impracticable, and a full reſolution taken to execute immediately the deſign againſt St. Malo's [g].

With this view the fleet ſailed on the twenty-third of June; and on the fourth of July lord Berkley, with all the ſhips under his command, came before the place, and began inſtantly to bombard Quince-fort to the weſtward, and the battery, raiſed by the enemy to the eaſtward, on point Danbour, between

[f] This is the judgment of ſome of the beſt political writers of thoſe times: and indeed, if we conſider facts, we cannot but be convinced, that it was better for us to alarm and burn the French coaſt, than to ſuffer them to alarm and burn ours, as they did ſome years before.

[g] Burchet's memoirs, p. 293. Kennet, Burnet.

which is the channel of the town. The firſt ſervice was performed by colonel Richards, who had three Engliſh and two Dutch bomb-veſſels under his command, and the latter was committed entirely to the Dutch, who employed therein four bomb-veſſels for many hours. On the fifth, every thing being ready to attack the town, lord Berkley, about four in the morning, gave the ſignal. Upon this captain Benbow went on board the Charles galley, and hoiſted a flame-coloured flag, and immediately after, the Engliſh and Dutch frigates, appointed to guard the bomb-veſſels, entered the channel, and came to an anchor within a mile and a half of the town, having colonel Richards, with the bomb-veſſels, in a line before them. About ſix the bombardment began. All this time the enemy fired very warmly from the ſhore, from the batteries on the great and little bay in the iſland of Danbour, from Fort-Vauban, Fort-Royal, Fort-Quince, *&c.* their gallies and boats taking alſo the opportunities of the tides, and rowing ſometimes ſo near as to gall with their ſmall ſhot the line of bomb-veſſels. Yet, in ſpite of this interruption, the bombardment was ſo vigorouſly purſued, that about eight o'clock a great fire broke out in the eaſt part of the town, and vaſt clouds of ſmoke were ſeen aſcending in ſeveral places. Lord Berkley, admiral Allemonde, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, came in their boats to encourage the ſeamen, and expreſſed much ſatisfaction as to the manner in which the attack was diſpoſed.

An Engliſh and Dutch fire-ſhip ſet the wooden fort on the Quince rock on fire, which burnt for two hours; and about four in the afternoon a great fire broke out in the weſt part of the town. By ſeven in the evening the bomb-veſſels had ſpent their whole cargo of nine thouſand bombs and carcaſſes, and therefore the ſignal was made to put to ſea. This enterprize was executed by ſix Engliſh and four Dutch men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottom boats, and two brigantines. The loſs ſuſtained by the enemy's fire was ſixty men killed and wounded, a bomb-veſſel called the Terrible, ſo ſhattered, that they were forced to ſet her on fire, two boats, and three or four barks ſunk. The bombardment laſted ſomewhat more than eleven hours, with all the ſucceſs that could poſſibly be expected, a great part of the place being burnt, and the enemy reduced to the neceſſity of

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blowing up ſeveral houſes, to prevent the whole from being deſtroyed [h].

The French accounts do indeed contradict theſe; but, at the ſame time, they are ſuch as cannot either raiſe the reputation of France, with impartial judges, or diſcredit what has been advanced on this ſubject by the Engliſh and Dutch. M. Quincy tells us, that the court appointed marſhal Choiſeul to command on the coaſt of Britany. At La Hogue he had two battalions of marines, three of militia, a regiment of horſe, and a regiment of dragoons; and, beſides theſe, he had a numerous corps de reſerve. M. d'Eſtrees commanded in the neighbourhood of Rochelle another conſiderable body of forces. The care of Breſt, and the adjacent country, was committed to M. Vaubon, who had a ſpecial commiſſion to enable him to command the marines, of which there were twenty-two battalions on the coaſt. All this ſhews how apprehenſive the French were of theſe viſits, into what confuſion they put them, and what mighty expences they were obliged to be at, in order to provide againſt their effects.

As to this particular affair of St. Malo's, the author beforementioned is pleaſed to ſay, our fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, of which twenty-five or thirty were line of battle ſhips. He owns, that the bombardment continued eleven hours; that nine hundred bombs were thrown, of which five hundred fell in the town, whereby ten or twelve houſes were burnt, thirty-five or forty damaged, and eighteen or twenty people killed or wounded [i]. Father Daniel gives us pretty near the ſame account; and

[h] See the London Gazette, N° 3090; where, however, it is ſaid, that the fleet ſailed on the twenty-firſt; but, in all probability, it put back again, and did not ſail till the twenty-ninth, as appears from the London Gazette, N° 3092. The account of the engagement I have taken from my lord Berkley's narrative, publiſhed in the Gazette, N° 3096, after comparing it with what is ſaid in Burchet's naval hiſtory, and the Dutch accounts; all which agree perfectly together, and therefore I can ſee no reaſon to doubt any of the facts they contain.

[i] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 323. But all that is ſaid there may be thus accounted for. The French court always kept in pay a ſettled journaliſt, who was inſtructed to heighten all their ſucceſſes, and to extenuate all their loſſes, by feigned relations; which relations are ſince reckoned proper documents for hiſtory; tho' at the time they were publiſhed their true value was very well known, and they very juſtly deſpiſed, not abroad only, but even by ſenſible people in France.

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both agree, that two infernal machines were ſpent on Fort-Quince, one to very little and the other to no purpoſe [k]. Yet, when it is remembered that St. Malo's was an old town, its buildings moſtly of wood, the ſtreets very narrow, and the place crowded with ſoldiers, it is not eaſy to gueſs how ſo many bombs could poſſibly fall, and yet do ſo little hurt; and this induced a Dutch journaliſt to ſay merrily enough, that the Maloins had taught their dogs (which every body knows they make uſe of to guard their city) to take up the bombs in their mouths, and run away with them out of town [m].

After this affair was over, it was reſolved, that a ſmall ſquadron ſhould proceed to Granville, a place of ſome trade. This ſquadron conſiſted of eight frigates, and as many bomb-veſſels, *viz.* five Engliſh and three Dutch. On the eighth of July about nine in the morning, captain Benbow anchored before the place, and colonel Richards, about an hour afterwards, began the bombardment, which laſted till ſix in the evening, and then the ſquadron bore away, leaving this town all in flames, which is a fact the French have never offered to diſpute, though moſt of their writers ſlip it over without ſaying a word. On the ninth the fleet appeared before Havre de Grace; not with any deſign to attack it, but merely to alarm and haraſs the enemy: which having performed, they ſailed for Portſmouth, in order to make the neceſſary preparations there for an attempt upon Dunkirk, the deſtruction of which port would have given equal ſatisfaction to the Engliſh and Dutch, both nations ſuffering very much, though not equally, by her privateers, which were the very bane of all our northern and coaſt trade [n].

On the return of the fleet, four hundred ſoldiers were immediately embarked, and Mr. Meeſters received orders to prepare his machines, on the ſucceſs of which the whole affair depended. After this, all the proper meaſures were concerted with

[k] Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 182. Both his and the marquis de Quincy's account, are copied from their Gazettes. [m] Preſent ſtate of Europe for 1695, p. 250, 271, 279. See vice-admiral Allemonde's letter to the ſtates, dated July 18th, 1695. Life of king William, p. 420. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 690. [n] Burchet's memoirs, p. 298. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 155. London Gazette, N° 3096. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. xix. p. 113.

that

that engineer. But, whether through ſome backwardneſs in him, or from what other accident it is not very clear, ſo it was, that the month of July expired before the attempt upon Dunkirk was made. On the firſt of Auguſt lord Berkley ſent in the bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and machine-veſſels, with ſeveral light frigates and brigantines, to protect them againſt the enemies half-gallies, and other armed boats, of which they had a great many. About nine in the morning the bombardment began; about two in the afternoon four ſmoke-ſhips were ſent in, which were burnt to little or no purpoſe. The bomb-veſſels, however, continued firing till about five, and then with the frigates, *&c.* were ordered off. Several of the ſhells fell into the riſe-bank and upon the pier-heads, and three of the enemy's half-gallies were ſunk.

But they had, it muſt be allowed, in all places made ſuch great preparations for their defence, with boats, booms, chains, piles, and pontons, with guns upon them, as rendered this attempt altogether impracticable. The French give a very long and pompous account of this affair, upon which they ſtruck a medal, and, I think, do the Engliſh more honour than any of their own relations; for they make the miſcarriage of this attempt the effect of the courage and conduct of ſeveral of their moſt experienced ſea-officers; whereas our authors univerſally aſcribe it either to the want of ſkill in Mr. Meeſters, or to the miſunderſtanding between him and ſome of the ſea-officers; which is the more probable, ſince he deſerted the ſervice in the night, and could not be prevailed on to take any ſhare at all in the ſubſequent attempt upon Calais [o].

Lord Berkley, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, reſolved to proſecute his orders, and coming before Calais, called a council of war, in which it was determined to endeavour firſt of all to burn a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier-

[o] I have taken this account, as thoſe before inſerted, from all the relations I could meet with, either of our own or foreign writers, particularly that publiſhed in the Gazette, N° 3102. Burchet's memoirs, p. 298. The preſent ſtate of Europe for 1695, p. 284. Quincy hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 184, 185. Reincourt, tom. iii. p. 460. Larrey, tom. ii. p. 256. Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. par P. Daniel, p. 182. But all they advance appears to be collected from the different relations printed by authority, to amuſe and miſlead the people.

heads,

heads, which was furniſhed with fourteen heavy cannon; and, with ſeveral other batteries, defended the entrance of the place in ſuch a manner, that it was abſolutely impoſſible any thing could be undertaken till theſe obſtacles were removed. To this end, colonel Richards was ordered to fill two well-boats with the materials of a fire-ſhip, and to diſpoſe the boats for making a formal attack. Several accidents prevented the execution of this deſign till the ſeventeenth of Auguſt in the morning, when, anchoring eaſtward of the town, the bombardment began with ſuch ſucceſs, that by noon the place was on fire in ſeveral parts. About this time the enemy's half-gallies came out, and ſtood along under the ſhore, in order to break the line of bomb-veſſels; but the frigates and brigantines ſtanding in, put them into ſuch confuſion, that they retired with great precipitation, and with much difficulty recovered the pier-heads. The bombardment was then continued, without any farther interruption, till about five in the afternoon, by which time ſix hundred ſhells were thrown into the place. The magazine and the riſe-bank were entirely burnt, ſeveral houſes deſtroyed, and many more very much damaged; with this particular circumſtance in our favour, that, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemy, and a prodigious fire from their batteries, we ſuffered very little loſs; only captain Oſborne, who commanded the Aldborough ketch, was killed by a cannon-ball [p].

M. Quincy affects to treat this attack as a very ſlight thing, aſſerting, that not above three or four houſes were conſumed, and about as many people killed; and yet he acknowledges that abundance of men had been ordered thither, and a great deal of pains taken to prevent their ſuffering at all by this attempt; which ſhews how great their apprehenſions were, and how neceſſary it was to calm the minds of the people by publiſhing ſuch accounts, but depreciates their judgments very much, who took all theſe precautions, where (if they are believed) no miſchief could be done [q].

[p] London Gazette, N° 3107. Burchet's memoirs, p. 303. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 413. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. xix. p. 277. [q] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 189. P. Daniel journal hiſtorique, p. 183. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. xix. p. 280. in which is inſerted the French relation of this buſineſs.

This was the laſt attack of the kind that was made this year; and though, upon the whole, not only the Engliſh, but the confederates in general reaped very conſiderable advantages, from their ruining in this manner all the enemy's coaſts, while their ſquadrons were ſhut up in their ports, and in no capacity to undertake any thing, yet, on the return of the fleet, the council thought fit to examine into the conduct both of the officers and engineers, who charged each other reciprocally with want of ſkill, or want of zeal; but, upon a long and ſtrict examination into the matter, it was found, that their want of unanimity was the greateſt misfortune; and it appeared ſo plainly, that, by proper management, the French ports might be ruined, notwithſtanding the mighty pains and immenſe expence employed in fortifying them, that it was reſolved to proſecute the ſame method; and it was particularly recommended to Mr. Meeſters, not only to be more careful in providing for the ſupply of his machines with whatever was neceſſary for their acting effectually, but alſo to ſecure a ſufficient number of experienced pilots, for want of which both the attempts on Dunkirk had miſcarried[r].

That reſpect which is due to truth, and the information without reſerve of our readers, will not permit the paſſing over in ſilence ſome misfortunes that fell out this year at ſea. When the French court found that, notwithſtanding the vaſt expence they had been at in order to raiſe a maritime power, they were yet unable to look the Engliſh and Dutch in the face, they very prudently gave leave to many of their ſailors to enter on board privateers, which enabled them to diſturb our trade, and to enrich themſelves. The marquis of Caermarthen, who had the command of a ſquadron ſtationed off the Scilly iſlands, was ſo unlucky as to miſtake a fleet of merchant-men for the Breſt ſquadron; whereupon, without taking any pains to be ſatisfied whether he was or was not in the right, he retired immediately into Milford-haven, which expoſed the Barbadoes fleet in ſuch a manner, that many of them were loſt, two Eaſt-India ſhips were taken at ſea, and three more were either burnt or taken near Galway in Ireland, by ſome privateers acting under king

[r] See a more ſatisfactory account of this matter in our memoirs of the lord Berkley of Stratton.

James's commiſſion[s]. Theſe five ſhips, biſhop Burnet tells us, were worth a million, and therefore we need not be ſurpriſed, that by the loſs of them, which affected ſo many people, a great clamour was raiſed among the merchants.

The admiralty excuſed themſelves by producing the inſtructions given to the marquis of Caermarthen, and other officers; but, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid, it appeared inconteſtibly, that the true ſource of our loſſes in this reſpect, and of the French ſucceſs, was their having ſo good intelligence of all our motions; whereas it never appeared, that, with all the money ſpent for this purpoſe, we had any tolerable accounts of theirs. How far this was owing to their diligence and dexterity, and how far to our indolence and treachery, is what I ſhall not pretend to determine, but content myſelf with obſerving, that, in a time of war, no money is ſo ill ſpared as that which might be employed in gaining early notice of an enemy's preparations; for though their deſigns may, yet thoſe can never be hid[t].

But, in ſome meaſure to balance theſe, we may have leave to mention a few acts of extraordinary courage and conduct, which our own countrymen performed; and which, if it were for their ſingularity only, deſerve to be remembered. On the 30th of May, 1695, as one William Thompſon, maſter of a fiſhing boat belonging to the port of Pool in Dorſetſhire, was fiſhing near the iſland of Purbeck, with only one man and a boy, and perceiving a privateer of Cherbourg to bear down upon him, he was ſo far from avoiding the enemy, that he made ready to defend himſelf the beſt way he could with two little guns, which he had mounted, and ſome ſmall arms; and with ſo inconſiderable a force behaved himſelf with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a little time he wounded the captain, the lieutenant, and ſix more of the French, which ſo diſcouraged the reſt, that they bore away. But then, in his return, Thompſon gave chace to the privateer, fired upon her for two hours together, and at length made the enemy ſtrike, beg for quarter, and ſurrender; ſo that Thomp-

[s] Memoires publics, Quincy hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. Reincourt hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 479. [t] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 155. Kennet, Oldmixon, Preſent ſtate of Europe, Life of king William.

ſon,

ſon, thus victorious, brought away the ſloop with fourteen priſoners, (of which the captain was one), having left two more at Corfe-caſtle, and carried her into Pool harbour. This privateer had two pattareroes, ſeveral ſmall arms and grenadoes, and ſixteen men. For this gallant exploit, the lords of the admiralty gave captain Thompſon a gold chain and medal, of the value of fifty pounds, and made him a preſent alſo of the veſſel he had taken [u].

Their lordſhips, not long after, gave a like chain and medal to Mr. Williams, who was likewiſe maſter of a fiſhing-ſmack belonging to Whitſand-bay, for retaking ſeveral veſſels after they had fallen into the hands of French privateers [w]. Theſe rewards had ſuch an effect, that captain Peter Jolliffe, in a ſmall hoy, called the Sea Adventure, perceiving a French privateer in the iſland of Purbeck make prize of a fiſhing-boat belonging to Weymouth, he boldly attacked him, though of three times his ſtrength, and having firſt obliged him to quit his prize, afterwards forced him on ſhore near the town of Lulworth, the people of which made themſelves maſters of the veſſel, and took the crew priſoners; for which brave exploit, captain Jolliffe was honoured alſo with a gold chain and medal [x]. Several other actions of this ſort gave reputation to the Engliſh ſeamen, and plainly ſhewed, that nothing but diviſions in our councils, and factions in our fleets, hindered us from ſucceeding in our deſigns of making a deſcent on the coaſt of France, and revenging the injuries done our commerce by the privateers of that nation: a deſign every way juſt and reaſonable, ſince the French king not only furniſhed thoſe privateers with ſeamen, but alſo employed his own ſhips in this kind of piratical war, and cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck on the ſucceſs of it: but whether theſe will tranſmit his glory or ſhame to poſterity, I leave every impartial reader to determine [y].

The

[u] London Gazette, N° 3085. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 411, 412. Preſent ſtate of Europe. [w] London Gazette, N° 3085.

[x] London Gazette, N° 3089.

[y] I have always looked upon this as the ſtrongeſt proof of the rectitude of thoſe councils, to which were owing the bombardment of the French coaſts; and therefore I think it may not be amiſs to give the reader ſome inſtances in ſupport of what is delivered in the text. Every body knows how fond the

The campaign in Flanders being over, king William returned to England, and on the eleventh of October arrived at Kenſington, and immediately after publiſhed a proclamation, by which he diſſolved the parliament, and called a new one, which was to meet on the twenty-ſecond of November following[z]. About the ſame time Sir George Rooke received orders to proceed with all expedition to the fleet, with the ſquadron under his command. He was on this occaſion declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips in the Mediterranean, with inſtructions to protect the Engliſh commerce, to annoy the enemy, and, in caſe they paſſed the Streights, to follow them with the whole fleet, or a ſtrength proportionable to theirs.

Sir George parted from the Engliſh coaſt on the ſixteenth of October 1695, with ſeventy ſail of men of war and merchantmen under his command, and in thirty-eight days arrived ſafely in the bay of Cadiz. There he applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to the ſecuring the ſafe return of the Turkey fleet, and protecting every where the Engliſh trade from the danger to which it ſtood expoſed from the French privateers; but, as to the latter part of his inſtructions, he found himſelf ſcarce in a capacity to carry them into execution, the force he had in the port of Cadiz being much inferior to the ſtrength he knew the

French king was of cauſing the remarkable actions of his reign to be recorded by medals; and therefore their teſtimony is unexceptionable. On the taking the India ſhips, formerly mentioned, there was a medal ſtruck, repreſenting theſe veſſels unlading, and their cargoes taken from the ſlaves who brought them on ſhore, by a man completely armed, with this inſcription, *Indicæ hoſtium opes interceptæ; i. e.* The treaſures of the Indies taken from the enemies. In the exergue, 1695. Upon John du Bart's deſtroying a ſquadron of Dutch ſhips, another medal appeared, on which was repreſented the Batavian lion, proſtrate on the ground, the genius of Holland ſitting on his back, and looking with an air of diſtraction towards a ſhip at ſea, with this legend, *Incenſis aut captis hoſtium navibus oneratis triginta, bellicis tribus;* that is, Thirty merchant-ſhips, and three men of war, belonging to the enemy, either burnt or taken. In the exergue, *ad Texellum*, 1695. A medal was alſo ſtruck on the fruitleſs bombarding of Dunkirk, which ſhewed of how great importance the French king thought that neſt of pirates. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tom. v. p. 99. Gerard Van Loon hiſtoire metallique des Pays Bas, tom. iv. p. 211.

z Preſent ſtate of Europe for 1695, p. 376. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 416. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 160.

French

French had at Toulon, and therefore he was obliged to provide the beſt he could for his ſecurity there: many of the great Engliſh ſhips, and moſt of the Dutch under his command, being ſo foul, that it would have been unſafe to have hazarded them in an engagement. In this ſituation Sir George Rooke remained for ſome time, and then received his majeſty's commands to return for England[a].

We are now to enter on the tranſactions of 1696, a year in which both the French and the allies were reſolved to exert their greateſt ſkill and utmoſt force for continuing the war, though they were both heartily weary of it, and had ſufficient reaſons to wiſh for peace. At home our party-debates ran much higher than ever. The Tories were formed into a fixed and conſtant oppoſition to the government, making it a capital point of patriotiſm to perplex public affairs; the Engliſh merchants were exceedingly uneaſy at the loſſes they had ſuſtained in trade, and all Scotland was in confuſion on account of the oppoſition given to the project they had formed for eſtabliſhing an Eaſt-India company, and making alſo a ſettlement in the Weſt-Indies at Darien. To theſe ſources of uneaſineſs there were added many others, ſome of greater and ſome of leſs importance: among the former may be reckoned the buſineſs of a general re-coinage; and, among the latter, an epidemic corruption, which had ſpread itſelf through almoſt every office in the kingdom, equally to the diſcredit of the government, and oppreſſion of the people.

While, therefore, the parliament directed its councils to the finding out remedies proper for ſo many and ſo great evils, the French were contriving (as indeed it was but natural they ſhould) how they might turn our domeſtic diſputes moſt to their own advantage, and at laſt projected the means to ſet on foot a conſpiracy here, while they were preparing there all things neceſſary for the making a formidable invaſion. Thus at the cloſe of the war they made, as their policy commonly is, vaſt efforts, as well in hopes of carrying their point, as to juſtify their departure

[a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 286, 290. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 416, 427. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. xix. p. 573.

from

from it, in caſe, after ſo bold an attempt, they ſhould meet with freſh diſappointments [b].

It was pretty early in the winter that the French king formed the project of invading England, and by this means reſtoring king James. But the firſt ſuſpicion, that was had here of his deſign, aroſe from his making a grand promotion of ſea-officers, and amongſt them no fewer than twenty captains of men of war; which looked as if they did not intend to let their fleets be idle, as they had done for two years paſt: and what greatly alarmed the nation was, that we had no conſiderable naval force at home to oppoſe them [c]. Their greateſt preparations being at Toulon, confounded our politicians not a little, and ſerved to keep their attention fixed to the Mediterranean.

But in the beginning of January, 1696, the French ſcheme began to unfold itſelf, by the early ſailing of a fleet to Dunkirk. It was uſual for them to ſend a large number of victuallers thither in the winter, eſcorted by a ſmall ſquadron of men of war. But the fleet now ſent was much greater than formerly, and the ſquadron, that ſailed with it as an eſcort, conſiſted of ſeventeen men of war. Soon after this an army of twenty thouſand men, drawn with all poſſible ſilence from the adjacent garriſons, was brought down to the ſea-coaſts, and five hundred tranſports provided with extraordinary diligence and ſecrecy, in order to carry over the greater part of them to England, while moſt of our large ſhips were laid up, and the reſt either in the Mediterranean, or refitting here, in order to be ſent thither [d]. So that hitherto all things ſeemed to favour the views of the enemy, who were not a little rejoiced at an accident that happened at Gillingham in the river Medway, where the Royal Sovereign took fire, and was totally conſumed, though without prejudice to any of the ſhips which lay near her [e].

It

[b] Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Quincy, P. Daniel, *&c.* [c] Hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tome iii. p. 201. Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, Supplement to Rapin. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xx. p. 58. London Gazette, N° 3161, 3162. [d] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 166. Life of king William, p. 447. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 704. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xx. p. 300.

[e] I have met with the following account of this accident, which is very curious, in a pocket-book of an old ſeaman, who ſome time belonged to her:

"January

It was the intention of Louis XIV. to have embarked at Dunkirk 16,000 men, who were to be commanded by king James in perſon, and under him by the marquis of Harcourt, then lieutenant-general, and afterwards marſhal of France. This embarkation was to have been eſcorted by two ſtrong ſquadrons under the marquis of Neſmond and John du Bart, all which might have been executed, if bad weather and contrary winds had not prevented it. In the mean time the duke of Berwick, Sir George Berkley, and ſome other experienced officers, were ſent over to diſpoſe the malecontents here to perform their part in this undertaking. But, when all things were ſuppoſed to be in perfect readineſs, the whole ſcheme was happily diſcovered, and on the twenty-fourth of February the king came to the houſe of peers, ſent for the commons, and in a ſet ſpeech informed them of the whole affair [f].

At

"January 29, 1696. The Royal Sovereign was the firſt great ſhip that was "ever built in England; ſhe was then deſigned only for ſplendour and magnifi-"cence, and was in ſome meaſure the occaſion of thoſe loud complaints againſt "ſhip-money in the reign of king Charles I. but, being taken down a deck "lower, became one of the beſt men of war in the world, and ſo formidable to "her enemies, that none of the moſt daring among them would willingly ly by "her ſide. She had been in almoſt all the great engagements that had been "fought between England and Holland, and, in the laſt fight between the Eng-"liſh and French, encountering the Wonder of the World, ſhe ſo warmly plied "the French admiral, that ſhe forced him out of his three-decked wooden caſtle, "and, chaſing the Royal Sun before her, forced her to fly for ſhelter among "the rocks, where ſhe became a prey to leſſer veſſels, that reduced her to aſhes. "At length, leaky and defective herſelf with age, ſhe was laid up at Chatham, "in order to be rebuilt; but, being ſet on fire by negligence, ſhe was, upon the "twenty-ſeventh of this month, devoured by that element, which ſo long and "ſo often before ſhe had imperiouſly made uſe of as the inſtrument of deſtruc-"tion to others."

[f] As I do not enter any farther into the hiſtory of theſe times, than is abſolutely neceſſary to the underſtanding the facts I relate, ſo I choſe to give this, and other paſſages of a like nature, from the moſt authentic pieces I have met with. The following conciſe detail of the conſpiracy was publiſhed in the London Gazette, N° 3161. with the king's ſpeech, and the joint addreſs of both houſes.

"By the great mercy of God a diſcovery has been made of a moſt horrid and "deteſtable conſpiracy, in which many wicked and traiterous perſons were en-"gaged to aſſaſſinate his majeſty when he went abroad. At the ſame time a riſing "was intended within the kingdom, and an invaſion from France; to which "end divers French troops were drawn towards Dunkirk and Calais, and tranſ-

"ports

At the ſame time orders were given for aſſembling, with the utmoſt diligence, the greateſt number of ſhips poſſible; and admiral Ruſſel, after having aſſiſted at a board of admiralty, where proper inſtructions were prepared, went down to Deal, and on the twenty-fifth of February hoiſted the Union flag on board the Victory, and in a few days ſtood over to the coaſt of France, having under his command upwards of fifty ſhips of the line, Engliſh and Dutch, at a time when the French believed we could not aſſemble ten; which extraordinary expedition confounded all their deſigns, and rendered the invaſion abſolutely impracticable, after all the pains and expence that had been for ſome months employed about it[g].

On the twenty-eighth of February the admiral came to an anchor off Gravelin, with part of the fleet, and lord Berkley, with a ſquadron under his command, lay between him and Dunkirk. As the admiral paſſed by Calais, he perceived the harbour crowded with all ſorts of ſmall veſſels for the intended embarkation of the French troops. As for the ſeventeen men of war, which were to have eſcorted them, thirteen were run in as cloſe to the pier of Dunkirk as poſſible, and proved to be all large ſhips. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with ſome other experienced officers, were ſent to look upon them, to ſee if there was any poſſibility of burning them or not; but, after a long conſultation with Mr. Meeſters and the engineers, it was declared to be im-

" port-veſſels and boats were got together at thoſe places, of all which his ma-
" jeſty having received ſeveral concurring informations and advices, orders were
" given for apprehending the conſpirators; many of whom have been already
" ſeized, and ſuch ſtrict ſearch is made after the reſt, that it is hoped few or
" none of them will eſcape the hands of juſtice. The forces in England are in
" a readineſs to march, and a conſiderable body of his majeſty's troops in Flan-
" ders ly ready to embark at Oſtend. Admiral Ruſſel is in the Downs, with a
" ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips, who will be daily reinforced by other men of
" war from the river and Spithead. And the care that has been taken for the de-
" fence and ſafety of the kingdom will, we doubt not, with the bleſſing of God,
" be ſufficient to diſappoint the deſigns of our enemies.

g On the twenty fourth of February there were but eleven ſhips in the Downs, and by the twenty-eighth the admiral had with him one firſt rate, twelve third, twenty-four fourth, and three fifth rates, beſides fire-ſhips, and the following flags under him, *viz.* lord Berkley, admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, vice-admiral of the red; Mr. Aylmer, vice-admiral of the blue; twelve Dutch ſhips under two rear-admirals.

practicable; and thereupon the admiral determined to quit that ſtation, and return into Dover road, leaving a ſquadron under Sir Cloudeſley Shovel to watch the motions of the enemy [h].

This ſquadron continued cruizing in the Downs all the month of March, without attempting any thing; but, towards the end of the month, being reinforced with ſeveral Dutch ſhips, fire-ſhips, and bomb-veſſels, he received orders, on the ſecond of April, to undertake the bombardment of Calais; in purſuance of which, he immediately came before that town, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for executing thoſe orders. On the third the bomb-veſſels began to fire about noon, and continued firing till evening, in which time above three hundred bombs and carcaſſes fell either in the town, or among the ſhips in the harbour, with ſuch effect as to kindle fires in both, and muſt certainly have done a great deal of miſchief [i]. But as moſt of the bomb-veſſels and brigantines had their rigging deſtroyed, and their mortars diſmounted, (the wind too blowing very hard from the ſhore), Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, having left a ſquadron to keep in the French men of war at Dunkirk, returned into the Downs, where he received orders on the 11th of April to join the grand fleet at Spithead. But, before he could execute theſe orders, Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs with his fleet from the Streights, and took upon him the command [k].

All the views of France were now totally diſappointed, and the Engliſh ſtrength at ſea become ſo formidable, that they were able to undertake little or nothing againſt it. Yet, to keep up the ſpirits of the people, and in ſome meaſure to embarraſs the Engliſh and Dutch, orders were deſpatched to the Toulon ſquadron, directing that it ſhould immediately ſail into the ocean; and at the ſame time John du Bart was commanded to proceed out of the harbour of Dunkirk, with eight men of war and two fire-ſhips. In the mean time Sir George Rooke arrived at Spit-

[h] Burchet's memoirs, p. 325. [i] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 720. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 179. London Gazette, N° 3173. Mercure hiſtorique, tome xx. p. 462, 473, 542. Memoires hiſtoriques et chronologiques, Reincourt, tome iii. p. 485. [k] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 539, 540. The preſent ſtate of Europe for the months of April and May, 1696. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 426. See our memoirs of Sir George Rooke. London Gazette, N° 3174, 3180.

head, after having detached ſeveral of his cleaneſt ſhips for particular ſervices, receiving there a commiſſion appointing him admiral and commander in chief of the fleet. His inſtructions were, to ly in ſuch a ſtation as ſhould be moſt proper for preventing the Toulon ſquadron from getting into any of the ports of France; upon meeting them he was to fight, and, upon his receiving notice of their getting into any port, he was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to burn or deſtroy them there; or, in caſe he had intelligence of their getting ſafe to Breſt, he was then to return to Torbay, and to remain there till he ſhould receive orders.

On the fourteenth of May, 1696, Sir George Rooke with the fleet, being on the coaſt of France, received certain intelligence, that the Toulon ſquadron was ſafely arrived at Breſt. Upon this he held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, that, as many of the largeſt ſhips in the fleet were very foul, and the whole much inferior to the combined ſquadrons in the harbour of Breſt, they ſhould immediately purſue the laſt part of their inſtructions, and return to Torbay; which accordingly they did, and there the fleet was ſoon reinforced to the number in the whole of one hundred and fifteen ſail, of which no fewer than eighty-five were of the line of battle[1].

A reſolution having been taken in the privy-council as to the bombarding the French coaſts, orders were ſent to Sir George Rooke, towards the latter end of the month of May, to return to the ſervice of the board as one of the lords of the admiralty, it being intended to intruſt the fleet, or at leaſt ſuch a part of it as ſhould be employed in the before-mentioned ſervice, to the care of the lord Berkley of Stratton, who had behaved ſo gallantly the year before. Theſe orders reached Sir George Rooke on the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1696; but, before he returned to London, he received advice, that ſeventy French men of war were actually lying in Camaret-bay, with three blue flags, and a white one flying, of which he not only gave advice to the admiralty, but, on his coming to town, addreſſed himſelf to the duke of Shrewſbury, then ſecretary of ſtate, to whom he made the following propoſal:

[1] Burchet's memoirs, p. 341.

"That

"That the body of the fleet ſhould ly in Camaret and Ber-
"theaume bays, and a detachment be made to ſuſtain the ſmall
"frigates and bomb-veſſels, while they went in to do what
"miſchief they could. It was his opinion, that thus blocking
"up the enemy's fleet in their principal port, inſulting their
"coaſts, and burning their towns all at the ſame time, would
"expoſe them exceedingly to the world, make them very un-
"eaſy at home, and give high reputation to his majeſty's arms.
"And all this he believed might be done, if ſpeedily undertа-
"ken, with the aſſiſtance of ſome ſmall frigates, which were
"much wanted."

If this ſcheme had been immediately purſued, it might in all probability have been executed with ſucceſs. But, after being laid before and examined by the privy-council, it was at laſt ſent down to the fleet to be reconſidered there by a council of war, when loſs of time, and other accidents, had rendered it leſs practicable, and therefore we need not wonder that, upon this reconſideration, it was rejected [m].

Lord Berkley hoiſted the union flag on board the Britannia on the third of June, 1696, the ſame day that Sir George Rooke ſet out for London; but he ſoon found, that, notwithſtanding his commiſſion, he was very far from having the command of the fleet: for having propoſed to a council of war the attacking of Breſt, which was the project approved by the privy-council, they reſolved that it was in their opinion impracticable, as on the ſixteenth of the ſame month they did the ſame as to the propoſal of Sir George Rooke, before-mentioned. His lordſhip being determined, however, not to remain any longer inactive, ſailed on the twenty-fourth for the French coaſt [n]. On the third of July the admiral ſent the Burford and the Newcaſtle, with a fire-ſhip, to the iſland of Groy, with orders to land. On the fourth the fleet came to an anchor about two leagues from Belleiſle,

[m] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 546. Memoirs of Sir George Rooke. Hiſtory of the laſt war. Though this propoſition did not turn to the nation's advantage, yet it was of ſome uſe to Sir George himſelf, when, as we ſhall hereafter obſerve, the houſe of commons inquired into the conduct of the fleet, and at the ſame time into his behaviour.

[n] London Gazette, N° 3197. Burchet's memoirs, p. 342. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 720.

and barges and pinnaces were immediately manned, in order to make a deſcent upon Hoat, one of the iſlands called Cardinals, which they performed, ravaged the whole iſland, and burnt the only town that was upon it: they did the ſame in the iſland of Hodicke, and brought off a great number of cattle. On the fifth a great reinforcement was ſent to captain Fitzpatrick, who had landed in the iſland of Groy, where they deſtroyed twenty villages, containing about thirteen hundred houſes, took a ſhip from Newfoundland, and twenty ſmall veſſels, and carried off about fifteen hundred horſes and black cattle [o].

The ſame day Sir Martin Beckman, who was ſent to bombard the town of St. Martin's in the iſle of Rhee, performed his commiſſion very exactly, throwing, in the ſpace of one night, two thouſand two hundred and thirty bombs and carcaſſes into the place, by which the beſt part of the town was entirely burnt down, with all their warehouſes, and the goods contained in them, notwithſtanding the place was very well fortified, and our ſquadrons ſuſtained a very warm fire all the time. On the ſeventh the ſame ſquadron, which conſiſted but of ten men of war, bombarded Ollonne, and in the ſpace of a night threw into it almoſt two thouſand bombs and carcaſſes, which had ſuch an effect, that the town was ſeen to be on fire in fifteen places at once [p]. After this the admiral, not finding it convenient to land on Belleiſle, continued to alarm the French coaſt till towards the latter end of the month; and then, through want of proviſions, and the weakneſs of the fleet, occaſioned by making ſeveral detachments, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning to Spithead [q].

The French affected to ridicule theſe, as they had done former bombardments, and the ſame humour ſeems very unaccountably to have poſſeſſed abundance of people at home. Even Mr. Burchet, ſpeaking of my lord Berkley's exploits, calls them

[o] I have followed in the text the orthography of lord Berkley's relation, as it is printed in the Gazette, N° 3203. but the proper names of thoſe iſlands are Grouais, Houat, Heydic. The admiral certainly acted right in landing where he might do moſt miſchief, and expoſe his men leaſt.

[p] London Gazette, N° 4204. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 431. Life of king William. Preſent ſtate of Europe for 1696, p. 232. [q] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 547, 548.

LITTLE

LITTLE ENTERPRISES; and yet nothing is more certain, than that the French were grievouſly affected by them, their country being kept in a perpetual alarm. This the reader will eaſily diſcern, when he is told, that between Breſt and Goulet there were forty batteries erected on one ſide, and twenty-five on the other; that on theſe batteries were mounted nineteen mortars, and four hundred and eighty-nine pieces of heavy cannon, and above ſixty thouſand men, quartered up and down on the coaſts to prevent the bad effects of an invaſion. If France had been under no concern, ſuch precautions would never have been taken; if ſhe was, the bombardment that ſpread this terror muſt not have been ſuch ſlight things as ſome writers endeavour to repreſent them, or, if they were, what were thoſe whom they ſo frighted[r]?

It is agreed on all hands, that the care taken this year of our trade was ſo great, and the orders of the lords of the admiralty were ſo well executed, that our ſeveral fleets of merchantmen returned ſafe, notwithſtanding the French made it their principal buſineſs to intercept them. In two inſtances, indeed, we were ſomewhat unlucky: the firſt was in Newfoundland, of which an account will be given elſewhere; the other in reſpect to the Dunkirk ſquadron, of which the following is a very exact account: In the month of May, 1696, rear-admiral Benbow had the command given him of a ſmall number of ſhips, with orders to prevent Du Bart from getting out of that port. When the rear-admiral arrived before it, he found the French ſquadron ready to ſail, and his own too ſmall to guard both the eaſt and north channel. He did, however, his beſt; but the weather proving hazy, and he cruizing before the north channel, Du

[r] Hiſtoire militaire, tome iii. p. 276. Memoires hiſtoriques et chronologiques. P. Daniel. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 548. But M. Deviſe, the French gazetteer, exceeds them all in his account of the matter. The exploits of the Engliſh, ſays he, are ſo extravagant, that they are ſcarce credible, and their expeditions ſo pitiful, that they ſerve only to excite ſcorn and contempt. All they did during their ſtay at Belleiſle was to make a deſcent on the iſland of Grouais, a defenceleſs place, where they burnt a few houſes, carried off a parcel of ſheep, hamſtringed 150 horſes, and killed the cattle in a church-yard: they burnt alſo a few houſes in the iſlands of Houat and Heydic. In fine, continues he, the very powder they have ſpent in theſe fruitleſs attempts muſt have coſt more than the damage they have done amounts to. This was certainly very proper news for the court to publiſh, in order to keep up the ſpirits of the people; but an hiſtorian ſurely deſerves blame who copies after ſuch an author.

Bart

Bart gave him the ſlip, and, having a fair wind, was quickly out of reach [s].

Rear-admiral Benbow reſolved, however, to purſue him, and did ſo; but the Dutch, for want of proper orders, refuſed to follow him. Du Bart in the mean time executed his ſcheme, which was to attack the Dutch Baltic fleet in their return home, which he performed on the eighth of June. This fleet conſiſted of upwards of one hundred ſail of merchant-ſhips under an eſcort of five frigates. Du Bart took all the men of war, and at leaſt half the merchantmen. In the height of this victory the outward-bound Baltic fleet appeared in ſight under an eſcort of thirteen men of war, who immediately attacked Du Bart, and forced him to burn four of the men of war, and thirty-five merchantmen, and to turn the fifth frigate, which had on board the crews of all the reſt, adrift, ſo that ſhe was retaken; but, according to the French accounts, he came back after all with fifteen prizes into the road of Dunkirk [t].

Rear-admiral Benbow convoyed afterwards, with his ſquadron, our northern-bound fleet to Gottenburgh, and thence proceeded to Hamburgh; and, returning homewards in the month of September, he had ſight of Du Bart's ſquadron, and chaſed him till he ſaw it was to no purpoſe: however, he had the ſatisfaction ſoon after of joining four Engliſh and eleven Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips, which came north-about, and thereby eſcaped the French privateers, and luckily enough for them, even Du Bart himſelf, though they muſt have had ſight of his ſquadron [u].

Thus ended the naval operations of this year in this part of the world, where we certainly diſappointed all the French deſigns, did them no ſmall damage on their coaſts, kept the beſt part of their fleets blocked up in their harbours, and protected our trade better than it had been for many years paſt; yet in the next ſeſſion of parliament, which began on the 20th of October, 1696, one of the firſt things the houſe of commons did was to enter into an inquiry into the late miſcarriages of the fleet, and this expoſed Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel to

[s] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 549, 550. [t] Hiſtoire militaire, tome iii. p. 279. Reincourt, tome iii. p. 489. Limiers, tome ii. p. 606. [u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 551.

ſeveral

ſeveral ſtrict examinations, in which, however, nothing appearing that could be conſtrued either an omiſſion or breach of duty, the affair dropped, and the houſe afterwards voted the ſum of 2,372,197 l. for the maintenance of forty thouſand ſeamen, and of the two marine regiments, and for the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the regiſtry of ſeamen [w].

We are now arrived at that period of our hiſtory, which naturally leads us to take a view of what paſſed in the Weſt-Indies from the beginning of the war to the cloſe of the next year 1697; and, as our reaſons for treating this ſubject at once have been already given at large, we ſhall enter upon it here without farther introduction. The revolution took place in our colonies as eaſily as it had done at home, on a principle which was very emphatically expreſſed by one of our governors, who, when he was ſummoned by a man of war to ſubmit to king William and queen Mary, very ſenſibly anſwered, that, if they were king and queen at Whitehall, they ſhould be ſo there, and proclaimed them immediately.

By this means the plantations were ſecured againſt every thing except foreign invaſions, and to theſe they were not long expoſed, ſince, towards the end of the year 1689, orders were given for fitting out a ſquadron for Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, under the command of captain Lawrence Wright, who was directed to ſail as ſoon as poſſible, and had very ample inſtructions given him [x]. It fell out, however, in conſequence of abundance of unlucky accidents, that he did not leave Plymouth till the eighth of March following. Arriving in Carliſle-bay on the eleventh of May, 1690, he found all things there in a better poſture than he expected; and towards the latter end of the month, when his men were pretty well recovered of the ſcurvy, he ſailed for the Leeward Iſlands, in order to aſſiſt general Codrington, who was preparing for an expedition againſt St. Chri-

[w] See the journals of the houſe of commons, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, *&c.*

[x] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 451. This ſquadron conſiſted of ten ſail of men of war, *viz.* one third rate, ſeven fourth, and two fifth rates, two fire-ſhips, and a ketch. The duke of Bolton's regiment of foot embarked on board it, and the commodore was inſtructed to uſe his beſt endeavours to ſecure the Engliſh colonies, aſſiſt the Dutch, and diſtreſs the French, in all which he was directed to take the advice of councils of war, of general Codrington, the governor and council of Barbadoes, *&c.*

ſtopher's,

ſtopher's, where we had been joint poſſeſſors with the French, who had now driven us out, and had made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland [y].

The commodore ſailed on the third of June to Montſerrat, where he was joined by the general from Antigua with ſuch a force as the Engliſh colonies could ſupply. Thence they proceeded together to Nevis, in conſequence of a reſolution taken in a council of war, to make a deſcent as ſoon as poſſible upon the iſland of St. Chriſtopher. On the twenty-third Sir Timothy Thornhill landed, with five hundred men, to the eaſt of Frigot's bay, and, having twice engaged and routed the French, marched on to Baſſe-terre, and in the way beat the French forces a third time. This broke the ſpirits of the enemy to ſuch a degree, that they gave general Codrington no diſturbance, when he landed with three thouſand men, and marched the ſame way. The fleet at the ſame time ſailed into the road, in order to batter the town and forts, while the general attacked it by land. The French, however, ſaved them the trouble, by abandoning the place, and ſetting it on fire. In about three weeks time the whole iſland was reduced; and, the ſeaſon of hurricanes coming on, the fleet returned triumphantly to Barbadoes, and the deſign of making farther conqueſts was poſtponed to another year [z].

In the month of January, 1691, the commodore received freſh orders from England, directing him to ſtay ſome time longer in America; upon which he took up ſix of the largeſt merchant-ſhips, turned them into men of war, and on the twelfth of February ſailed for the Leeward Iſlands. There an unhappy difference ſprung up between him and general Codrington, which ruined the expedition; for though in the month of April they

[y] Burchet, Kennet, Columna roſtrata, Hiſtoire militaire P. Daniel.

[z] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 555, 556, 557. This was in ſome meaſure owing to the ſickneſs of the troops, and to ſeveral ſhips being diſabled, but was chiefly occaſioned by the commodore's receiving orders to return to England, which, as we ſhall ſee, were very quickly countermanded. See alſo a true and faithful relation of the proceedings of the forces of their majeſties king William and queen Mary, in their expedition againſt the French in the Caribbee iſlands in the Weſt Indies, under the conduct of his excellency Chriſtopher Codrington, captain-general and commander in chief of the ſaid forces in the years 1689 and 1690, written by Thomas Spencer, junior, ſecretary to the honourable Sir Timothy Thornhill, baronet, London, 1691, 4to. This ſuccinct and ſenſible narrative is addreſſed to admiral Ruſſel; London Gazette, N° 2602.

landed in Marigallante, and in a great meaſure ruined that ſettlement, from whence they proceeded to Guadalupe, and remained there ſome time; yet, on the news of a French ſquadron's being in the neighbourhood, they haſtily re-embarked their forces, and reſolved to abandon the enterpriſe, at the ſame time almoſt that the French had determined to abandon the iſland. Soon after this, commodore Wright returned to Barbadoes, where finding his conduct univerſally diſliked, he, under pretence of ſickneſs, quitted the command, having firſt ſeparated the ſquadron to different ſervices; and ſoon after returned, with very little reputation, to England[a]. A certain author indeed tells us, that he was ſent home a priſoner, of which, if it had been ſo, I think ſecretary Burchet would ſcarcely have been ignorant, and yet the contrary is expreſly ſaid by him, though he does indeed intimate that he deſerved it[b]. However, we hear no more of him or his deſerts!

The ſame year ſome other expeditions were undertaken againſt the French in this part of the world. The colony of New-England found itſelf ſo liable to diſturbance from the ſettlement the French had at Port-Royal, in Nova Scotia, that it was reſolved to attack it, and that too as ſoon as the war broke out. With this view, a conſiderable fleet, with ſeven hundred land-forces on board, was fitted out under the command of Sir William Phips, who ſailed from Nantaſcot on the twenty-eight of April, 1690, and by the middle of the next month he completed his deſign, and reduced Port-Royal and the adjacent ſettlements under the dominion of the Engliſh. His quick ſucceſs in this, induced the colony to undertake an enterprize of greater importance, which was no leſs than the reduction of Quebec, the capital of the French ſettlements in Canada. This was certainly a well laid ſcheme, and if it had been executed with equal prudence, muſt have turned very highly to the advantage of the Engliſh, as experience hath convinced us ſince. The colony ſhewed on this occaſion a very extraordinay meaſure of public ſpirit, by raiſing no leſs than two thouſand men, whom they embarked on board their fleet of thirty-two ſail, great

[a] Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 54. Hiſtory of the war. Preſent ſtate of Europe, 1691. [b] Burchet's memoirs, p. 123.

and ſmall, without demanding or expecting any aſſiſtance from hence [c].

With this force Sir William Phips ſailed from Hull, near Boſton, on the ninth of Auguſt, and arrived about the beginning of September, before the river of Canada, but was there unluckily, by contrary winds, detained in ſuch a manner, as that it was three weeks before they arrived at Quebec. This gave the count de Frontenac, governor there for the French, an opportunity to prepare for his defence, and of drawing all the ſtrength of the colony to Quebec, which Sir William Phips expected would have been divided, by an army marching over land and attacking Mount-Royal fort, at the ſame time that he fell upon the city. This army was to conſiſt of a thouſand men from New-York, Connecticut, and Plymouth colonies, and fifteen hundred Iroquois. The Engliſh marched as far as the great lake of Canada, but not finding canoes ready for them to paſs it, and the Indians not joining them according to their agreement, they returned; by which unfortunate miſcarriage count Frontenac had no need to make any detachments for the ſecurity of Mount-Royal.

Sir William ſummoned the count to ſurrender the city, but received a very inſolent and haughty anſwer. On the eighth of October the Engliſh landed, under lieutenant-general Whalley, to the number of fourteen hundred, for to that number they were now reduced by the ſmall-pox, and other diſeaſes. In the mean while, Sir William brought his ſhips to bear on the weſt end of the city, waiting till general Whalley ſhould begin the aſſault. But this gentleman hearing that count de Frontenac had four thouſand men within, and was provided to make a vigorous defence, notwithſtanding the entreaties of the Engliſh ſoldiers to the contrary, reſolved immediately to reimbark. Sir William expecting the ſignal for their attacking the town on the eaſt ſide, ſent a meſſenger on ſhore to know the reaſon of their not giving the aſſault; which when he underſtood, and ſaw many of the men were almoſt frozen to death, to which we may add, the colonel and others ill of the ſmall-pox, he ordered them on board to refreſh themſelves; and calling a coun-

[c] Britiſh empire in America, vol. i. p. 22.

cil of war, it was therein reſolved to return. Thus ended this fruitleſs expedition, which coſt the colony of New-England ſo large a ſum of money, and as to which mighty expectations had been raiſed [d].

Several accounts have been given of this unlucky expedition; but moſt of them written either with a view to load the character of Sir William Phips, or elſe purely to excuſe his conduct. The bounds of this work will not permit an ample examination of the whole affair, much leſs a recapitulation of what has been ſaid on both ſides. Yet thus much, I think, from an impartial conſideration of the facts ſtated by both parties, it is my duty to declare, that Sir William Phips intended well, and did his beſt through the whole expedition; though, perhaps, he was not, either from education or experience, qualified for a command of ſo extenſive a nature. But, beſides any miſtakes he might fall into, there were many untoward accidents which contributed to fruſtrate this deſign, and therefore it is equally cruel and unjuſt to lay the blame entirely at his door. This is certain, that no man could be more ſenſibly affected than he was by this diſappointment; and yet he made it the buſineſs of the remaining part of his life, to diſpoſe all things for another attempt, in hopes the ſucceſs of that might efface the memory of the former miſcarriage, and this ought to be remembered to his honour [e].

In the latter end of October, 1691, captain Ralph Wren, who then commanded the Norwich, had orders to ſail with that and two other fourth rates to Barbadoes, and from thence to the Leeward Iſlands, where he was to take upon him the command of ſuch ſhips as were in that ſtation; and his general inſtructions were, to ſecure the trade and plantations, and to annoy the enemy. He ſailed from Plymouth on the twelfth of December, and on the ſixteenth of the next month arrived in

[d] See the life of Sir William Phips, by Nathaniel, publiſhed by Cotton Mather, ſection xi. Lahontain's voyages, vol. i. p. 155. Letter from New-England, dated November 22, 1690. containing an account of the Quebec expedition. [e] Britiſh empire in America, vol. i. p. 22. The New-England letter before-mentioned, which was reprinted at London in 1691, in 4to, with remarks upon it, under the title of, The humble addreſs of the publicans of New-England, to which king you pleaſe.

Carliſle-bay, in Barbadoes. He had not been there long, before he was informed, that the French had a ſtout ſquadron at ſea, which had taken the Jerſey, that was to have been added to commodore Wren's ſquadron.

Upon the news of this, the governor and council of Barbadoes agreed, that two large merchant-ſhips ſhould be fitted out, in order to join the five men of war already under the commodore; and that with theſe he ſhould attack the French ſquadron, though it conſiſted of nine ſail. Accordingly the commodore quitted Barbadoes on the thirteenth of January, and cruized for about a week, but without ſeeing the enemy, and then returned. Another council of war being held, it was therein reſolved, that the commodore ſhould proceed with his ſquadron, and the merchant ſhips that were then ready, for the Leeward Iſlands. This he accordingly performed, and on the twenty-firſt of February he fell in with a French ſquadron of eighteen men of war, from ſixty to forty guns. They laboured all night to engage him, and about eight in the morning, on the twenty-ſecond, the enemy having a freſh gale, and moſt of the commodore's ſquadron not a breath of wind, four of their ſhips bore down upon the Mary, commanded by lieutenant Wyat, who defended her very well, until the commodore could come to her aſſiſtance. At the ſame time, the Mordaunt, commanded by captain Boteler, with one of the hired ſhips, and the England frigate, commanded by captain Stubbs, were warmly engaged in the very midſt of the enemy; but they cleared themſelves with all the bravery imaginable. The commodore finding the great diſproportion as to the ſtrength, his ſquadron conſiſting then but of ſeven ſhips, and that the merchant ſhips, which were under his care, had taken the proper and uſual methods for their own ſecurity, he, after a warm engagement of four hours, wiſely provided for the ſafety of the ſhips of war, under his command, by bearing away. He did this, however, with ſo little ſail, that he ſecured the three ſhips which the enemy gave chaſe to; and they, as much tired of his company, readily ſtood away from him. Thus, by a due mixture of courage and conduct, the commodore ſaved his ſmall ſquadron, and gained an high reputation, this having been reckoned one of the beſt-conducted actions of the war. The gallant commander,

der, however, did not long enjoy that ſatisfaction which muſt neceſſarily reſult from performing ſo ſignal a ſervice as he had done to his country; for as at the very time of the engagement he was in a declining ſtate of health, ſo very ſoon after his diſeaſe carried him off, and in Auguſt following part of his ſquadron, under the command of captain Boteler, returned to England[f].

The government being very ſenſible of the inconveniencies reſulting from their want of having a ſufficient force in the Weſt-Indies, reſolved, in the year 1692, to put an end to the complaints that had been made from moſt of the colonies on that ſubject, by ſending a powerful fleet thither, under Sir Francis Wheeler, as gallant and as judicious an officer as any in the navy. The ſquadron he was to command conſiſted of twelve men of war, beſides ſmaller veſſels; and he was likewiſe empowered to take under his orders ſuch ſhips of war as he ſhould find in that part of the world. He had under his convoy alſo a certain number of tranſports, with fifteen hundred land-troops, and had aſſurance given him, that ſhe ſhould find another body of very good troops ready aſſembled in Barbadoes; and, in conjunction with them, he had inſtructions to fall upon ſome of the French ſettlements, which it was judged very practicable for him to reduce[g].

Sir Francis left our coaſts in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month touched at Madeira, from whence he ſailed for Barbadoes, and arrived there on the firſt of March. There it was unanimouſly reſolved, in a full council of war, that Martinico ſhould be the place attacked; and advice was ſent to general Codrington of the arrival of the ſquadron, that he might draw together the forces of the Leeward Iſlands, in order to join the regiments brought from England, and the troops (about eight hundred foot) raiſed in Barbadoes; to which Sir Francis Wheeler offered to join another

[f] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 459. Britiſh empire in America, Life of king William, Hiſtory of the laſt war, Preſent ſtate of Europe for 1692, p. 181.

[g] The ſtate of Sir Francis Wheeler's ſquadron was this; two third rates, ſix fourths, three fifths, one ſixth, three fire-ſhips, a ſtore-ſhip, hoſpital, and bomb-veſſel. See Burchet's memoirs, p. 168. Life of king William, p. 365. Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 88.

regiment

regiment, compoſed of ſeamen, to be commanded as colonel by him in perſon.

April the fifteenth, 1693, the ſquadron, with all theſe troops on board, arrived at Cul de Sac Royal, in Martinico; but, inſtead of proceeding to perform without delay what they came thither about, it was reſolved, in a council of war, held on the twentieth, that the men ſhould reimbark, and the ſquadron ſail to Dominica, there to take in water, and to give the men, who were very ſickly, an opportunity of refreſhing themſelves. As the commodore was very ſenſible this manner of acting would be indifferently reliſhed at home, he deſired and inſiſted, that every member of the council of war ſhould give his opinion in writing; by which it appears, ſcarce any but Sir Francis Wheeler, and lieutenant-colonel Colt, were for landing and acting vigorouſly [h]. The reaſons advanced by ſuch as voted for a contrary meaſure, were, that the enemy had a ſuperior ſtrength, that one full third of our ſoldiers were Iriſh papiſts, not to be relied on, and that hazarding an engagement in theſe circumſtances, was hazarding the whole Leeward Iſlands, ſince, in caſe of a defeat, they had not a ſufficient force to defend them. Theſe were chiefly inſiſted on by general Codrington, who declared, however, that he was ready to attempt Dominica, provided the fleet could remain in thoſe parts ſix weeks or two months; but this being inconſiſtent with the commodore's inſtructions, and the troops from Barbadoes impatient to return, was not, indeed could not, be complied with [i]. Such was the iſſue of this expedition, of which, in England, from the commodore's known character, there were high expectations. However, it may not be amiſs to peruſe his own ſtate of the caſe.

" On the 30th of March the fleet ſailed from Barbadoes, " having on board the regiments of Foulke, Goodwin, two " hundred recruits of Lloyd's, and the two Barbadoes regi- " ments of Salter and Butler; and on the firſt of April they " arrived at Martinico, and anchored in the Cul de Sac Marine,

h Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 477.

i The French made a grand affair of this, and have drawn up fine accounts of their repulſing and defeating the Engliſh, though there happened but two ſlight ſkirmiſhes. Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 172. Hiſtoire militaire, par M. Quincy, tom. ii. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tom. 5.

" the

" the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland, about a mile and half from " the ſhore. Sir Francis Wheeler, colonel Foulke, comman- " der in chief of the land-forces, and colonel Lloyd, went in a " ſloop to ſee for a convenient place, in order to land our men: " the enemy had ſeveral ſmall parties along the ſhore, from one " of which a muſket-ſhot ſtruck Sir Francis under the right " pap, and fell down at his feet, having only left a great con- " tuſion.

" Orders were given for landing the forces, but the wind " blowing very freſh, it was deferred till the ſecond; when, " about nine in the morning, colonel Foulke landed with fifteen " hundred men without any oppoſition: the boats were im- " mediately ſent back, and towards evening the reſt of the " forces were likewiſe landed. On the third they continued " aſhore, and burnt and deſtroyed all the houſes and planta- " tions about Cul de Sac Marine, moſt of which were good " ſugar-works; the inhabitants and Negroes flying into the " woods. The fourth, the forces returned on board.

" The fifth, Sir Francis Wheeler went aſhore, with a de- " tachment of five hundred men, in the bay towards the Dia- " mond, and burnt ſeveral houſes and plantations, and at night " came on board again. The ſame day a lieutenant of one of " the Barbadoes regiments going aſhore to a plantation without " order, with ſix or ſeven ſoldiers beſides the boat's crew, they " were way-laid by the enemy, two of them killed, and the " reſt taken priſoners.

" The ſixth, lieutenant-colonel Lillingſton was ſent aſhore " with a ſtrong party, to deſtroy the country on the ſide of the " bay towards the Diamond; and having performed the ſame, " returned on board with his men towards night. The ſeventh " the Experiment brought advice, that colonel Codrington was " at ſea with the forces of the Leeward, who joined us on " the ninth and tenth, together with colonel Lloyd's regi- " ment.

" On the twelfth, in purſuance of what had been reſolved " on in a council of war, the whole fleet weighed and ſailed " down towards Fort-Royal, and Port St. Pierre. On the " fifteenth we got into the bay of Port St. Pierre. On the " ſixteenth all things were prepared for landing our men, and

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" the fleet came to an anchor within muſket-ſhot of the ſhore. " Our men landed on the ſeventeenth, and our advanced par- " ties had ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy. Colonel Foulke " commanded an eminence to be poſſeſſed, and ſent out ſeveral " parties, who advanced into the country, deſtroying all before " them.

" On the eighteenth our forces poſted themſelves on a hill, " within cannon-ſhot of the town of St. Pierre, and ſeveral " field-pieces were brought aſhore, which played upon the " enemy, who lay behind their entrenchments. On the nine- " teenth the enemy made a ſally upon our out-guards, but were " repulſed by part of colonel Foulke's regiment, led by captain " Spraſton, and purſued to their trenches, where the officer " that commanded them was killed. This party was ſeconded " by colonel Blackſton and his regiment; after which the ene- " my ventured out no more. Our forces continued aſhore till " the twenty-ſecond, when having deſtroyed great part of the " iſland, and our men growing ſickly, it was, at a council of " war, not thought adviſeable to attempt the fort, which is a " regular fortification, and very ſtrong, but rather to embark " again our men and cannon; which we did the ſame day in " the morning, having had in the whole about one hundred " and twenty men killed, and one hundred and ſixty wounded, " with ſome few officers.

" The twenty-third the fleet came to Dominica, and on the " fourth of May to St. Chriſtopher's, where having watered, " they ſet ſail again on the eleventh; colonel Goodwin died at " St. Chriſtopher's, colonel Foulke at ſea, with major Abrahal, " and ſeveral other officers."

Sir Francis, towards the latter end of May, ſailed for New-England, and arrived at Boſton on the twelfth of June[k]. He immediately propoſed to Sir William Phips, then governor, the attacking Quebec a ſecond time. But though nothing could have been more agreeable to that brave and public-ſpirited man, yet, as circumſtances then ſtood, he could not cloſe with it. Such an expedition required a ſtrength of four thouſand men at leaſt, and theſe (having had no previous notice) the governor

[k] London Gazette, N° 2901.

could not poſſibly draw together by the beginning of July, which was the very lateſt a fleet that was to be thus employed could ſail; and therefore this grand deſign appearing every way impracticable, was dropt, even by thoſe two men, who of all others, had it moſt at heart[l]. This diſappointment determined the commodore to quit Boſton as ſoon as poſſible; and therefore, on the third of Auguſt, he left that place, and proceeded for Newfoundland, reſolving to attempt ſomething there worthy of the force with which he left England, and the honour allowed him of carrying the union flag, from a view to the advantages which, it was not doubted, would reſult to the nation from his expedition.

On the eighteenth of Auguſt he arrived at Placentia, and found the enemy much ſtronger there than he expected; for, in the firſt place, the town was well fortified; next, there were in the harbour ſeveral ſtout privateers, the haven itſelf excellently provided with batteries, heavy cannon, bombs, *&c.* with at leaſt two thouſand ſoldiers and inhabitants, well diſciplined, and moſt of them old buccaneers. Sir Francis, however, was not to be diſcouraged; he called a council of war, laid down the method in which the place ought to be attacked at once by ſea and land, and took upon himſelf the going in with the men of war to batter the great fort, which was the moſt dangerous part of the undertaking. However, as there were eleven land to ſix ſea officers in this council, they reſolved the whole to be impoſſible and impracticable. Sir Francis Wheeler was exceedingly chagrined at this new diſgrace; but, to ſhew how little this inactivity agreed with his diſpoſition, he gave orders for deſtroying the French fiſhery at St. Peter's; which was done effectually, and ſo that it was not ſoon or very eaſily recovered[m].

On the twenty-eighth of Auguſt he ſailed from the bay of Bulls in Newfoundland for England, where he did not arrive till the eighteenth of October following, his ſhips in a bad, and his men in a much worſe condition, ſo that they were ſcarce able to navigate them. Yet, as unfortunate as this expedition proved from firſt to laſt, Sir Francis Wheeler never fell under the leaſt

[l] Burchet's memoirs, p. 173. [m] Ibid. p. 171, 172. Britiſh empire in America. Life of king William. Preſent ſtate of Europe. Hiſtory of the war.

cenſure. The accounts he tranſmitted home, joined to the letters from the reſpective colonies, and the extracts of proceedings in councils of war, juſtified him ſo clearly, and ſet his courage and conduct in ſo fair a light, that, when he arrived at Portſmouth, he had the ſatisfaction of finding a commiſſion, appointing him rear-admiral of the red; a preferment, which, as it was obtained purely by merit, ſo it never expoſed him to envy [n].—But to look now to another coaſt.

The royal African company, finding themſelves much diſturbed in their trade by the new ſettlements made by the French in the mouth of the river Senegal, and having exact intelligence of the ſchemes concerted by that nation for extending their own trade in thoſe parts, and deſtroying ours, reſolved to exert the great force they had in Guinea, to ſecure themſelves from all theſe apprehenſions, by attacking the enemy immediately, in order, if poſſible, to the diſpoſſeſſing them of their ſettlements, before they could gain any intelligence of the deſign. If, on their forming this project, they had applied themſelves to the adminiſtration, and had either procured aſſiſtance for the execution of it, or aſſurance of having their conqueſts protected, they had certainly carried their point, and the French been beaten out of that advantageous trade, perhaps, for ever.

But they were at this time ſo much afraid of the enemy's penetrating whatever was tranſacted at the ſecretary's office, that the African company reſolved to riſk this undertaking, without communicating their ſecret to any body. With this view they ſent orders to John Booker, Eſq; then their agent-general in Guinea, to attempt, if he found it practicable, the execution of the deſign which they had formed; and, that he might be ſatisfied as to the authority upon which he acted, they ſent him a copy of the commiſſion they had received from the king and queen, impowering them to commit hoſtilities, and annoy the enemy in all places within their juriſdiction [o].

Mr. Booker, upon receipt of theſe letters and this commiſſion, immediately applied himſelf to execute what the company directed, and in the month of December, 1692, having drawn toge-

[n] Burchet's memoirs, p. 174. [o] Churchill's collection of voyages, vol. v. p. 428. Preſent ſtate of Europe. London Gazette, hereafter cited.

ther

ther a ſufficient force, he embarked them on board the company's ſhips and ſloops, and, ſailing from the river of Gambia, arrived in the mouth of the river of Senegal on new-year's-day, 1693 [p]. Having with ſome difficulty got over the bar, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking Fort Bourbon; but the governor, M. Dumoulin, knowing his own condition beſt, and that he muſt ſoon be compelled to ſurrender, ſent to Mr. Booker to demand terms, upon which he offered immediately to give up the place. This propoſition was accepted, and the Engliſh that evening entered into poſſeſſion of the fort, which the French had held upwards of fifty years.

Mr. Booker continued here till the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, and then embarked his forces in order to make a deſcent on the iſland of Goree, the only place which remained to the French in Guinea. He arrived there on the firſt of February; and, after alarming the enemy till the fourth, he in the night landed an hundred men under the old fort, from whence he advanced to attack the new, called the fort of St. Michael, a well-fortified place, furniſhed with twenty-eight pieces of cannon. They made ſome ſhew of defending themſelves at firſt; but, being indifferently provided with ammunition, about noon they deſired to capitulate, and on the eighth marched out with all military honours, and were carried to James-iſland, in virtue of the articles ſigned by Mr. Booker; from whence they were to be tranſported into Europe on board the company's ſhipping, but at their own expence [q].

Affairs in the Weſt-Indies went all this time extremely ill: the French deſtroyed our trrde by their privateers, diſturbed our ſettlements continually, and frequently made deſcents upon them, particularly on Jamaica, where they committed great havock, and enriched themſelves exceedingly at our expence. The few ſhips of war we had in thoſe parts were ſo far from being able to defend our colonies effectually, that ſeveral of them were taken by the enemy; and, in ſhort, things were in ſo bad a way, that the adminiſtration at home thought the loſs of our colonies no improbable thing, as appears by the inſtructions

[p] M. Booker's letter in the collection of voyages, that has been before cited.
[q] Memoirs of the proceedings of the royal African company from 1690 to 1701, by Mr. John Snow. London Gazette, N° 2922.

given to the commodores of the ſquadrons, and the commanders in chief of the land-troops[r]. On the other hand, our good allies the Spaniards were no leſs, or rather were ſtill more diſtreſſed by the enemy than we; all trade between their colonies was deſtroyed, their coaſts plundered, and every thing ſubject to the mercy of the privateers, that were equipped in whole ſquadrons from the French ſettlements in Hiſpaniola[s]. As I profeſs to ſpeak truth without reſerve as far as I can diſcover it, ſo, upon this occaſion, I think myſelf obliged to ſay, that theſe advantages were not ſo much owing either to the force or courage of the French in thoſe parts, as to the want of public ſpirit and right management in us, as well as in the Spaniards.

The French governors ſeem to have had nothing ſo much at heart as the glory of their country, and a juſt diſcharge of their duty; whereas ours were generally involved in diſputes with the people they ſhould have protected, and much more intent on increaſing their own private fortunes, and that too at any rate, than deſirous of vindicating the honour of the nation, and ſecuring the properties of thoſe they governed. In one thing only they were commendable, that from time to time they made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the miniſtry at home to take more care of our concerns in the Weſt-Indies, by ſending proper ſquadrons, and with them ſufficient ſupplies of land-forces into thoſe parts[t].

About the beginning of the year 1694 ſome propoſals were laid before the council, for our undertaking, in conjunction with the Spaniards, to drive the French out of the iſland of Hiſpaniola. To this there was at firſt ſome attention given; but afterwards it being repreſented, as indeed the truth was, that the Spaniards, at the bottom, were not either willing or able to join with us in any ſuch undertaking, it was laid aſide. Other buſineſs intervening, it does not appear either the council or the board of admiralty thought any more of the plantations till towards the latter end of the year, when they were alarmed with the account of a briſk attempt made upon Jamaica by M. Ducaſſe, the French governor of St. Domingo. He ſailed in the month of June with three men of war, and twenty-three tranſports, having on board

[r] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book iv. ch. 8, 9, 17, 21. [s] Preſent ſtate of Europe for the year 1693. [t] Britiſh empire in America. Hiſtory of the paſt and preſent ſtate of Jamaica, &c.

fifteen

fifteen hundred men for the coaſt of Jamaica, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, and made a deſcent on Port-Morant, which they found abandoned, and, marching from thence up the country, they plundered, burnt, and deſtroyed whatever they met, and carried off money and effects to a very great value [u]. But they ſoon found, that the fine ſchemes of conqueſt they had formed to themſelves were altogether impracticable, and that the only thing they had to do was to return with what they had got. The people of Jamaica, when they found their property in danger, aſſembled readily for its defence, and behaved themſelves ſo well in an engagement with the French, that it contributed not a little to make the latter for the preſent ſick of this deſign, and to hinder them from reſuming any project like it afterwards [x].

The complaints that were ſent home on this affair, joined to the repreſentations of other colonies, the remonſtrances of the Weſt-India merchants, and the fear of a parliamentary inquiry, (which was then a thing of all others the moſt terrible), obliged the miniſtry to reſume this long-neglected ſubject, and to think ſeriouſly of ſending to America ſuch a force, and under ſuch officers, as might do more than had hitherto been done. With this view they directed, that a ſquadron of five ſail of men of war, and two fire-ſhips, with twelve tranſport-veſſels, ſhould be got ready, with the utmoſt diligence and ſecrecy, to rendezvous at Plymouth in the beginning of the year 1695. The command of the ſquadron was given to captain Robert Wilmot, an officer of great reputation and experience [y]. The command of the land-forces was intruſted with colonel Luke Lillingſton, and that they might be the more ſubject to orders, and better directed, they were reduced into a ſingle regiment, conſiſting of twelve hundred men; and, beſides theſe, there were ſpare arms for another regiment, and in ſhort every thing elſe provided that could be deſired for ſecuring the ſucceſs of ſuch an expedition; and all this was done with ſuch ſecrecy, that even the officers

[u] See a detail of M. Ducaſſe's expedition againſt Jamaica in hiſtoire de St. Domingue, par le P. Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 37. [x] Britiſh empire in America. Hiſtory of Jamaica. Hiſtory of the laſt war. Preſent ſtate of Europe for the month of October, 1694, p. 347. [y] Columna roſtrata, p. 268. Burchet's naval hiſtory, book iv. ch. 17. Preſent ſtate of Europe for 1695, p. 377.

who

who were to be employed had no diſtinct knowledge of the particular deſign they were to execute, but only knew in general, that they were to be ſent to the Weſt-Indies to protect our plantations, and annoy the enemy.

When all things were ready, the commodore had his inſtructions given him ſealed up, with orders not to open them till he arrived in the latitude of forty degrees. Inſtructions were alſo given to colonel Lillingſton for the regulating of his conduct, and for giving him a clear view of the extent of his command. Before they ſet out for Plymouth, both the commodore and the colonel were ſeparately exhorted to be extremely careful in keeping up a right correſpondence, becauſe that hitherto all our expeditions had ſuffered more through the weakneſs and miſunderſtandings of our own commanders, than through any extraordinary courage or conduct ſhewn by the enemy; and, that this might be the eaſier, their commands were made as diſtinct as, the nature of the ſervice conſidered, it was poſſible[z].

The ſquadron ſailed from Plymouth the latter end of the month of January; but, before they were in a condition to act, the commanders differed, and all things were in confuſion. Colonel Lillingſton in his account aſſerts, that the commodore opened his inſtructions in an unwarrantable manner, and that, after he had done ſo, he propoſed to the colonel to take what care they could of themſelves at the expence of the public ſervice. The colonel rejected this offer as became a man of honour, and the commodore thenceforward prepared to execute his ſcheme in ſpite of all the colonel could do to prevent him[a].

Towards the latter end of March, 1695, they arrived before the city of St. Domingo, where the Spaniſh governor, on the receipt of the king of Spain's letters, promiſed them all the aſſiſtance in his power; but how he performed this promiſe, is not very well agreed. Mr. ſecretary Burchet in his hiſtory (from the

[z] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 531. Colonel Lillingſton's remarks on Burchet's naval hiſtory, 8vo, 1704.

[a] Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 19. I have been the longer in my account of this buſineſs, that the reader may ſee what are the true reaſons why conjunct expeditions never ſucceed, and how neceſſary it is to call officers ſtrictly to account when they live to return home, in order to put an end to ſuch ſhameful practices.

letters,

letters, no doubt, of commodore Wilmot) charges him with creating unneceſſary delays, which were of great prejudice to the expedition [b]. On the other hand colonel Lillingſton aſſerts, that the Spaniſh governor behaved in every reſpect like a man of honour, concerted with him the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for attacking Cape François, and performed all he undertook with the utmoſt punctuality. It muſt be obſerved, that the force of the allies then in Hiſpaniola was ſuch, as that the ruin of the French ſettlements might have been well expected from it. The Spaniſh governor marched one thouſand ſeven hundred; the commander of our land-forces was able to debark about twelve hundred men; the commodore promiſed to join his force with five hundred ſeamen; the Spaniards actually added three men of war to our fleet, and, to prevent any diſputes about the command, the Spaniſh admiral took down his flag [c].

The firſt thing that was attempted was the ruin of the French ſettlement at Cape François. When the fleet was arrived within ſight of the place, the commodore abſolutely preſcribed the place where the land-forces ſhould go on ſhore; and though colonel Lillingſton repreſented to him, that it was extremely hard to oblige the troops to a march of five leagues and a half, when, by only rowing one league and a half, the boats might land them cloſe by the fort which they were to attack, the commodore gave him barely the hearing, but purſued his own project, and they ſoon diſcovered with what view.

The Engliſh and Spaniſh troops joined, and continued their fatiguing march till they arrived within five miles of Fort St. Francis, where they ſaw the French blow up their works, and abandon the place. When the troops came up, they were ſurprized to find the Engliſh colours hoiſted on the fort, and a ſingle ſeaman left to attend them: but the myſtery was ſoon ex-

[b] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 535. Indeed this gentleman ſeems to have an extraordinary pique againſt the Spaniards, whom, though our allies at that time, he never mentions but with reproach. This is the more injurious, ſince that writer (though he had ſo great opportunity) never ſupports what he advances by any authority. It would, however, be hard to ſet the judgment of a ſingle man ſo high as to ſacrifice to it the character of a whole nation.

[c] Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 48. where the agreement itſelf is to be found; for colonel Lillingſton always produces vouchers.

plained,

plained; commodore Wilmot no ſooner ſaw the place abandoned, than he rowed to ſhore with five hundred men, entered it, and carried off all that was worth carrying. This diſguſted, as it well might, both the Engliſh and Spaniſh forces; and, if they had not been compoſed of veteran troops, and men who had a great reſpect for their officers, a mutiny muſt have followed, which would have deſtroyed the whole deſign. But colonel Lillingſton pacified them as well as he could, by promiſing to take care they ſhould not be treated in this manner for the future, if it was in his power to prevent it[d].

After this extraordinary exploit it was reſolved to attempt Port de Paix, where M. Ducaſſe commanded in perſon; but he quitted the place, leaving in it a garriſon of ſix hundred men.

On the firſt of June the Engliſh and Spaniſh troops marched by two different roads towards the place they were to attack, and the ſquadron ſailed thither at the ſame time, but with this extraordinary circumſtance, that, if the Spaniſh admiral out of pure humanity had not left ſome tranſports to take in our ſick men, they muſt have been left to periſh; for commodore Wilmot had ſomething elſe in his head than to take care of invalids, and had therefore ſailed as ſoon as the reſolution was taken. The march was very fatiguing; it took up ſixteen days before they arrived in ſight of Port de Paix, and then there was a great deal of time loſt in getting the artillery and ammunition on ſhore. At laſt this too was performed, and then the ſiege of the place was begun in a regular manner: and the commodore, to ſhew his willingneſs to aſſiſt, landed a great body of ſeamen, and inveſted it on the other ſide.

On the third of July, the breach being practicable, and colonel Lillingſton employed in making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general ſtorm, the enemy took a reſolution of deſerting the place, and forcing their way through the quarter of the commodore. Their force conſiſted of about five hundred and thirty men, of which about one hundred and fifty were negroes, but well armed and diſciplined. Their greateſt difficulty was to carry off their women, children, and the moſt valuable part of their effects. The latter they packed up firſt, and put them in ſmall

[d] Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 54.

bundles on the backs of the women, who, with the children, marched in the front, under a good eſcort, while three hundred men fell into the quarters of our ſeamen, and, by expoſing themſelves to a very briſk fire, which laſted for a long time, gave the reſt an opportunity to retreat. The affair was conducted with equal reſolution and addreſs; but not without a very conſiderable loſs.

Colonel Lillingſton, as ſoon as he heard the firing, gueſſed at the cauſe, and immediately detached his brother, with two hundred and fifty men, to ſupport the ſeamen. When major Lillingſton arrived, the affair was over, and he marched directly to take poſſeſſion of the fort, in order to ſecure whatever the French had left behind them; and having poſted centinels every where, and put the reſt of his men under arms, he thought that all was ſafe, but in this he was miſtaken; commodore Wilmot, at the head of his whole corps of ſeamen, followed him inſtantly. As ſoon as the commodore came up to him, he clapped his hand upon his ſhoulder, with this familiar ſalutation, "Now, major, I am ſtronger than you." After which he removed his guards, broke open the ſtore-houſes, and carried off every thing that was worth taking, "with a dexterity," ſays colonel Lillingſton, "very natural to ſeamen[e]."

This kind of proceeding was not like to produce much good; the commodore offered to carry the ſick men to Jamaica, and to leave colonel Lillingſton to attempt, in conjunction with the Spaniards, the taking Leogane and Petit-Guavas; but they were weary of ſuch kind of treatment, and had ſo many men diſabled by the unneceſſary hardſhips to which they had been expoſed, that it was reſolved, in a council of war, not to proſecute either of the deſigns before-mentioned; but to demoliſh the fort, ruin the adjacent country, carry off the artillery they had taken, and ſail with all the Engliſh forces to Jamaica.

To this the Spaniſh governor conſented, becauſe he ſaw the impoſſibility of their performing, in the condition they were in, what they had projected; and of this he was the better judge,

[e] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 536. Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 67. Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 73.

becauſe he had an exact account of the French forces that M. Ducaſſe was aſſembling at Cul de Sac, and with which, it was expected, he would march to give them battle, as having no other means of preſerving the French ſettlements; though in this there was a great deal of danger[f].

It muſt not be ſuppoſed, that becauſe this expedition was in itſelf very ill managed, and far from being glorious to thoſe that undertook it; it muſt not, I ſay, be therefore ſuppoſed, that it did but very little prejudice to the French.

The confederate army, in ſixty days, ruined their plantations for a hundred miles round, carried off a thouſand negroes, demoliſhed two ſtrong forts, wherein they took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with a vaſt quantity of all ſorts of ammunition and naval ſtores; ſo that there ſeems to be no reaſon to think colonel Lillingſton exaggerated, who computes the loſs of the French at 200,000 l.[g] But what recompence is this for the expence the nation was at in fitting out ſuch a ſquadron, and

f Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 537.

g It is neceſſary for me here to give the reader ſome account of the authorities on which the facts mentioned in the text are founded. In the year 1703, ſecretary Burchet publiſhed his memoirs of tranſactions at ſea, during the war with France, from 1688 to 1697. In theſe memoirs, p. 305, he gives a large account of this expedition, which is altogether in favour of Mr. Wilmot, and was very probably tranſcribed from his letters. In 1704, colonel Luke Lillingſton publiſhed his reflections on Mr. Burchet's memoirs, in which he advances nothing but upon undeniable authority, producing inſtructions, letters, affidavits, and other neceſſary papers, upon every occaſion. Some months after Mr. Burchet publiſhed a juſtification of his naval memoirs, in anſwer to colonel Lillingſton, which are ſupported only by extracts from journals of perſons, who were diſpoſed to ſet their own proceedings in a good light, and, which is ſtrange, acknowledges he neither aſked or deſired any acconnt from colonel Lillingſton, in order to have an opportunity of comparing evidence on both ſides. This was the more extraordinary, as king William (prejudiced by the admiralty accounts) looked coldly on the colonel, till, upon examining the affair, he was undeceived, and granted him a penſion of two hundred pounds a-year, which was continued by queen Anne. So that his memoirs ſeemed a cenſure upon their majeſties bounty. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, when ſecretary Burchet came to publiſh his naval hiſtory in 1720, he in a manner tranſcribed what he had before ſaid in his memoirs, correcting only a few facts from colonel Lillingſton's book, by which, however, he admits its authority, but without ſetting any mark of ignominy upon this moſt ſcandalous expedition. At this Mr. Lediard very honeſtly expreſſes his ſurprize; but, for my own part, when I conſider the admiralty never thought this affair worth an inquiry, I do not at all wonder their ſecretary did not think proper to cenſure it.

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in ſending ſo great a body of land-troops ſo far? What opinion muſt the commodore's conduct give our allies, the Spaniards, of Engliſh armaments, and what notions could they entertain of the ſignificancy of our naval force, when they ſaw it ſo flagrantly miſapplied; our commander in chief having regard only to his private views, and encouraging his ſeamen upon all occaſions to behave like pirates? How much muſt this miſcarriage at once diſgrace and diſcourage an adminiſtration, ſince it ſeemed to ſhew, that all attempts of this ſort would prove as fruitleſs for the future, and ſerve only to exhauſt the treaſures of this nation, in order to enrich ſuch as leaſt deſerved it? I am very ſorry that I have been obliged to ſay ſo much; but every reader will do me the juſtice to own, that this ſubject compelled me to it. We ſuffer, at this day, for the miſdeeds of theſe times, and the falſe pity that was ſhewn in letting ſlip the public examination of a thing ſo ſcandalous as this was[h]. Reflections like theſe, on the ſlips of our anceſtors, are proper leſſons for the preſent generation; and I think it my duty to inculcate them, in order to prevent our being wanting, in the ſame manner to ourſelves and our poſterity.

The account given us of this affair by French writers, agrees pretty well with our own. It is true, that they give great commendations to M. Ducaſſe, governor of St. Domingo, who was certainly a very gallant man, but who, as certainly, had no opportunity of ſhewing his bravery on this occaſion. In the main, however, they agree, that miſunderſtandings between the allies proved the ruin of the whole affair; and that nothing could amaze, and at the ſame time overjoy people more, than the news of the Engliſh troops embarking for Jamaica did M. Ducaſſe and his army. The ſame writers intimate, that the colony

[h] The general anſwer to what has been ſaid upon this ſubject is, that all inquiry was prevented by the commodore's death. But, ſurely, this is a very poor excuſe. To an intelligent reader it will appear, that an effectual inquiry might have been more eaſily made after his death, than in the life of the commodore. His influence was then determined, he could not be hurt by the inquiry, all his creatures were at full liberty to ſpeak; and, as knowing the truth only was of importance to the public, in order to prevent ſuch deteſtable actions for the future, the burying all this villany, as far as poſſible, in oblivion, is inexcuſeable to the nation.

of Jamaica was much wanting to itſelf, in not laying hold of this opportunity to make a deſcent on the French ſettlements, in revenge for the miſchiefs done them by the inhabitants of this colony, under M. Ducaſſe, the year before, which, if they had done, in all probability the French muſt have been driven out of Hiſpaniola; and, as things then ſtood, there is no great reaſon to doubt the Spaniards would have been very well pleaſed to have ſeen an Engliſh colony ſettled in their room, as well knowing their own inability to preſerve the iſland without ſuch aſſiſtance [i].

But all ſuch views for the glory of England were effectually defeated by the ſailing away of the Engliſh ſquadron from Hiſpaniola, on the twenty-third of July, 1695, with the land-forces on board. The governor and people of Jamaica gave the commodore a very indifferent reception, having had previous intelligence of his behaviour through the whole affair. Several councils of war were held, to conſider how practicable a ſecond attempt might be in conjunction with a conſiderable force from this iſland. But, after much deliberation, this deſign alſo came to nothing. The commodore, in the mean time, followed his buſineſs cloſely; that is to ſay, he converted the plunder he had taken into money, which he veſted in all ſorts of merchandize fit for the Engliſh market, and took in the goods privately on the back of the iſland. When this was done, his next care was to get back to England with his ſquadron, with the great wealth he had amaſſed on board of it. He left Jamaica on the third of September, 1695, but met with a very bad paſſage.

On the ſhoals of Florida he loſt a fourth rate man of war, in a manner which gave great cauſe to ſuſpect he never intended to bring her home [k]. After this an epidemic diſtemper broke out

i Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, tom. iv. p. 63—75. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tom. v. &c.

k One may ſee by colonel Lillingſton's whole book, how much more jealous men of honour are of their reputation, than ſtateſmen of a nation's glory. The colonel's account of this affair was printed but ſeven years after the thing happened, and yet no ſearch was made into the matter. His words are theſe:

"It would be a moſt diverting thing, abating for the diſaſter of it, and the "lives loſt in it, to hear a true particular of the loſs of the Wincheſter man of "war. If I am not miſinformed, there would come to light a great many hid-"den circumſtances, very uſeful to the nation in general, if the loſs of that "man

out on board the ſhips, which carried off a multitude of ſailors and ſoldiers, and not a few officers, among whom was the commodore himſelf. This diſeaſe prevailed at laſt to ſuch a degree, that there was ſcarce found men enough to bring home the ſquadron, which did not arrive till very late in the year. I cannot help cloſing this account by obſerving, that commodore Wilmot left ſixteen thouſand pounds in effects on board his own ſhip, which engaged his family in a long ſuit with captain Butler. Such are the wretched effects of ſacrificing public concerns to the narrow views of private intereſt [l]!

Towards the latter end of the year 1696, the nation was again alarmed with the report of an invaſion. It was known that the French were fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron at Breſt; and for what ſervice, the intelligence our ſecretaries had could not inform them. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, therefore, was ſent with a conſiderable force to block them up, which, however, the French avoided; and it was then given out at home, that our vigilance had diſappointed the deſigns of the enemy, and obliged them to abandon all thoughts of a deſcent. In this we only deceived ourſelves, for our merchants quickly came at the knowledge of the true ſcheme, which was the ſending a ſtrong ſquadron into the Weſt-Indies, to attack ſome of the Spaniſh plantations in thoſe parts [m]. The Sieur Pointis was the perſon who formed

" man of war were inquired into. If due examination were made, whether all " the ſtores and guns that were pretended to be in her, were really on board " her; and if the loſs of that ſhip did not ſerve for a colour to pretend the loſs " of many things, which were otherwiſe diſpoſed of." Lillingſton's reflections, p. 130.

[l] Mr. Burchet confeſſes the epidemic ſickneſs on board the fleet; and colonel Lillingſton informs us, that the commodore's widow was actually involved in a law ſuit with captain Butler, in 1704, for the plunder ſo baſely taken from the poor ſoldiers and ſailors, who acquired a juſt title to it by the ſweat of their brows and the expence of their blood.

[m] In order to ſupport this fact, I ſhall give the reader a paſſage from the monthly Mercury for December 1696. " The great noiſe made about Pointis's " ſquadron that was equipping at Breſt, and which, as it was furniſhed with a " vaſt number of ſcaling ladders, bombs, pontons, and other materials for a " deſcent, and for the attack of places on ſhore, had given the alarm to all the " dominions of Great-Britain, is at laſt over; and thoſe that were moſt fright- " ed, are now moſt inclined to treat it with contempt; for whether it was, that " Pointis wanted a money-wind to carry him out of port, or that his project " had

formed the plan of this undertaking, and who had been no leſs than three years in bringing it to bear.

The French king had ſuffered a great number of private perſons to contribute towards this enterprize, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given them, that whatever profits accrued thereby ſhould be fairly divided amongſt them. Orders were privately ſent to M. Ducaſſe, in Hiſpaniola, to aſſemble as many buccaneers as he could, with veſſels proper to ſupport them; and he was to have theſe ready to join M. Pointis's ſquadron, as ſoon as it appeared. The true deſign all along was upon Carthagena; but ſuch as pretended to be in the ſecret at the French court, gave out, that the king intended this armament to execute a project, long ago formed by M. Ducaſſe, of driving the Spaniards entirely out of Hiſpaniola. But, notwithſtanding this variety of reports, ſome of king James's adherents fancied that they had penetrated farther than any of theſe politicians, and that the true deſign of this myſterious armament was againſt Jamaica; and of this, as Engliſhmen, they thought it their duty to adviſe our court[n].

At firſt this was conſidered as a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, which alarmed us the more, becauſe, conſidering the force we had in that part of the world, if they had really

" had not received the leaſt ſanction of the court, ſo it was, that his Britannic " majeſty had time enough to ſend Sir Cloudeſley Shovel with a ſtrong ſquadron " to inſpect this fleet, which was reported to be ſtrong enough to attempt the " invaſion of his kingdoms; and, on his looking into the port, it appeared there " were but ſixteen men of war of all ſorts there; ſo that, whatever the deſign of " Pointis's ſquadron was, it ſeems to be vaniſhed into ſmoke."

[n] The political tracts of that year beſt inform us what the ſentiments of the world were upon that occaſion, becauſe later writers are apt to impoſe upon us, by pretending, that this or that great miniſter had actually diſcovered the ſecret very early, though, for certain reaſons of ſtate, it was not publiſhed. Now it clearly appears from thoſe writings, that nothing of this kind happened; and it is as certain from Pointis's journal, that he never had any other view than that of attacking Carthagena, notwithſtanding ſo many other projects were talked of. The informations I ſpeak of from France, I know from unqueſtionable authority; for, as the author of the Jewiſh letters rightly obſerves, the Engliſh refugees at St. Germain's were quite a different ſort of people from the refugees in Soho; for they loved their country, though they were baniſhed from it, and, like the Greek exiles of old in the Perſian court, ſhewed thoſe who were inured to ſlavery, how great a bleſſing it is to be born and bred up FREE.

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attempted this iſland, there was but too great probability of their ſucceeding.

When this matter, however, came to be deliberated upon in council, and ſeveral of the moſt intelligent perſons there ſeemed convinced that the blow was meant at us, king William declared himſelf of a contrary opinion, for a reaſon which ſhewed how well he underſtood mankind, and how juſtly the French king dreaded his ſuperior capacity in the cloſet. His majeſty obſerved, that the baſis of the French king's new expedition was private intereſt, not public utility, or national glory, for which reaſon he concluded they would not either endeavour to conquer Hiſpaniola, or attack Jamaica, but attempt the taking the Spaniſh galleons, or the ſurpriſing of Carthagena. The good ſenſe of this obſervation brought over every body to his majeſty's opinion, and the ſequel will ſhew, that the Sieur Pointis and the reſt of the French commanders, (M. Ducaſſe always excepted), never conſidered, in this expedition, what was beſt to be done, but how moſt might be got, in which piratical kind of knowledge they proved much greater proficients than the buccaneers themſelves [o].

To fruſtrate this blow, where-ever it was intended, orders were given for a ſmall ſquadron to aſſemble at Portſmouth under the command of captain Meeze, and other orders were at the ſame time deſpatched to Mr. Neville, who commanded our fleet in the Mediterranean, and who was now made vice-admiral, which he was directed to open, when he had taken due care of the homeward-bound fleet, and ſhould be fifty leagues S. W. by W. from Cadiz. He found himſelf in this ſituation about the middle of the month of February, 1696-7, and, then conſulting

[o] Biſhop Burnet in his hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 195. expreſſes a good deal of diſlike to the management of our affairs at ſea in this critical conjuncture; but whoever conſiders the matter ſtrictly will find all the reaſon in the world to commend the diſpoſition made by our court for preventing the French from executing their deſign in the Weſt Indies. We ought always to diſtinguiſh between the laying of a ſcheme and the carrying it into execution; for the ſame praiſe is due to the contrivers of a good ſcheme, though it fails of its effect, as if it had met with the wiſhed for ſucceſs. Here was a force ſuperior to the French, who had been three years providing theirs, aſſembled in leſs than three months; and, if the orders given to our admirals had been ſtrictly complied with, they had been as early in the Weſt-Indies as the enemy; if they were not, it was no fault either of the council or the board of admiralty.

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his inſtructions, found that he was to join captain Meeze's ſquadron at the iſland of Madeiras, where, after cruizing a long time, he was met by the captain, now made a rear-admiral, in his own ſhip the Briſtol; and, the Lightning fire-ſhip having loſt company with the reſt of his ſquadron in a fog, a little after he left the Iſle of Wight. On the ſeventeenth of April vice-admiral Neville arrived at Barbadoes, where he found moſt of the ſhips he expected, except the Dutch, who joining him, however, ſoon after, they bore away for Antigua, where they arrived the third of May, 1697. There it was reſolved in a council of war to ſail for Porto-Rico, in order to take as much care as poſſible of the Spaniſh galleons. Before he reached his intended port, he had intelligence, that M. Pointis was ſailed from Hiſpaniola on the twenty-firſt of March, N. S. with twenty-ſix ſhips ſmall and great. It was then reſolved in a council of war to proceed forthwith to Jamaica, in order to take in a ſupply of water and proviſions [p].

On the fifteenth of May, 1697, the admiral, being off the eaſt end of the iſland, met with a ſloop, the maſter whereof informed him, there was a flying report of the French ſquadron's being before Carthagena; upon this he ſtaid no longer than was abſolutely neceſſary to take in water, but ſailed from Port-Royal, and attempted to go through the Leeward channel; but in that he was prevented by the dying away of the land-breeze, and contrary to what had been ever known by all perſons acquainted with thoſe parts, the ſea-breeze blew for ſix days and ſix nights together, during which time an Engliſh ſloop came in, that left Porto-Bello the eighteenth of this month, in company with the galleons, (which were fifteen in number), and two days after parted with them, ſteering away N. N. E. for Jamaica, where they intended to take in proviſions, for which they were ſo much ſtraitened, that they had not enough to carry them to the

[p] Mr. Burchet tells us both in his memoirs and his hiſtory, that vice-admiral Neville cruized fifty-eight days about the Madeiras, to which, if he thought himſelf bound by his inſtructions, he was juſtified; but however, this certainly proved the ruin of the whole affair; for, if he had ſtood away for Barbadoes, inſtead of cruizing there, he might have come time enough to have attacked the French before they left Hiſpaniola, or at leaſt he might have followed them to Carthagena, where, if he had attacked their fleet while their army was engaged in the ſiege, their whole force muſt have been totally deſtroyed.

Havanna. The vice-admiral ſent out two ſloops to look for them, the one off the keys of Point-Pedro, and the other off thoſe of Porto-Morant, and to let their general know, that he was going to Carthagena to ſee what could be done againſt the French, but that he would return to Jamaica in a ſhort time. The twenty-fourth of the ſame month he took advantage of a ſmall gale from ſhore to ſteer for Carthagena, in hopes of finding the French either embarraſſed in the ſiege of the place, or in embarking the plunder; for, according to the beſt accounts he could get, the Spaniards were very ſtrong there, and had been ſo lucky alſo as to have pretty early intelligence of the viſit that was deſigned them; but the croſs accidents, that kept the vice-admiral ſo long on the coaſt of Jamaica, fruſtrated his good intentions, and hindered our retaking from the French the beſt part of what they took from the Spaniards, which muſt otherwiſe probably have happened [q].

In order to give a diſtinct account of this extraordinary affair, which is ſomewhat partially related both by Engliſh and French writers, I muſt purſue the hiſtory of Pointis's voyage, and ſhew how and when he executed the ſcheme he propoſed; for this will naturally bring us back to this very point of time when vice-admiral Neville ſailed in ſearch of him and his ſquadron. As the ſucceſs of Pointis's expedition depended upon the aſſiſtance he was to receive at St. Domingo, he ſailed thither directly, and arrived on the coaſt February 19, 1697. The governor M. Ducaſſe had taken care to provide every thing purſuant to his inſtructions, ſo that the Sieur Pointis met with no retardment but what proceeded from his own imperious diſpoſition, which hindered him from giving the buccaneers the ſatisfaction they expected; and this produced a mutiny or two, which nothing could

[q] The admiral's going to Jamaica was another misfortune; for, as it will be hereafter ſhewn, if he had ſailed directly, on the firſt intelligence he had, for Carthagena, he muſt have ſurpriſed M. Pointis, and deſtroyed his whole force. But if, according to the admiral's journal, he was under an abſolute neceſſity of taking in water; this is to be conſidered as an unavoidable misfortune. Theſe are points I leave to the reader's judgment to determine; for none of our accounts afford us ſufficient light to decide poſitively on the matters of fact, though this is certainly in the admiral's favour, that he was known to have as much perſonal courage as any man, and that he afterwards ſhewed as great an inclination to fight upon this occaſion as any man ever did, or indeed could do.

have quieted but the preſence of M. Ducaſſe, who was actuated wholly by public ſpirit, and exerted his utmoſt intereſt among theſe people to keep them ſteady; at the ſame time he ſuffered as much as they did from the inſolence of the general, who, proud of his commiſſion, and full of himſelf, behaved without any regard either to the rank or circumſtances of others[r].

After about a fortnight's ſtay to forward all neceſſary preparations, the whole fleet ſailed for Carthagena, and arrived before that city on the third of April. The force brought from France by M. Pointis conſiſted of ſeven large ſhips of war, about ten frigates, and ſmall veſſels of ſeveral ſorts, on board which were two thouſand two hundred and ſixty ſeamen, and one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſoldiers, in all four thouſand and ten, to which M. Ducaſſe added another ſtout ſquadron, on board of which were fifteen hundred buccaneers, ſoldiers, and volunteers. They firſt attempted the ſtrong fort of Boca-Chica, which was carried by aſſault; then they attacked Neuſtra Signora de la Popa, a monaſtery on a hill, which commands the place; they beſieged and took likewiſe the fort of St. Lazarus, and at length ſtormed the ſuburbs, which forced the governor to think of a capitulation; and this, being granted him on pretty good terms, was concluded April 24, 1697, when the city was ſurrendered to the French, who loſt before it upwards of five hundred men; neither could it have been ever taken but for the aſſiſtance of M. Ducaſſe, and the troops he commanded, though Pointis uſed them very ill through the whole affair, and, after it was taken, actually ſhut them out of the city, putting off from time to time the diſtribution of the booty, and not allowing ſo much as to put a check on ſuch as received it[s].

Many

[r] In the whole of this relation I reduce all the dates to the old ſtyle for the ſake of comparing them readily, which could not have been otherwiſe done. As to the facts, we have a vaſt variety of relations, though I think but two of any great authority, *viz.* Pointis's own memoirs, and the hiſtory of St. Domingo, written by father Charlevoix on the memoirs of father Pers, and from the regiſters in the public offices in the marine in France, where I find theſe differ too widely to be reconciled; therefore I prefer, without ceremony, the latter, becauſe it is evident, that Sieur Pointis had views to ſerve, whereas father Charlevoix writes without the leaſt bias. Occaſionally I have recourſe to other authorities, which I refer to in their proper places.

[s] This we find both in Pointis's memoirs, and in the hiſtory of St. Domingo.

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Many diſputes have been raiſed as to the value of the plate and other effects taken by the Sieur Pontis in this place. Some have carried this ſo high as forty millions of livres, and others, amongſt whom is M. Pointis himſelf, reduce it to nine millions. There are ſeveral reaſons which have induced different writers to impoſe upon their readers in this particular [t]. All the Spaniſh authors who have mentioned this, ſay, they had ſent the nuns, together with one hundred and twenty mules, laden with gold and jewels, forty miles up into the country, before the French arrived; but then it is viſibly their intereſt to abate, as much as poſſible, the credit of this expedition, and this perhaps is now become the French intereſt too. The Sieur Pointis and his partizans had alſo cauſe ſufficient to ſtate this account as low as poſſible, becauſe, the lower they brought it, the leſs they had to account for, which was what they wanted. Our hiſtorians in thoſe days were deſirous of leſſening the ſucceſs of all French expeditions, and therefore, as we ſee in the celebrated work of biſhop Burnet, that prelate affected to treat this as a miſcarriage, by which the French, on the whole, could ſcarce be called gainers [u].

But one who is ſolicitous only about truth will make proper allowances on ſuch occaſions, and, by comparing theſe different accounts together, will endeavour to acquire a juſt notion of a thing, with which, for many reaſons, ſurely both we and poſterity have a right to be acquainted. After taking all imaginable pains to this purpoſe, I venture to aſſert, M. Pointis carried

The general indeed pretends the buccaneers behaved ill, but the court of France, on the cloſeſt examination, thought otherwiſe, and therefore ſo I think ought we.

[t] Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 146. Memoires de Pointis, *&c.* Father Daniel, in his journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 187. computes the riches brought home by Sieur Pointis at ten millions; and this, as I take it, was the commonly received calculation at that time.

[u] Biſhop Burnet might poſſibly be deceived by the ſecond accounts from France, which were all againſt Pointis; but if he had inquired into what followed, and how much money was recovered when this buſineſs came to be narrowly ſifted, he would have altered his opinion. The French do not ſuffer a few great officers to cheat their owners and the public by cooking up ſtories deſtitute of proof; their government is arbitrary, and therefore, in caſes like this, generally ſpeaking, juſt.

home upwards of twenty millions of livres; I believe I ſhould not err in ſaying, twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling[w].

But there is no need of leſſening the profits to abate the glory of this expedition. The Sieur Pointis certainly behaved very ill through the whole affair; he diſguſted the buccaneers; he treated M. Ducaſſe exceſſively ill during the whole ſiege; he made an unfair diſtribution of the effects taken; he took no kind of care of the ſick and wounded, but left them in the hoſpitals not only without medicines but food; and, to complete his blunders, he loitered till the twenty-firſt of May, and did not embark his men till the ſickly ſeaſon came on, and they could ſcarce crawl to their ſhips. The buccaneers were ſo irritated by the behaviour of Pointis, and his breaking the agreement he made with them, to force upon them a dividend of 40,000 crowns, that, as ſoon as they ſaw him and his ſquadron ready to ſail, they returned back to Carthagena, in order, as they phraſed it, to look for their ſhare of the plunder, which they did not fail of finding[x].

It is very evident from this account, that if our vice-admiral, on his having the firſt information of the enemy's being ſailed for Carthagena, which was on the fifteenth of May, had proceeded thither inſtead of going to Jamaica, he had unqueſtionably ſurpriſed the French in the harbour of that place; and, as the Spaniards had actually aſſembled an army to retake the city, it is not eaſy to gueſs how the French would have eſcaped, who were by that time ſplit into factions among themſelves, and at leaſt one half of them fallen ſick[y]. But though he miſſed them then, yet on the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1697, being half ſeas over from Jamaica, he ſaw the Sieur de Pointis's ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven men of war, and two or three frigates, at no

[w] My calculation goes upon undeniable principles. The Sieur Pointis gave the buccaneers 40,000 crowns, or 120,000 livres, for their ſhare, computing at the rate of one tenth from the firſt million, and a thirtieth from every other million; and this, by a very eaſy proceſs, makes it clear he eſtimated the whole booty at 9,000,000. But, when M. Pointis's behaviour came to be ſcrutinized in France, they had a decree for 1,400,000 livres more.

[x] Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 157. The buccaneers undoubtedly carried away 5,000,000 livres, though not above 1,500,000 came to St. Domingo.

[y] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 553. See alſo the memoirs of Sir G. Rooke.

great

great diſtance; upon which he endeavoured to engage them, but could not. The Warwick indeed exchanged ſome ſhot with one of the Frenchmen; but, in ſpite of all the ſail ſhe could make, the ſhip got away from her, as the reſt did from the admiral. The Warwick, perceiving this, bore down on a fly-boat belonging to the French fleet, and took her, having on board a vaſt quantity of arms and ammunition, with as much plate as made the prize worth two hundred thouſand pounds, and is a pretty good ſample of what mighty treaſures were on board the reſt [z].

Five days the vice-admiral continued the purſuit, in which five ſhips, amongſt which his own and rear-admiral Meeze's were included, ſprung their fore-top-maſts, and their ſails were ſo torn, that it was found impoſſible to continue the chace with any hopes of ſucceſs [a]. This again was a narrow eſcape; the French themſelves own it, they were much inferior in force, they were ill manned, moſt of their ſhips were foul; and, if they had fought, many of them muſt have been taken without doubt. I ſee no manner of cauſe to cenſure the vice-admiral's conduct on this occaſion, (as ſome have done), becauſe it was beyond queſtion his own and his officers intereſts to have fought, upon the preſumption that their own ſuperior force would have put them in poſſeſſion of all the plunder the French had obtained.

Beſides, they all gave ſufficient proofs afterwards, that fighting was what they did not deſire to avoid. I am therefore ſatisfied as to this point, that there was nothing of treachery or neglect of duty in this buſineſs, but that Pointis's ſquadron eſcaped by a concurrence (with reſpect to us) of unlucky and unavoidable accidents, unleſs there might be ſome fault in thoſe who furniſhed our ſails, which did not wear ſo well as thoſe of the French, for which however the ſea-officers were not to blame [b].

The buccaneers, on their return to Carthagena, met with no reſiſtance; and therefore, having driven the inhabitants into the

[z] Mr. Lediard ſeems to queſtion whether the author of the Britiſh empire in America had not ſet down 200,000 for 20,000; but upon examination I find 200,000 in the original accounts.

[a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 361. The preſent ſtate of Europe for the month of Auguſt, 1697. London Gazette, N° 3317.

[b] Mr. Burchet acknowledges this, and ſo it appears on the ſtricteſt inquiry, though this does not ſeem to have ſatisfied biſhop Burnet.

great

great church, they told them how general Pointis had treated them, which, as they alledged, obliged them, though againſt their will, to come back to make a demand of five millions, which once paid them, they promiſed to retire without doing any kind of violence. The poor Spaniards did their utmoſt to rake together this ſum; but it was all in vain. The French took what they brought, and, as ſoon as they had done bringing, theſe miſcreants had recourſe to ſuch cruelties, as are ſcarce credible, to force diſcoveries. After all, in the ſpace of about five days, they amaſſed near 1,000,000 of crowns in money, and above as much more in rich goods; after which they fell out amongſt themſelves as to the diviſion of it, the buccaneers refuſing the inhabitants of Domingo an equal ſhare, becauſe, as they ſaid, they were at great expence on that iſland before they ſailed, when the inhabitants were at home in their own houſes. This diſpute, however, was ſoon adjuſted on the arrival of a ſhip from Martinico, with advice that a ſtrong Engliſh ſquadron was in queſt of them: they inſtantly quitted the place, embarked their plunder with all imaginable diligence, and contrived to get to ſea as ſoon as poſſible, and retire to St. Domingo [c].

When our ſquadron found it impracticable to engage the French, the vice-admiral thought it expedient to proceed to Carthagena, in order to ſee if the galleons were ſafe, and how far he could be uſeful to the Spaniards. He arrived in the port in the evening of the thirty-firſt of May, and found the place quite abandoned; for the inhabitants were ſo much afraid of the buccaneers returning a third time, that they were fled into the woods. Two days the vice-admiral remained in the port before he prevailed upon the governor and ſome of the principal inhabitants to return, and then ſailed, after ſending a frigate to St. Jago to inform the governor of the Havanna, and the general of the gallies, of what had paſſed, that they might the better provide for the ſafety of the galleons.

On the ſixth he diſcovered eight ſail of buccaneers cloſe under the ſhore; upon which, a detachment was ſent to deſtroy them. The enemy crowded all the ſail they could, in hopes of eſcaping, but only four were ſo lucky as to effect it. One was forced upon

[c] Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 161.

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the Spaniſh coaſt, not far from Carthagena, her crew taken by the inhabitants, and compelled to work in the repair of their fortifications. Another was forced on ſhore on St. Domingo, and beat to pieces. The Chriſt, a fine ſhip, commanded by captain Cofuy, who had two hundred and fifty men on board, and about 350,000 crowns in ſilver, was taken by a Dutch ſhip, as was the Flying Hart of the ſame force and value, commanded by captain Pierce, by captain Dilkes, and her crew were brought into England[d].

The governor of Jamaica at that time was Sir William Beeſton, who, conſidering that the fleet muſt ſoon be obliged to return home, reſolved to ſuggeſt the deſtruction of that neſt of pirates, Petit-Guavas, to the vice-admiral, as the moſt important ſervice that, as things were circumſtanced, could be done to the Engliſh colonies in general, and Jamaica in particular. Vice-admiral Neville inſtantly complied with it, and left the execution of the ſcheme to rear-admiral Meeze, who was detached from the fleet, June 22, 1697, for this very purpoſe, with nine ſhips of war, great and ſmall. On the twenty-ſeventh he arrived at a ſmall diſtance from Petit-Guavas, and debarked ſome of his forces, ordering the ſhips to come in next day.

On the twenty-ninth he ſurpriſed Petit-Guavas, entering the place before it was light, and ſeizing the guard. He had at firſt thoughts of remaining there ſome ſhort time; but the ſeamen, and at laſt, through their example, the landmen, began to plunder and drink ſo hard, that when the rear-admiral altered his ſentiments, and reſolved to burn and abandon it, there was not above fifty ſober men, under his command, out of nine hundred. When he gave out this order, the whole was executed with ſuch precipitation, that notwithſtanding there was abundance of gold and ſilver in the place, yet very little was ſaved or brought away. However, the burning the town, and carrying off priſoners a good number of negroes to Jamaica, was a great and ſeaſonable ſervice to the Engliſh colonies, and gave the enemy a remarkable check, which they did not ſoon recover: to ſay the truth, it was one of the moſt important actions done during the war[e].

[d] Burchet's nav. hiſt. p. 555. Columna roſtrata, p. 268. Life of K. William, p. 487, 488. [e] Burchet's memoirs, p. 369. Kennet, Life of K. William. Columna roſtrata, p. 269. The preſent ſtate of Europe for the month of Sept. 1697. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 442. Lond. Gaz. N° 3324.

Vice-

Vice-admiral Neville, having wooded and watered with all the diligence imaginable, ſailed to meet rear-admiral Meeze, and, then bringing away the homeward-bound ſhips from Jamaica, reſolved to proceed to the Havanna, in order to preſerve the galleons. He ſailed in the beginning of July, and, coming about the middle of that month on the coaſt of Cuba, the ſeamen became exceſſively ſickly, and rear-admiral Meeze died before they reached the Havanna. On the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month the vice-admiral arrived before that port, and ſent in advice to the governor of his want of water and other refreſhments. The governor ſent him a civil meſſage, but refuſed to admit his ſquadron, and did not even ſupply his neceſſities, or at leaſt not in all reſpects. As for the general of the galleons, when he was informed that the vice-admiral came on purpoſe to convey that rich fleet home, which was the principal point of king William's inſtructions, far from being ſatisfied with theſe unuſual acts of kindneſs to allies, he excuſed himſelf from putting his ſhips under our protection, ſuppoſing, or at leaſt pretending, his orders would not warrant it. The true reaſon, however, both of his and of the governor's conduct, might probably be, their fear of having the place of the greateſt conſequence in the Weſt-Indies, and the richeſt fleet of that age, for there were fifty millions on board the galleons, taken at once, ſince both had been left in the vice-admiral's power, if he had been once admitted into the haven [f].

This kind of treatment, after the pains he had taken to ſave the galleons, and to ſerve the crown of Spain on every occaſion, broke the vice-admiral's ſpirits very much. He had always counted upon eſcorting the galleons, and believed ſo acceptable a ſervice would entirely efface the memory of former misfortunes; but being diſappointed again, and reflecting on the little ſervice that with ſo ſtrong a ſquadron he had been able to do his country, it threw him into a kind of hectic fever, which hung upon him till he arrived in Virginia, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, and there he died, as much of grief as of his diſtemper, to the great regret of all who knew him, as he was a

[f] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 558. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. xxiii. p. 537, 654. London Gazette, N° 3331.

perſon of courage, prudence, and integrity; who wanted not either will or abilities to do his country ſervice, though his fortune fell ſhort of his zeal[g].

By his demiſe the command of the ſquadron devolved upon captain Robert Dilkes, who, from Virginia, arrived ſafely in England on the twenty-fourth of October, 1697, with the whole ſquadron, though poorly manned, and the ſhips many of them foul and rotten; ſo that, notwithſtanding the great hopes that had been entertained of our doing mighty things in the Weſt-Indies, all came to nothing; for, beſides this, we met with other diſappointments in that quarter of the world, that were no leſs mortifying than thoſe we have mentioned[h].

The Sieur Pointis thought himſelf ſafe when he arrived off Newfoundland, as not having the leaſt knowledge that we had a ſtout ſquadron there, under the command of the late Sir John (then captain) Norris, ſo that he made no difficulty of going into the bay of Conception, and of lying there careleſly enough, though we had a force ſufficient at St. John's to have given a good account of him and his Spaniſh plunder. It was on the twenty-third of July our ſquadron had advice, that five French ſhips were ſeen in Conception-bay, and they immediately concluded it was M. Neſmond's ſquadron come to attack them; and therefore, inſtead of going to look for the enemy, they wiſely conſidered how, in caſe they fell upon St. John's, they ſhould be beſt able to defend themſelves, and bent all their endeavours that way[i].

Captain Norris was from the beginning a little ſuſpicious that this was not the outward-bound French ſquadron, and therefore ſent the Mary galley, a clean tight ſhip, to diſcover what they were. But before they could have any news from her, he received a letter from one Mr. Alexander Cumberbatch, maſter of a ſhip taken by the French at ſea, and put on ſhore in Newfoundland, in order to procure freſh proviſions. In this letter there was a diſtinct account of M. Pointis's ſtrength, and of his

[g] I have this character from ſome who knew him well, and who ſerved under him in this very expedition.

[h] Life of king William, p. 488. The preſent ſtate of Europe for the month of October 1697, p. 398. London Gazette, N° 3336, 3339. [i] Burchet's memoirs, p. 375.

ſquadron's having on board the rich plunder of Carthagena. Captain Norris was raviſhed with this epiſtle, called a council of war immediately, and preſſed that no farther time might be loſt, but that without more ado they might ſail in queſt of the enemy. Other people, however, were in no ſuch haſte; they doubted whether Cumberbatch's letter might not be intended to draw them out of their ſtrength, and thereby expoſe St. John's, and the whole country, to the French; and therefore, after a long debate, it was reſolved in the council of war to remain where they were, and to expect the French in cloſe quarters, without running unneceſſary hazards [k].

About

[k] The reflections of biſhop Burnet on this buſineſs, are very well worth notice. "Commodore Norris's ſquadron," ſays he, "might have fallen upon "the French, and would probably have maſtered them; but as they had no "certain account of their ſtrength, ſo, being ſent out on another ſervice, they "did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them; ſo the French got ſafe "home, and the conduct of our affairs at ſea was much cenſured."—In Burchet's memoirs, p. 378. and in his hiſtory, the blame is thrown entirely on the land-officers, who out-voted the ſea-officers in the council of war.—The whole is ſtrangely ſkimmed over in our Gazette, N° 3319. as a thing not fit to be mentioned.—

I have with ſome difficulty recovered the minutes of this famous council of war; and as I believe a liſt of the names of thoſe who ſat in it, and their votes, cannot but be agreeable to the reader, I ſhall tranſcribe them.

A council of war at St. John's, July 24th, 1697, at which were preſent,

LAND-OFFICERS.		SEA-OFFICERS.	
John Gibſon	No.	Francis Dove	Yea.
Thomas Dore	No.	Robert Stapilton	Yea.
Thomas Handaſyde	No.	James Littleton	No.
Cliff. Brexton	No.	Charles Deſborow	Yea.
Griff. May	No.	Cooper Wade	Yea.
Hugh Boyd	No.	John Roffey	No.
Y. Smith	No.	James Mighells	Yea.
Rob. Dazyell	No.	Thomas Day	Yea.
H. Petit	No.	John Cranby	Yea.
George Watkins	No.	John Drake	No.
Joſ. Hargrave	No.	Nicholas Trevannion	No.
		John Norris	Yea.
Eleven.	No's all.	Thomas Smith	No.
		Thirteen.	Yea's 8. No's 5.

This whole buſineſs was, in an enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, examined in the houſe of lords; when, upon a full view of the evidence, their lordſhips came to the following reſolutions:

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About noon, on the twenty-ſixth, they received advice, that the five French ſhips were ſeen the night before at anchor a little eaſtward of Belle-iſle, by Portugal Cove, and the next day, upon a meſſage from colonel Gibſon, there was another conſultation, where this intelligence was read; but it was reſolved to remain till the two captains arrived, who were ſent to make a diſcovery. Soon after, one of them came with twenty-one Frenchmen, that he had taken in a boat at Carboniere, who ſaid, they were ſent by M. Pointis to procure freſh proviſions. The other captain returned alſo from Portugal Cove, who ſaw the French ſhips at anchor, one of them of three decks, two from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and two more of above fifty. The council adjourned till the next morning, and then calling the priſoners before them, they related all they knew, fearing that otherwiſe they ſhould be very ill treated. They ſaid the ſquadron had not been at any other port ſince they left the Weſt-Indies, and that hearing of an Engliſh ſquadron in thoſe parts, they had appointed Placentia, in Newfoundland, for the place of rendezvous; but, through the hazineſs of the weather, were obliged to drop anchor in Conception-bay.

But notwithſtanding all this and other corroborative evidence, to prove that this was in reality M. Pointis's ſquadron, the council of war ſtill over-ruled captain Norris, who was eager for fighting, and obliged him to remain in the harbour of St. John's, which they fortified with ſuch induſtry, that when Mr. Neſmond arrived, which was about two and thirty days after the other ſquadron had been firſt ſeen, the place was in ſo good a ſtate of defence, that though the French ſquadron conſiſted of ſixteen ſail, of which ten were of the line of battle, yet they were ſo well ſatisfied with the ſight of the preparations made for their reception, that they thought proper to retire without ſo much as

Die Lunæ, 17th April, 1699.

1. It is reſolved by the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, that the ſquadron commanded by captain Norris, at St. John's in Newfoundland, not going out to fight Pointis, upon the ſeveral intelligences given, was a very high miſcarriage, to the great diſſervice of the king and kingdom.

2. It is reſolved, that the joining the land-officers in the council of war, on the 24th of July, 1697, was one occaſion of the miſcarriage in not fighting Pointis.

firing a gun, and thereby left all Newfoundland in our poſſeſſion, which was confirmed by the enſuing peace [l].

M. Pointis, however, though he got ſo happily clear of this affair, met with another, which gave him a good deal more trouble; for, on the fourteenth of Auguſt 1697, he fell in with a ſquadron commanded by captain Harlow, whom he boldly engaged about three in the afternoon. After a briſk diſpute of two hours, the French made a ſignal for tacking, when one of their ſhips, being diſabled, eſcaped with much difficulty, and put the reſt into ſome confuſion. They bore away as faſt as poſſible, and by ten at night the Engliſh ſquadron loſt ſight of them. The fifteenth, being a clear day, the enemy was diſcovered by four in the morning, at the diſtance of four leagues; upon which captain Harlow continued the chaſe till evening, but with very little advantage, our ſhips being fouler than theirs, though they were returned from ſo long a voyage. The next day they got clear away, and the day following entered the harbour of Breſt, having as happily and as ſtrangely eſcaped variety of dangers, as any ſquadron that ever went to ſea [m].

It is not eaſy to account for M. Pointis's bearing down upon captain Harlow's ſquadron; nor can one readily apprehend, how the Engliſh ſhips, juſt come out of port, came to ſail ſo much worſe than the French. Some myſtery there was in this, which was never revealed to the public, though, in all probability, ſomething might be diſcovered to the lords of the admiralty, which it was not proper ſhould come abroad [n]. Thus we have

[l] Burchet's memoirs, p. 381. Preſent ſtate of Europe for October 1697. Life of king William. p. 488. Hiſtory of the laſt war.

[m] M. Pointis confeſſes this in his memoirs. A Dutch Gazetteer ſays pleaſantly, Ill-luck put on leaden boots to purſue him. See captain Harlow's own account, in the London Gazette, N° 3317.

[n] I ground what I advance in the text on the following advertiſement, which appeared firſt, Thurſday, September 23. 1697, London Gazette, N° 3325.

"Admiralty-office, September 23. Whereas the right honourable the lords "commiſſioners of the admiralty did receive a letter by the poſt, ſigned A. B. "which contains ſeveral things relating to the late action of captain Harlow: "theſe are to give notice, that if the perſon who writ the ſaid letter will apply "himſelf to one of the ſecretaries of the admiralty, his name ſhall not be "made known, without his own conſent, and he ſhall likewiſe be rewarded, "and preferred by their lordſhips.

"WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN."

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run through the history of what passed in the West-Indies during this war, and are now returned to the naval transactions in Europe, in the year 1697, where we shall find not many extraordinary actions to detain us.

His majesty going in the spring of the year to Holland, he was pleased to declare Edward Russel, Esq;[o] then at the head of the admiralty, one of the lords-justices in his absence; and soon after it was known, that his majesty had created him baron of Shingey, viscount Barfleur, and earl of Orford[p]. These honours seemed not only fit but necessary, since his lordship, as bishop Burnet well observes, had the whole authority of high-admiral, though not the title[q]. His presence, therefore, being requisite at the board, Sir George Rooke was declared admiral of the fleet, and actually went down, in the beginning of June, to Portsmouth, in order to take upon him the command of it[r]. On his arrival, however, he found things but in a very indifferent condition: for though the ships made a handsome figure enough in the list at the admiralty, yet they were in fact not half manned, and worse victualled; so that if a Dutch squadron had not happily joined them, it is on all hands agreed, they could not have put to sea. But by the latter end of the month, his force being augmented by two squadrons, which had been under the command of vice-admiral Mitchel, and rear-admiral Benbow, the admiral found his strength increased to forty-four sail of the line, and therefore he put to sea for some time, but was obliged to return sooner than he intended, for want of provisions[s].

In the month of September he detached vice-admiral Mitchel with a squadron, to meet and sustain vice-admiral Neville, who was expected home with the galleons from the West-Indies; but before he reached the cape of St. Vincent, he had notice of the return of that squadron, and did not therefore think proper

[o] Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 734. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 440. London Gazette, N° 3282. [p] Present state of Europe for the month of April 1696. London Gazette, N° 3283. [q] History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 195. [r] Burchet's naval history, p. 564. London Gazette, N° 3288. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xxii p. 653. [s] Burchet's memoirs, p. 389, 390. London Gazette, N° 3291, 3292, 3304, 3308. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xxiii. p. 191.

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to continue any longer at ſea. He was afterwards ordered out again in October, when he performed nothing worthy of remark, except the bringing in fifteen Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips, which had loſt moſt of their anchors and cables, and muſt otherwiſe have been in great danger of periſhing themſelves[t]. Soon after he received the king's orders, to bring over the Czar from Holland, which he did; that monarch arriving in England on the eleventh of January following, and was ſo acceptable to that great prince, that, with the king's leave, he attended him during the whole time he ſtaid in England, and had the honour alſo to command the ſquadron which eſcorted him on his return to Holland, in his way back to his own dominions. His behaviour toward that great and glorious prince, was ſuch as gave him entire ſatisfaction, ſo that he retained a grateful remembrance of it many years after, when he came a ſecond time into Holland, and expreſſed it by taking notice of many points in naval diſcipline, in which he was inſtructed by admiral Mitchel[u].

Rear-admiral Benbow ſailed from Spithead on the eleventh of April 1697, with a ſquadron conſiſting of ſeven third-rates and two fire-ſhips[w], and inſtructions to protect the trade of this nation in every inſtance in his power, and to annoy the enemy. With this view, he was ſtationed from ten to fourſcore leagues

[t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 565, 566. London Gazette, N° 3332, 3336.

[u] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 739. London Gazette, N° 3357. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 167. Life of Peter the Great, p. 394.

[w] London Gazette, N° 3279. Mr. Burchet ſays, April 10th, but I prefer the authority of the Gazette, in which I find an article that deſerves a place here, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it. "Newcaſtle, April 10th. Yeſterday "morning came to our bar eight colliers from London; one of them belong- "ing to this town, Charles Newton maſter, laden with merchants goods, and "carrying twelve guns, was, in her voyage here, attacked by a French priva- "teer of fourteen guns and four patteraroes; captain Newton made a vigorous "defence, and another of the merchant ſhips coming to his aſſiſtance, they "boarded the ſaid privateer, took her, and have brought her into this haboui: "of the French, twenty-three were killed in the fight, and the reſt, ſixty ſix "in number, are brought aſhore, ſeveral of which are wounded, and the cap- "tain ſo dangerouſly, that it is thought he will hardly recover. There was "another privateer in his company, who, ſeeing his companion come off ſo ill, "fell aſtern, and ſtood off to ſea."

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from Scilly, but was able to perform nothing remarkable during the beſt part of the month of May, though he was joined by five ſhips of war more, and therefore he returned to St. Helen's about the twenty-firſt of that month, from whence he ſailed again on the twenty-fourth, with four third rates and two fire-ſhips, for his former ſtation; and, after having ſeen two Eaſt-India ſhips pretty far out to ſea, he received ſuch intelligence as to our homeward-bound Jamaica ſhips, as induced him to repair to Plymouth, in doing which he had the good fortune to join the Virginia and Weſt-India fleets, and their particular convoys, off the Lizard; and, ſoon after meeting vice-admiral Mitchel off the Start, he was by him directed to repair to Plymouth with the merchant-ſhips, where he received orders from Sir George Rooke to repair to the fleet then paſſing weſtward, and to take care for ſending eaſtward a convoy with the trade.

But theſe orders were contradicted by others from the lords of the admiralty, dated the tenth of July, and he, in obedience to them, proceeded to the ſquadron before Dunkirk, which captain Beaumont had commanded a conſiderable time before, conſiſting of ſix third rates, beſides the Newark, two fourth, one fifth, and two fire-ſhips; but three of thoſe third rates were ordered away to the Downs by the lords of the admiralty [x].

The rear-admiral, as ſoon as he arrived with his ſquadron, went in perſon with his boat before the pier-heads of Dunkirk, where, though he diſcovered not one veſſel in the road, yet he ſaw fifteen or ſixteen ſail of great ſhips within, one of which bore a flag. With captain Beaumont he found two orders from the lords of the admiralty, the firſt directing him to purſue and burn du Bart's ſhips where-ever he could find them, except under the protection of the forts in Norway or Sweden; the other, to obey any orders he might receive from his majeſty, who was then in Holland. On the thirtieth of July rear-admiral Vandergoes joined him with eleven Dutch ſhips, and it was propoſed, that one of the ſquadrons ſhould ly ſo, as that Dunkirk might be ſouth of them, and the other in or near Oſtend road; that, if du Bart ſhould attempt to paſs out either at the north or eaſt channel, they might the better diſcover him: but no other an-

[x] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 569, 570. London Gazette, N° 3279, 3308. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xxiii. p. 192.

ſwer

ſwer was made by the Dutch flag, than his ſhips were foul, and not in a condition to purſue him.

The French ſhips at Dunkirk were in all eleven, from fifty to twenty-ſix guns; and about the beginning of Auguſt they were all, except M. du Bart's own ſhip, hawled into the baſon to clean, ſo that it was judged they were making ready to come out the next ſpring-tide. But ſince our ſhips, as well as the Dutch, were all foul, little ſervice could be expected from their chaſing, and it was almoſt next to an impoſſibility to block up clean ſhips at Dunkirk with foul ones. The rear-admiral, therefore, propoſed, that four of his beſt ſailers might be ordered to Sheerneſs to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but to heel and ſcrub; and this he judged might be done before the approaching ſpring could afford the French an opportunity of getting over the bar [y]. But at this time it was not thought adviſeable, though afterwards he received orders to do it; ſo that for the preſent he only ſent the ſhips from time to time to the Downs to water, as they could beſt be ſpared. It is evident enough from this large account of the matter, that our diſappointments were frequently owing to the want of proper orders, and the not paying a due attention to ſuch pieces of advice as the commanders of ſquadrons thought themſelves in duty obliged to offer. On the twenty-third of Auguſt du Bart left Dunkirk with five ſail, having the prince of Conti on board, whom the French attempted to make king of Poland [z]. The rear-admiral purſued him, but to no manner of purpoſe; and, before he returned to his ſtation, eight other ſhips were gone, which he purſued likewiſe, but with the ſame want of ſucceſs: and this was the laſt action of the war; for, on the tenth of September following [a], peace was concluded between England, Spain, and Holland, on the one ſide, and the crown of France, on the other, at Ryſwick, by which the French king acknowledged king William's title, and, as the French hiſtorians ſay [b], gave up more towns than

[y] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 571. [z] London Gazette, N° 3370. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xxiii. p. 282, 283. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 198. [a] Corps univerſel diplomatique du droit des gens, tome vii. partie ii. p. 399. [b] Quincy hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tome iii. p. 412. Larrey, tome ii. p. 337. Limiers, tome ii. and other writers

the confederates could have taken in twenty years; but this was not from any principle either of juſtice or moderation, but with views of quite another ſort, as was foreſeen then, and in the ſpace of a few years fully appeared [c].

We have now brought this long war to a concluſion, and it is but juſt that we ſhould offer the reader ſome reflections on the conſequences of it to the naval power and commerce of England. Firſt then, with reſpect to our navy, we have ſeen that the war opened with a very bad proſpect; for though we had an excellent fleet, a vaſt number of able ſeamen, and perhaps as good officers as any in the world, yet the French got earlier to ſea than we did, appeared with a greater force, and managed it better, though we acted then in conjunction with Holland, and, according to the general rule of political reaſoning, ought to have had it in our power to have driven the French out of the ſea.

All this proceeded from the ſudden change in our government, which perhaps left many of our officers diſaffected, and many more without having any proper degree of credit at court. Want of confidence between the adminiſtration and the commanders of our fleets is always deſtructive to our maritime power, and therefore, inſtead of wondering that things went ſo ill in the three firſt years of the war, we may with more juſtice be ſurpriſed, that they went no worſe. Our party diviſions not only enervated our own ſtrength, but created ſuch jealouſies between us and the Dutch as blaſted the fruits that muſt have been otherwiſe produced by this cloſe and fortunate union of the maritime powers. Of this we have the fulleſt proof in the caſe of the earl of Torrington, whom even the enemies of the government made it a point to ſupport, becauſe they knew that preſerving him muſt give diſtaſte to our allies, and who on the other hand was proſecuted by many who believed him innocent [d].

But

[c] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 739. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 201, 202. Life of king William, p. 482. The preſent ſtate of Europe for 1697, p. 356.

[d] The reader will eaſily diſcern the force of this argument, if he conſiders the ſhare the earl of Torrington had in the revolution, and the warmth with which, on his proſecution, he was ſupported by thoſe who were leaſt pleaſed with that event. This ſhews the effects of party ſpirit upon national affairs; for though it

But when once the government was thoroughly ſettled, and we acted cordially in conjunction with the ſtates, it ſoon became evident, that we were much more than a match for France at ſea. Our misfortunes at the beginning of the war created inquiries and cenſures, which were, and always will be, followed with victories; for, when officers find themſelves in danger for acting ill, they will endeavour to eſcape it by doing well; whereas, if they once find that they may prefer private profit to that duty which they owe the public, with impunity, they will not fail to run into that broad road. This accounts for our ſucceſs in the middle of the war, and the declenſion of it afterwards, when the board of admiralty began to feel its own ſtrength, and the management of naval affairs was reduced to a court-ſyſtem, by which ſuch men were ſure of protection, as could be depended on in other reſpects than their commands in the fleet[e].

But notwithſtanding theſe and ſome other miſcarriages, no leſs prejudicial to the intereſt of the nation, yet, on the whole, the French ſuffered much more in their maritime power than we, as Mr. Burchet has ſhewn us; and conſequently, if we conſider the ſituation of both nations, the eaſe with which it was in our power to repair our loſſes, and the almoſt inſuperable difficulties the French had to ſtruggle with in this reſpect, we muſt conclude, that not only they but the whole world had full evidence, from thence, of their being no way able to ſtruggle againſt the Dutch and us in a maritime war. To make this ſtill more apparent,

might be right in them to eſpouſe the earl of Torrington, who probably acted according to the beſt of his judgment, yet they did it apparently from wrong motives, and with no better intention, than to mortify and diſtreſs the court.

[e] It may poſſibly be thought, that I differ in my ſentiments here from what I have ſaid elſewhere as to inquiries, and therefore I take this opportunity of ſaying, that I would be underſtood ſo as to diſtinguiſh between proper inquiries and peeviſh inquiries. I call proper inquiries ſuch as begin with things, and end with men, and I take ſuch to be peeviſh as preſume things to be wrong, becauſe they were done by this or that ſet of men. In this reign we had frequent examples of both: inquiries were ſet on foot in parliament, and, when they did not anſwer the intentions of a party, they were dropped. This certainly was very ſcandalous. On the other hand, commodore Wilmot's diſgraceful expedition, and ſeveral others of the ſame kind, were paſſed over without any ſerious inquiry at all. This, undoubtedly, was very ſuſpicious dealing in the admiralty, who ought to have vindicated their own uprightneſs by juſtifying the characters of ſuch as they employed, which appears to be the judgment of biſhop Burnet himſelf, who, though he loved the miniſters, yet could not help ſeeing their faults

I muſt

I muſt obſerve, that king William, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament at the concluſion of the war, aſſerted our naval force to be near double what it was at his acceſſion [f]; whereas I do not find in any of the French hiſtorians, that they attempted to build new ſhips during the progreſs of the war, or to do any thing more than finiſh ſuch as were then upon the ſtocks, purchaſing, as occaſion required, large merchantmen, which they converted into frigates.

In this light, therefore, we were gainers by the war, of which the French ſeemed to be very ſenſible, ſince they avoided all general engagements [g]; and, in particular actions between ſmall ſquadrons or ſingle ſhips, the ſtrictneſs of their diſcipline gave them great advantages, ſince their veſſels, generally ſpeaking, were much cleaner than ours, and conſequently were able to leave us whenever they found themſelves too hard preſſed, of which ſeveral inſtances have been given in the foregoing ſheets. At the ſame time, however, it muſt be confeſſed, that the French fleets, generally ſpeaking, behaved very well at ſea, and that we ſuffered conſiderably even in thoſe actions where we were victorious, as well as where our ſhips were taken by ſurpriſe, or beaten as convoys, by a ſuperior force [h].

But,

[f] See his majeſty's ſpeech, Dec. 3, 1697, in Chandler's parliamentary debates. Upon carefully comparing the liſts of the royal navy, this very clearly appears.

[g] Account of the loſs ſuſtained by the French in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688 to 1697:

N° ſhips.		Force.	Total guns.	N° ſhips.		Force.	Total guns.
2	of	104 guns,	208	Bt.			
1	of	90,	90	over 21			1462
2	of	80,	160	5	of	32,	160
3	of	76,	228	5	of	30,	150
1	of	74,	74	5	of	28,	140
1	of	70,	70	1	of	26,	26
1	of	68,	68	3	of	24,	72
2	of	60,	120	3	of	20,	60
4	of	56,	224	6	of	18,	108
1	of	50,	50	1	of	16,	16
1	of	48,	48	2	of	12,	24
1	of	42,	42	6	of	10,	60
1	of	40,	40	1	of	6,	6
21			1462	Tot. 59			2244

[h] The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688 to 1697:

But, with reſpect to our trade, it is certain, that we ſuffered infinitely more, not only than the French, (for that muſt have been expected), but than ever we did in any former war, where there was a nearer balance between our trade and that of the enemy. This proceeded in a great meaſure from the vigilance of the French, who, as we have already ſhewn, made it their choice, nay, their great monarch made it his glory, to carry on the war in a piratical way, on purpoſe to diſtreſs our merchants, and excite a loud clamour here for a peace. Another reaſon why our commerce ſuffered ſo much, was that ſpirit of avarice which prevailed, and which engaged many merchants to attempt making a ſudden fortune by ſuffering their ſhips to run, inſtead of waiting for a convoy. It cannot indeed be denied, that a third principal cauſe of our miſcarriages was the want of proper attention at the board of admiralty, where officers were generally heard with too much, and merchants with too little favour. To this we may add that ſpirit of rapine and corruption which prevailed among the ſea-officers at this time, and which too often induced them to conſider their commiſſions rather as powers given them to provide for themſelves and their families, than as truſts received for the benefit of the public.

We muſt not forget, in this enumeration of the cauſes of our loſſes in this reſpect, the ill conduct of our governors abroad, who were likewiſe totally employed in amaſſing fortunes, while the ſtrictneſs of the French diſcipline obliged ſuch as had the care of their plantations to pay a proper regard to the public ſervice, to which alone was owing their preſerving their ſettlements

N° ſhips.		Force.	Total guns.	N° ſhips.		Force.	Total guns.
1	of	70 guns,	70	Bt.			
1	of	54,	54	over 23			848
2	of	48,	96	2	of	18,	36
1	of	46,	46	2	of	16,	32
3	of	42,	126	2	of	12,	24
3	of	36,	108	11	of	10,	111
6	of	32,	192	5	of	8,	40
2	of	30,	60	1	of	6,	6
4	of	24,	96	4	of	4,	16
23			848	Tot. 50			1112

The number of guns on board the French ſhips, which were either taken or burnt, more than in the Engliſh, were 1132, and moſt of them much ſuperior in their weight of metal.

at

at St. Domingo, from whence they might have been driven with the greateſt eaſe by the Engliſh and Spaniards, and yet were ſuffered to retain their poſſeſſions, though both nations were continually diſtreſſed by their invaſions; and, in reſpect to this, it is no leſs evident, that the Spaniards were not ſo much to blame as we[i]. But, after all, the principal ſource of theſe miſchiefs was the neceſſity both the Dutch and we were under of fitting out ſuch great fleets every year, whereby all our ſeamen were in a manner employed in the public ſervice; ſo that, on the one hand, the merchants were forced to ſend their ſhips to ſea worſe manned than formerly, and, on the other, our grand fleet and annual ſquadrons required ſo many ſhips, that it was impoſſible to furniſh the neceſſary convoys for the ſecurity of our trade. At leaſt this was pretended, and the very pretence, perhaps, was another cauſe of our loſſes. This, however, is out of doubt, that, taking all together, our traffic ſuffered exceſſively, our merchants were many of them ruined, and though inquiries into the miſmanagements, which heightened theſe misfortunes, were not proſecuted with that vigour they might have been, yet ſuch diſcoveries were made as produced an abſolute diſtruſt of, and diſtaſte againſt ſuch as had the direction of naval affairs, a loud clamour againſt the war, and an univerſal deſire of peace at any rate[k].

After this impartial repreſentation of the ſtate of our affairs at its concluſion, we need not wonder that a peace, and a peace ſo advantageous as that of Ryſwick was, ſhould give the greateſt ſatisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading part in particular. That it did ſo, may appear from the government's cauſing a ſpecial gazette to be publiſhed, on purpoſe to make known the French king's ratification and proclamation of the peace at Paris two days ſooner than it would have otherwiſe

i This appears plainly from the French hiſtory of that iſland, where it is owned, that a ſtorm delivered them, in the beginning of the year 1698, from a deſcent from Jamaica, and that the news of the peace of Ryſwick came ſo opportunely as to preſerve them from being totally deſtroyed by the Spaniards, who had already paſſed the mountains with a body of between five and ſix hundred men. Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 177.

k Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of K. William, Preſent ſtate of Europe.

been;

been [l]; and by the numerous addreſſes of thanks and congratulation, which were ſent up from all parts of the kingdom to felicitate his majeſty upon that occaſion, and to expreſs their juſt ſenſe of being delivered from the burden and expence of ſo bloody and deſtructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the French ſtruck medals, magnifying their ſucceſs in the war, and their demonſtrating themſelves thereby a match for all the reſt of Europe, ſince, if they had really been ſo victorious, and had gained ſuch advantages, the wonder was ſo much greater that they ſhould ſtoop to ſuch a peace [m]. But though it may be true, that in many reſpects the French had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foreſaw they were unable to ſupport ſo vaſt an expence as it brought upon them, and as their weakneſs increaſed much faſter in proportion than that of the maritime powers, this in a few campaigns would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of France, or obliged her to make peace upon ſtill worſe terms than were demanded now.

It muſt therefore be allowed, to the honour of this reign and of this adminiſtration, that, however they managed the war, they gained by the peace; all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fourth article the French king engages his word and faith not to diſturb the king of Great Britain in any of his dominions, not to aſſiſt, directly or indirectly, any of the enemies of the ſaid king, nor to give ſhelter to any rebels or conſpirators againſt him. By the fifth the free uſe of commerce or navigation is reſtored between the ſubjects of both kings. By the ſeventh all places taken during the war, either in Europe or in America, are reſtored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was ſtipulated for them which with any ſhew of juſtice they could deſire; ſo that, by the concluſion of this

[l] The Gazettes came out in thoſe days on Mondays and Thurſdays. This paper, ſaid to be printed by authority, is dated, Whitehall, October 26, which was Tueſday. It is printed but on one ſide, and the French king's proclamation is in Italic, in order to render it the more remarkable. The ſame thing had been done on the exchange of the ratifications, October 18, 1697. But that was in the nature of a poſt-gazette.

[m] Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tome v. p. 153, 157, 158, 159.

treaty,

treaty, the general peace of Europe was reſtored[n], and we were left at full liberty to improve the advantages, afforded thereby, for the rectifying whatever was amiſs in our domeſtic economy, extending our commerce, and eaſing our people. How far theſe points were ſtudied or neglected, ſhall be our buſineſs to examine in the next chapter.

[n] Amongſt other medals, ſtruck on the occaſion of this peace, there was one very remarkable. On the face of the medal was repreſented a temple, the doors of which are ſhut by the plenipotentiaries. Before the temple there is an altar, on which a ſow is offered; the legend, *Cæſar firmabant fœdera porca*, alluding to the cuſtom of the Romans, who, on the concluſion of a peace, ſacrificed a ſwine. On the door of the temple ſtands, *Jano ſacrum, i. e.* "Sacred to Janus." On the reverſe are the arms of the ſeveral powers comprehended in the treaty, and in the centre the royal caſtle of Ryſwick, with this inſcription, *Ryſwick, Guliel-mi III. Dei gracia Magnæ Britanniæ regis palatium, i. e.* "The palace of Wil-"liam III. by the grace of God king of Great Britain." Gerard Van Loon hiſt. metallique des Pays Bas, tome iv. p. 273.

LIVES

OF THE

ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XIX.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN continued through the remaining part of the reign of king William III. comprehending the moſt remarkable tranſactions in relation to our commerce and plantations, with the memoirs of ſuch eminent ſeamen as flouriſhed in this period of time.

THE affair of the Eaſt-India company in Scotland has been mentioned in the former chapter; but I did not inſiſt upon it then, becauſe it would have interrupted the thread of our hiſtory, and becauſe I apprehend it would come in more naturally here. It is certainly, even at this diſtance of time, a very delicate ſubject, eſpecially for one who profeſſes to follow truth at the expence of all parties and characters whatever. But the pleaſure which reſults from acting fairly in matters of this nature, is a ſufficient compenſation for any riſque that

that a writer can run by his impartiality; and therefore I ſhall lay, without reſerve, the true ſtate of this matter before the reader, as it appears to me.

The revolution brought back to Scotland ſeveral worthy patriots, whom the jealouſy of former reigns had driven into Holland, Germany, and other countries. Theſe, from the time of their return, thought of nothing ſo much as the putting the trade of Scotland, which had been hitherto in a manner totally neglected, on a proper foot. With this view they procured, in 1693, an act of parliament, that is, of the parliament of Scotland, for the encouragement of foreign commerce, and, in conſequence of that law, procured another in 1695, for ſetting up an Eaſt-India company. When this was done, it was found requiſite to take in ſubſcriptions: and, as it was not eaſy to find money enough in Scotland for the carrying on ſo expenſive a deſign, the company's agents endeavoured to procure ſubſcriptions abroad, particularly at London, Hamburgh, and Amſterdam, in which they were certainly ſufficiently ſupported both by the royal and legiſlative authority.

But as the carrying this ſcheme into execution gave great umbrage to the Eaſt-India companies in England and Holland, they took, as it was very natural for them to do, the beſt meaſures they could to hinder the ſucceſs of theſe applications. This, however, had ſome very untoward conſequences, ſince theſe companies could effect nothing but by the interpoſition of their reſpective governments; and by this means his majeſty's name, as king of England, and Stadtholder of Holland, came to be made uſe of, to thwart thoſe deſigns which actually had his ſanction as king of Scotland. This, as might have been eaſily foreſeen, embarraſſed king William prodigiouſly; for it forced him to act in a manner little ſuitable to his inclinations, ſince, on an application of the Scots, he was obliged to promiſe that he would not countenance any ſuch attempts to their prejudice; and, to gratify the Engliſh and Dutch, he found himſelf obliged to part with two very uſeful and able miniſters, the marquis of Tweedale and ſecretary Johnſton, becauſe the former had given the royal aſſent to the law which eſtabliſhed the Scotch Eaſt-India company, in which, however, he had only followed his inſtructions; and the latter for promoting the deſign, which,

no doubt, he took to be, what it really was, an act of duty to his country. Yet theſe ſteps ſerved only to palliate things for the preſent, and inſtead of healing the breach widened it, as will be ſeen hereafter [a].

In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, in 1698, the goverment found itſelf not a little embarraſſed with the affairs of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company. A ſcheme had been offered for erecting a new company, which was to advance two millions for the public ſervice at eight *per cent.* and were to carry on this trade by a joint ſtock. To make way for this, it was propoſed to diſſolve the old company, though they had very lately a new charter granted them upon an addreſs from the houſe of commons, and, in virtue of that charter, had increaſed their capital by a ſubſcription of ſo conſiderable a ſum as ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. The pretence for diſſolving it, was a clauſe in that very charter, reſerving ſuch a power to the crown. But as it was not ſo much as aſſerted, that, ſince the granting this new charter, they had done any thing which ought to ſubject them to a diſſolution, by moderate and impartial people, who knew nothing of ſtock-jobbing, this was thought not a little hard.

The real cauſe why this ſtep for erecting a new company was taken, as biſhop Burnet and other intelligent writers fairly own, was the public's wanting and having no way ſo ready to get money. However, the diſſolving ſcheme, notwithſtanding it was powerfully ſupported, did not take place; the new company had large privileges given them, and Sir William Norris was ſent by his majeſty ambaſſador to the great Mogul, on purpoſe to promote this ſcheme; which, notwithſtanding, miſcarried in reſpect of trade: for the old company, being poſſeſſed of the forts and factories in the Eaſt-Indies, took care to prepoſſeſs that monarch, and indeed all the other princes in thoſe parts, ſo ſtrongly againſt the new company, that the ambaſſador was but very indifferently received, and the whole affair, inſtead of im-

[a] Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of King William, and other hiſtories of thoſe times. I have been extremely careful here, to lay aſide all ſorts of prejudices, and to preſent the reader, in as few words as poſſible, with a genuine repreſentation of things as they really fell out, ſtript of all thoſe colourings which party-writers and partial hiſtorians have beſtowed upon them.

proving

proving our commerce, tended only to hurt both it and the credit of the nation in thoſe parts, at the ſame time that (as I have obſerved) the acts for eſtabliſhing this new company, created very great diſcontents at home [b].

The managers of the Eaſt-India company in Scotland, finding their deſigns for carrying on that trade ſo vigorouſly oppoſed, and having, as they conceived, very large powers veſted in them by the late act of parliament, reſolved to turn their endeavours another way for the preſent, and to attempt the ſettlement of a colony in America, on the iſthmus of Darien. Every body knows, that this is a very narrow tract of country, which unites the two great continents of north and ſouth America, and that conſequently it muſt be very advantageouſly ſeated for commerce. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the Spaniards, and as the new colony ſent thither actually purchaſed their lands from the native proprietors, and ſettled there by conſent, it was apprehended that the Spaniards had no right to diſpute this eſtabliſhment; and that, if they did, the planters might defend themſelves without involving the nation in a war.

The colony was accordingly ſettled at a vaſt expence; but it was ſoon found, that great miſtakes had been made in relation to the conſequences expected from it. For the Spaniards not only conſidered it as an invaſion on their rights, and began to take our ſhips upon it; but the Engliſh alſo grew very uneaſy, and made warm repreſentations to his majeſty on this ſubject, which produced private orders to the governors of Jamaica, and other neighbouring plantations, not only to avoid all commerce with the Scots at Darien, but even to deny them proviſions. As it was foreſeen that theſe meaſures would naturally occaſion great diſturbances in that part of the world, it was found requiſite to ſend a ſquadron thither to protect our trade,

[b] Biſhop Burnet, in his hiſtory of his own times, has treated this matter very fairly, and, as far as I can judge, ſet this matter in a true light. It is a great misfortune, that we have not any HISTORY of public companies, which would be both a uſeful and entertaining work. What I have offered is very ſuccinct, as the nature of this hiſtory obliged me to make it. To give the reader an accurate account of this buſineſs would take up ſome ſheets, and indeed the buſineſs deſerves it.

to awe the Spaniards, and to hinder the increaſe of pirates, which had been very great ever ſince the concluſion of the peace, occaſioned chiefly by the multitude of privateers that were then thrown out of employment; and having been long uſed to live by plunder, had not either the will or the means to procure a ſubſiſtence for themſelves by any honeſt employment. There were alſo ſome other reaſons which made the ſending ſuch a naval force requiſite, as will appear in the ſubſequent account of its proceedings [c].

Rear-admiral Benbow was made choice of to command this ſquadron, which conſiſted of three fourth rates, and a ſmall French prize. He ſailed from Portſmouth on the twenty-ninth of November, 1698, and arrived at Barbadoes the twenty-ſeventh of February following. He executed there, and at the Leeward Iſlands, what he was directed by his inſtructions to do, and being informed that the Spaniards at Carthagena had ſeized two of our ſhips, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating againſt the Scots at Darien, he, like a brave and public-ſpirited commander, as he really was, reſolved to prevent it, and reſtore theſe ſhips to their right owners. With this view he ſtood over to the Spaniſh coaſt, and coming before Boca-Chica caſtle, he ſent his men on ſhore for wood and water, which though he aſked with great civility of the Spaniſh governor, he would ſcarce permit him to take [d].

This highly nettled the admiral, who thereupon ſent his own lieutenant to the governor, with a meſſage, importing, that he not only wanted theſe neceſſaries, but that he came likewiſe for two Engliſh ſhips that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there ſome time, which, if not ſent to him immediately, he

[c] Kennet, Burnet, State-tracts in the time of king William, and particularly a little treatiſe, entitled, An inquiry into the cauſes of the miſcarriage of the Scots colony of Darien, 8vo. 1700, which is not printed in the folio collection of tracts before-mentioned.

[d] London Gazette, N° 3450. Moſt people thought this ſquadron too ſmall, too weakly manned, and ſent too late in the year; and many reflections to this purpoſe were thrown out in pamphlets, to diſturb the minds of the people, and alienate the affections of the ſeamen. But rear-admiral Benbow's conduct was irreproachable, and, though he was a downright ſailor, his manner of acting was ſo engaging, that he not only performed more than was expected, but returned with ample commendations from all our colonies.

would

would come and take by force. The governor anſwered him, in very reſpectful terms, that if he would leave his preſent ſtation, in which he ſeemed to block up their port, the ſhips ſhould be ſent out to him. With this requeſt the admiral, without the leaſt heſitation, complied; but finding the governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country diſtemper, which doubtleſs the Spaniſh governor foreſaw, he ſent him another meſſage, that if in twenty-four hours the ſhips were not ſent him, he would come and fetch them; and that, if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of ſeeing what reſpect an Engliſh officer had to his word. The Spaniards, however, did not think fit to make the experiment, but ſent out the ſhips within the time; with which the admiral returned to Jamaica, where he was received with much kindneſs and reſpect[c].

There he received an account, that the Spaniards at Porto-Bello had ſeized ſeveral of our ſhips employed in the ſlave-trade, on the old pretence, that the ſettlement at Darien was a breach of the peace. At the deſire of the parties concerned the admiral ſailed thither alſo, and demanded theſe ſhips; but received a ſurly anſwer from the admiral of the Barlovento-fleet, who happened to be then at Porto-Bello. Rear-admiral Benbow expoſtulated with him on this head, inſiſting, that, as the ſubjects of the crown of England had never injured thoſe of his catholic majeſty, he ought not to make prize of their ſhips for injuries done by another nation. The Spaniards replied ſhrewdly, that ſince both the crowns were placed on the ſame head, it was no wonder he miſtook the ſubjects of one crown for the other. After many altercations, however, and when the Spaniards ſaw that the colony at Darien received no aſſiſtance from Jamaica, the ſhips were with much to do reſtored. The admiral, in the mean time, ſailed in queſt of one Kidd, a pirate, who had done a great deal of miſchief in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, and of whom we ſhall have hereafter occaſion to ſpeak more largely. On his return to Jamaica, towards the latter end of the year, he received a ſupply of proviſions from England,

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 577.

and

and ſoon after orders to return home; which he did with ſix men of war, taking New-England in his way[f].

While rear-admiral Benbow was thus employed, vice-admiral Aylmer was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron into the Mediterranean, in order to confirm our treaties with the governments of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which he performed very effectually; for, being a man of a generous temper, he executed all things with ſuch magnificence, and treated the deputies ſent on board him in manner ſo well ſuited to their tempers, that they were eaſily drawn to do thoſe things for him, which an officer of another diſpoſition would never have obtained[g].

It was intended too that he ſhould have ſecured the galleons, in caſe the French attempted to ſeize them on the death of the king of Spain, which was daily apprehended; but for this he certainly came too late, and though no body pretended to fix any imputation on his character in this reſpect, yet there was great blame laid on the board of the admiralty, for not fitting out this fleet ſooner. This, among many other things, made up part of the charge brought againſt the management of the navy by the houſe of commons, in their addreſs to the king, preſented in the month of April, 1699; wherein, after taking notice of the late ſending of this fleet, they add, "That the "victualling any of his majeſty's ſhips, by others than by the "victuallers appointed for that ſervice, or their agents, was con-"trary to the courſe of the navy, and might be of ill conſe-"quence. That many and new unneceſſary charges had, in "an extraordinary manner, been introduced into the navy, "which was a great miſmanagement. That the deductions of "poundage, taken by the pay-maſters of the navy, for ſlop-cloths, "dead-men's wages, tobacco, cheſt at Chatham, chaplain, and "ſurgeon, was without warrant, and ought to be accounted "for. That it was inconſiſtent with the ſervice of the navy,

[f] Burchet, Kennet, Life of king William, Preſent State of Europe, *&c.*

[g] London Gazette, N° 3427. This fleet ſailed from Portſmouth, Sept. 13, 1698. But Mr. Burchet's account is ſo indiſtinct, that Mr. Lediard, in tranſcribing it, thought this fleet was fitted out in 1700, and under that year has placed it in his naval hiſtory, p. 729. I am the more ſurprized at this, becauſe he takes notice of the commons addreſs in 1699, which actually took its riſe from an inquiry into the late fitting out of this ſquadron.

"for

" for the ſame perſon to be one of the commiſſioners for exe-
" cuting the office of lord high-admiral and treaſurer of the
" navy at the ſame time. And that the paſſing of any account
" of monies impreſſed for the contingent uſes of the navy,
" without regular vouchers, or ſuch other proofs as the nature
" of the ſervice would admit, either with or without a ſign
" manual, was contrary to the rules and methods of the navy,
" and of dangerous conſequence. All which they begged leave
" to lay before his majeſty, deſiring that he would be graciouſ-
" ly pleaſed to take effectual care, that the miſmanagements
" herein complained of might be prevented for the future."
The king gave a ſoft anſwer, which yet was ſatisfactory enough to this charge. It ran in theſe words: " Gentlemen, I will
" conſider of your addreſs. It is my deſire, that all ſorts of
" miſmanagements and irregularities ſhould be prevented or re-
" dreſſed. You may be aſſured, that I will take the beſt care
" I can in relation to the navy, the right management whereof
" is of great concern to the kingdom [h]."

The earl of Orford, who was at this time at the head of the navy, and who, as all our writers agree, governed pretty abſolutely, on a ſuppoſition that bringing over to the court a body of men who had been formerly looked upon as ſtubborn malecontents, would juſtify every meaſure that he ſhould think neceſſary for ſo ſalutary a purpoſe, ſaw at what the commons were driving, and therefore very prudently reſolved to abate the edge of their reſentment, by laying down his employments, which he did accordingly, and thereupon a new commiſſion of admiralty paſſed, in which the earl of Bridgewater, the lord Haverſham, Sir Robert Rich, Sir George Rooke, and Sir David Mitchel, were conſtituted commiſſioners. And thus things were twiſted about, rather as the intereſt and influence of parties required, than as was fitteſt for the public ſervice, which, though always pretended in ſpeeches and addreſſes, yet this was ſo viſibly a cloak for the pernicious deſigns of party, that we may ſafely aſſert, *private intereſt* was never more conſidered than at this

[h] Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 102.

time,

time, when nothing was ſo much talked of as *public ſpirit*[1]; may we live to ſee things conducted with more ſincerity!

We are now come to a neceſſary part of this hiſtory, which will appear one of the ſtrongeſt inſtances of the truth of the foregoing obſervation; I mean, the affair of Kidd, the pirate, which, by an unaccountable ſtrain of party-reſentment, makes a conſiderable figure in our general hiſtories, and belongs, in a particular manner, to this; for which reaſon I ſhall treat it circumſtantially, and, to the beſt of my judgment, exactly agreeable to truth. There had been for many years loud and very juſt complaints of piracies in the Weſt-Indies, which, for the ſake of the profit made by purchaſing their ill-gotten goods, had met with too much encouragement from the inhabitants of ſeveral of our plantations. This induced king William, in the year 1695, to declare the earl of Bellamont, a nobleman of Ireland, and a perſon of very great worth and honour, governor of New-York and of New-England, believing him to be a proper perſon to reſtrain ſuch miſchiefs, and in time to put an end to the complaints made about them.

After he was raiſed to this ſtation, and before he ſet out for his government, he began to inquire as to the moſt proper methods for extinguiſhing theſe abuſes, and repreſented it to one colonel Levingſton, a gentleman of conſiderable property in New-York, as a thing which nearly concerned the honour of that plantation. This induced the colonel to mention to his lordſhip one captain William Kidd, who was lately arrived from New-York in a ſloop of his own, as a brave bold fellow, who knew moſt of the pirates haunts, and might therefore be employed againſt them with great probability of ſucceſs. The earl readily approved the ſcheme, and knowing how much the king had the buſineſs at heart, mentioned it to his majeſty; who applauded the deſign, and recommended it to the board of admiralty. But the public affairs being then in a perplexed ſituation,

[1] The earl of Orford was afterwards impeached, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew; but there was never any proof offered on that impeachment; and to be ſure his lordſhip's faults were in his miniſterial character, and not as a commander. He was very ſincere and ſerviceable to his party, at the head of the admiralty board; but at ſea he forgot all diſtinctions, and had regard to nothing but merit.

and great difficulties found in manning the fleet, the board, though they ſignified their approbation of the thing, thought fit to lay it aſide[k].

Colonel Levingſton, having exact information of all that had paſſed, applied himſelf a ſecond time to the earl of Bellamont, and offered an amendment to his firſt project. He obſerved, that this was a thing which would admit of no delay; and ſince the public could not immediately bear the expence, or conſequently undertake the intended expedition, it might not be amiſs if ſome few perſons of diſtinction ſhould venture on carrying it into execution at their own expence. This too was attended with much difficulty; but at laſt it was agreed, that the lord-chancellor, (then lord Somers), the duke of Shrewſbury, the earl of Romney, the earl of Orford, and ſome other perſons, together with colonel Levingſton and Kidd, who were to have between them a fifth of the whole undertaking, ſhould raiſe ſix thouſand pounds for the expence of the voyage[l].

The king was ſo well pleaſed with the thing, and thought it of ſo great conſequence as well as of ſo much benefit to the public, that he likewiſe promiſed to contribute, and therefore a tenth part of the goods taken from pirates was reſerved to his majeſty in the grant made of the reſt to the perſons engaged in fitting out Kidd. But, when the buſineſs was brought to bear, the king could not advance the money conveniently, and ſo the perſons above-mentioned were obliged to be at the whole expence. Captain Kidd had a commiſſion, in the common form, to take and ſeize pirates, and bring them to juſtice, without any ſpecial clauſe or proviſo whatever. He knew none of the adventurers but the lord Bellamont, who introduced him to the earl of Orford, and another perſon carried him to the earl of Romney.

[k] Biſhop Burnet and Mr. Oldmixon have both inſiſted pretty largely on this matter. As to the former, he did not certainly underſtand it; for he actually took the grant of pirates' goods to be illegal and unjuſtifiable, and ſeems to intimate ſome haſtineſs or imprudence in this buſineſs; whereas nothing can be clearer than that public-ſpirit was the ſole motive to this deſign, and that Kidd's owners became ſo, becauſe he could not be fitted out otherwiſe. As to the latter, though very prolix, yet his account wants, in a great meaſure, the light of evidence, which ariſes very fully from an impartial ſtating of the matters of fact, and therefore I have dwelt ſo long upon it.

[l] See an impartial account of the affair of captain Kidd, 4to.

As for the reſt, he never ſaw them; and ſo little was there of ſecrecy or management in this buſineſs, that he had no inſtructions either public or private; only the earl of Bellamont gave him ſailing orders, in which he was directed to act according to the letter of his commiſſion [m].

Thus furniſhed, captain William Kidd ſailed in the Adventure galley towards the end of the year 1695 for New-York, and in his way took a French prize. From thence he ſailed to Madeira, thence to Bonaviſta and St. Jago, from whence he proceeded to Madagaſcar, and from thence he cruized at the entrance of the Red ſea; but, effecting nothing, he ſailed to Calicut, and took a ſhip of one hundred and fifty tons; the maſter and three or four of the crew were Dutchmen, the reſt Moors: this ſhip he carried to Madagaſcar; from thence he ſailed again, and about five weeks after took the Quedah Merchant, of four hundred tons; the maſter was one Wright an Engliſhman: ſhe had on board two Dutch mates, and a French gunner; the crew were Moors, in all about ninety perſons [n].

The ſhip he carried to St. Mary's near Madagaſcar, and there he ſhared the goods with his crew, taking forty ſhares to his own uſe. Here ninety of his crew, who were a hundred and fifty-one in all, left him, and went on board the Mocha Merchant, an Eaſt-India-company ſhip, which had turned pirate; and there was every grain as much reaſon to charge that company with the piracies the Mocha Merchant's crew committed, as there was to charge Kidd's adventurers with his. He and his men burnt his own ſhip the Adventure galley at St Mary's, and they all went on board the Quedah Merchant, and ſailed for the Weſt-Indies. Being denied ſuccour at Anguilla and St. Thomas's, he ſailed to Mona, lying between Porto-Rico and Hiſpaniola, and there, by the means of one Bolton, got ſome proviſions from Curacoa. He bought a ſloop of Bolton, in which he loaded part of his goods, and left the Quedah Merchant, with the reſt of the goods, in truſt with Bolton, and ſeventeen or eighteen men in her. In this ſloop he touched at ſe-

[m] This plainly ſhews, there was nothing ſecret or myſterious in this expedition, but that he was ſent on the deſign expreſſed in the king's commiſſion, and on that only.

[n] This is taken from his trial, and other authentic accounts of him.

veral

veral places, and diſpoſed of a great part of his goods, and at laſt came to Boſton in New-England, where the earl of Bellamont ſeized him and what goods he had left; for this fellow either had, or pretended to have a notion, that the Quedah Merchant, being manned by Moors, was a lawful prize, though there was no proof that the commander of her and his crew had committed any piracies on the Engliſh or any other European, or indeed Indian nation.

As ſoon as this was done, his lordſhip ſent advice, of his taking Kidd, to England, and deſired that a ſhip might be ſent to bring him home. This was accordingly complied with; but the Rocheſter, which was the ſhip employed in this ſervice, being diſabled, was forced to return, which heightened the clamour that had been already raiſed about this tranſaction, and which was outrageous in the very ſame proportion it was groundleſs [o].

The ſource of this clamour was undoubtedly a private pique to particular perſons, which induced ſome warm men to put a queſtion in the houſe of commons, "That the letters-patent, "granted to the earl of Bellamont and others, of pirates' goods, "were diſhonourable to the king, againſt the law of nations, "contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, an invaſion of "property, and deſtructive to commerce." This was carried in the negative, but it did not hinder thoſe who ſupported the queſtion from charging lord Somers and the earl of Orford with countenancing pirates; and to give ſome colour to this groundleſs and moſt improbable charge, as ſoon as it was known that the Rocheſter was returned, it was ſuggeſted, that the ſending that ſhip was mere colluſion; that the earl of Bellamont was as deep in this affair as the reſt; and upon this a motion was made, and carried in the houſe of commons, for an addreſs to his majeſty, that Kidd might not be tried till the next ſeſſion of parliament, and that the earl of Bellamont might be directed to ſend home all examinations and other papers relating to this buſineſs, which the king promiſed very readily [p].

[o] The noiſe made about this fellow diſturbed the government ſo much, that it was one reaſon for ſending rear-admiral Benbow to the Weſt-Indies.

[p] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 774. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 237. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 205.

This affair muſt naturally give his majeſty, and indeed the whole world, a ſtrange opinion of the patriotiſm of thoſe times. He knew the whole matter better than any body, and was pleaſed to ſay, with great truth and juſtice, that, if he might be admitted as a witneſs, he could vindicate, from his own knowledge, the noble perſons now attacked, in all they had done. He muſt, therefore, be thoroughly perſuaded, that this was a very unjuſt and iniquitous proſecution, in relation to which he had reaſon to think himſelf happy, that he was not able to perform his promiſe of contributing towards this deſign, ſince that might have given a handle to ſome warm member for calling him *pirate*, as Mr. Howe actually called him a *felon*, for making the treaty of partition, to which we ſhall ſpeedily come.

But, how clear ſoever the king and other impartial judges might be, this ſpirit was ſtill ſo prevalent in the houſe of commons, that even after making ſome inquiries into this fact, and having not only his examination, but Kidd himſelf in their power, whom they ordered to be brought to their bar, and queſtioned him there, (very little to their credit or to the purpoſe), yet, when they afterwards found an opportunity of attacking the earl of Orford and lord Somers by impeachments, they did not fail to throw in their encouragement of Kidd as part of the charge [q]. In the articles againſt the earl of Orford they make the fifth and ſixth, which for the ſatisfaction of the reader I ſhall inſert, to ſhew with how great ſolemnity the moſt trifling affair may be made to appear.

"V. And whereas complaints were made to the commiſſioners "for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England, "where the ſaid earl at that time preſided, by the company "trading to the Eaſt-Indies, of divers piracies committed in the "South-ſeas to the deſtruction of their trade, deſiring they "might have letters of marque granted to them, whereby to be

[q] It was pretended that Kidd would make diſcoveries, and upon this he was ſent for to the bar of the houſe of commons, where he behaved very meanly; and Sir Edward Seymour, who ſent for him, ſaid, "The fellow was not more "a knave than a fool." But the true intent of bringing him thither was to ſet up another diſcovery, *viz.* That, before he returned to Newgate, he went to the houſe of the earl of Halifax, and conferred there with the lords who were ſaid to be concerned with him; but of this the proof was as weak as the ſtory incredible.

"impowered,

" impowered, though at their own charge, to ſuppreſs ſuch " piracies: but the ſaid earl, preferring his own intereſt, diſcou- " raged and rejected their requeſt and propoſal, and in ſome " ſhort time after, jointly with others, did procure a commiſſion " for one William Kidd, as likewiſe a grant under the great " ſeal of England, to and for the uſe of him the ſaid earl and " others, of the ſhips and goods of certain perſons therein " named, and alſo of all the goods found on board the ſaid " ſhips. And the ſaid company having intimation of a commiſ- " ſion granted to the ſaid Kidd, being apprehenſive of the ill " conſequences of the ſame, did apply themſelves to the ſaid " board of admiralty, deſiring to know what powers and in- " ſtructions were given: but ſuch their reaſonable requeſt was " denied, and Kidd, who was known to be a perſon of ill " fame and reputation, ordered to purſue the intended voyage, " in which he did commit divers piracies and depredations on " the high ſeas, being thereto encouraged through the hopes of " being protected by the high ſtation and intereſt of the ſaid " earl, in violation of the laws of nations, and the interruption " and diſcouragement of the trade in England.

" VI. That the ſaid earl, within the time aforeſaid, when an " horrid conſpiracy was diſcovered againſt his majeſty's ſacred " perſon, and the kingdom was under an apprehenſion of an " immediate invaſion from France, and divers ſhips of war, " particularly the ſhip Ducheſs, were armed out, and equipped " and manned in defence of the realm, to oppoſe the intended " invaſion, did his utmoſt endeavour to prejudice his office, " being the firſt commiſſioner for executing the office of lord " high-admiral of England, without the privity of the other " commiſſioners, contrary to his oath and duty, and preferring " his hopes of gain to himſelf to the ſafety of the public, did " order captain Steward, commander of the ſhip Ducheſs, to " deliver over, and put on board, the ſaid Kidd, mentioned in " the foregoing article, out of the ſaid ſhip the Ducheſs, a great " number of able ſeamen, levied and provided at the expence of " the public, and then diſcharging their duty in defence of their " country, and againſt their own conſent, to the prejudice of

" the

" the public ſecurity, and to the endangering the ſaid ſhip the " Ducheſs, if it had been attacked by the enemy[r]."

The earl of Orford's anſwer will ſufficiently declare how little foundation there was in fact for what the commons advanced, and therefore I ſhall give what he offers, as to theſe two articles, in his own words: " As to the fifth article," ſays his lordſhip, " the Eaſt-India company, about the beginning of March, 1696, " did apply to the admiralty-board, of which the ſaid earl was " one, to impower their ſhips and officers to ſeize and take all " pirates infeſting the ſeas within the limits of their charter, and " likewiſe to erect a court of admiralty in thoſe parts to try and " condemn ſuch pirates as they ſhould take. Upon which ap- " plication, the board of admiralty did take advice, and were " informed they had no authority to grant the ſame, and denies " he, the ſaid earl, ever diſcouraged or rejected the company's " requeſt therein, unleſs it were by telling them, that the ad- " miralty by law could not grant the ſame; and denies that the " company was ever denied letters of marque in common form, " to the knowledge of the ſaid earl: and ſaith, as to the matter " of Kidd in this article mentioned, he was gone upon his ex- " pedition about twelve months before that time; and as to his " commiſſion, and the grant in the ſaid article mentioned, the " ſaid earl humbly conceives, and is adviſed, the ſame were not " contrary to law, but ſure he is the ſaid expedition was in- " tended for the public good and ſervice; and ſaith, the ſaid " Kidd had no powers or inſtructions from the board of admi- " ralty, other than the ordinary and common letters of marque, " the contents whereof are common and well known to mer- " chants; and the ſaid earl doth deny that he knew the ſaid " Kidd to be of ill fame and reputation. But, in caſe the ſaid " Kidd had committed any piracies, he the ſaid Kidd is anſwer- " able, and ought to anſwer for the ſame, he never being or- " dered by the ſaid earl ſo to do, nor had he ever any the leaſt " encouragement given him by the ſaid earl, or any other, " to his knowledge, to expect or hope for any protection

[r] See the articles of impeachment againſt Edward earl of Orford, printed by order of the houſe of commons in 1701.

" therein,

" therein, or in any illegal action done or committed by " him[s]."

But his lordſhip's anſwer to the latter article is ſtill ſtronger. In that he ſays, " He believes it to be true, that there was a " horrid and barbarous plot and conſpiracy againſt his majeſty's " ſacred perſon, and that there was an apprehenſion of an im- " mediate invaſion. But the ſaid earl hopes, no neglect of duty " in his ſtation can be imputed to him to prevent the ſame. " And as for the ſhip Ducheſs, which was amongſt many others " armed and equipped in defence of the realm, the ſaid earl " ſaith, that the men, in the ſaid article mentioned to be taken " from on board her, were but ſome of the very perſons that " were juſt before taken from on board captain Kidd, and re- " turned by their own conſent on board captain Kidd again, not " being above twenty in number; and ſaith, all fears of the in- " vaſion were then over, and at an end; and denies that the " ſame was intended to weaken, or did weaken, the ſaid ſhip, " or the navy-royal, or that the ſaid ſeamen, ſo returning on " board the ſaid Kidd, were levied or provided at the expence " of the public, or did return or were put on board the ſaid " Kidd againſt their own conſent, or to the prejudice of the " public ſecurity, or that the ſhip Ducheſs was thereby endan- " gered, if ſhe had been attacked, as in the ſaid article is " alledged."

Theſe articles were agreed to by the houſe of commons on the eighth of May, 1701, the very day that Kidd was brought upon his trial for piracy at the Old-Bailey, where he was convicted, with many of his companions, and ſoon after executed; but could never be prevailed upon, as weak and as bad a man as he was, to charge any of the noble perſons, who were his owners, with having any thing to do with his proceedings. Yet, even after his death, the commons, in an impeachment by them preferred againſt John lord Somers, charge him as lord-keeper of the great ſeal of England, in conjunction with the earl of Orford, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, and Richard earl of Bellamont, governor of New-York and of New-England, and

[s] See theſe anſwers in the ſame collection. They are very indifferently abridged by moſt of our hiſtorians; as in truth they muſt be, ſince, by abridging them, ſome facts muſt neceſſarily be left out.

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of others then in great ſtations, and in high power and authority, for ſealing a commiſſion to one William Kidd, a perſon of evil fame and reputation, ſince convicted of piracy, and with procuring a grant of pirates' goods to be taken by the ſaid William Kidd, under colour of the ſaid commiſſion, in truſt for himſelf and other perſons, with abundance more to the ſame purpoſe, intended purely to hurt that lord's character, and render it impoſſible for his majeſty to employ him longer in his ſervice; though his lordſhip, conſcious of his own innocence, took every meaſure poſſible to have this matter brought to a fair, open, and ſpeedy trial [t].

But while things were thus carried on at home, the nation ſuffered exceedingly for want of due care being taken to put an end to thoſe depredations committed by pirates abroad, and therefore ſeveral experienced officers were ſent to Madagaſcar, where they had made a very ſtrong ſettlement, in order to root out and deſtroy them; but with ſo little ſucceſs, that the government began at laſt to deſpair of effecting any thing in this way, till Mr. ſecretary Burchet, and I ſpeak it to his honour, deviſed a method which anſwered the end very ſpeedily. This was, ſending a proclamation by captain James Littleton, who was afterwards a flag-officer, and commiſſioner of the navy, promiſing pardon to all the pirates who ſurrendered, and a reward in caſe they would ſecure and deliver up any of their commanders. This ſoon brought in many of the private men, and made the reſt, eſpecially their chiefs, ſo jealous of each other, that they could not hold together, or venture upon any new enterprizes: ſo that captain Littleton, having brought off ſome and ſeparated the reſt, very ſoon deſtroyed ſuch as were moſt refractory, and re-eſtabliſhed that free navigation which had been ſo long interrupted in thoſe parts [u]. I know that this will ſeem to ſome a very trivial affair to be ſo long inſiſted on; but as it ſhews the ſpirit of thoſe times, and accounts for a very famous perſecution, I hope the majority of thoſe who peruſe this work, will not think it impertinent, eſpecially as it has ſome connection throughout with the ſubject of this book.

[t] This affair went off by the lords appointing a day for the trial of the peers, and the commons refuſing to be preſent at that trial, or to make any proofs.

[u] Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, &c.

But we now return to matters of a more public concern. A war had ariſen between the kings of Denmark and Sweden, which greatly affected the peace of the north; a thing that can never happen without intereſting the maritime powers. It will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething as to the grounds of this war, becauſe the part we took in it was very much to the honour of the Engliſh nation, and ought to eſtabliſh it as a maxim, that whenever it is really neceſſary to aſſiſt our allies, we ought to do it vigorouſly, and at once; which is the way not only to ſerve them, but to ſave a very conſiderable expence to us. There was, towards the cloſe of the year 1699, a private treaty made by ſeveral princes for attacking the king of Sweden, afterwards the famous Charles the twelfth, but then a perfect youth, and even for diſmembering the Swediſh monarchy. According to this ſcheme, the king of Denmark was to invade Holſtein, the elector of Brandenbourg was to fall into the Swediſh Pomerania, the king of Poland was to attack Livonia, and in caſe the dukes of Zell and Hanover moved to the aſſiſtance of the Swedes, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle, were to fall upon them.

This was an alliance founded entirely upon intereſt and ambition, for the Swedes had done nothing to deſerve this treatment; and therefore, upon the firſt breaking out of this confederacy, his Swediſh majeſty addreſſed himſelf to king William and the States-General, as guarantees of the treaties made for ſecuring the tranquillity of the north, by preſerving there a proper balance of power. At firſt it was thought requiſite to interpoſe only our good offices. But when the king of Denmark over-ran Holſtein, and the king of Poland firſt attempted to ſurpriſe, and then beſieged Riga in Livonia, it became neceſſary to take other meaſures, eſpecially when it was known that the Czar was inclined to enter into the confederacy. The point in debate with his majeſty was, whether he ſhould do what was neceſſary, and what he was obliged to by treaties, without conſulting the houſe of commons; or whether he ſhould lay the whole matter before the parliament, and leave the deciſion of it to them. Some of the miniſtry were for taking the latter method, but the king was for the former, and with good reaſon; he ſaid, the executive part of the government was in him,

and therefore he would do what was fit for him to do, and acquaint the parliament with it at their next meeting [w].

His majeſty, in the ſpring of the year 1700, ſent over a ſtrong ſquadron to Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who, in the latter end of May, was joined by a Dutch ſquadron; and, having the command of the whole fleet, he ſailed for the Sound, where he arrived about the middle of June [x]. There he found the Daniſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty-eight ſail of line of battle ſhips, ranged athwart the narrow paſſage, under the guns of their caſtle of Cronenburg, oppoſite to Helſingburg; and here alſo he received aſſurance from count Wutchtmeiſter, admiral-general of Sweden, that he would take the firſt opportunity of joining him with the ſquadron under his command. Not long after a ſignal was made, as had been agreed, from Helſingburg, that the Daniſh fleet were under ſail; whereupon our admiral weighed anchor, and advanced into the Sound, to prevent any miſchief which might otherwiſe happen to the Swedes. But the Daniſh ſhips anchored again on this ſide of the grounds, not only to guard the paſſage, but to prevent our joining with the Swediſh ſquadron, which were now come down to the ſouth-ſide of that channel.

In this poſture the fleets lay for ſome time, Sir George Rooke expecting that the Swedes would, according to what had been promiſed, have puſhed through; which in all probability they might have done in leſs than two hours, for it had blown freſh at S. S. E. But the opportunity being loſt, he got under ſail, and came nearer to the iſland of Huen [y]. Meanwhile the Danes plyed towards him in a line of battle, but anchored about noon near three leagues off, in the mouth of the channel leading up

[w] The reader may conſult our general hiſtories, and particularly the memoirs of biſhop Burnet on this ſubject, which he has treated fully and freely. The truth is, the ſcheme, however fair in appearance, was like to be attended with ſuch conſequences, that baron Pleſſe, who was a very honeſt man, and had ſerved his Daniſh majeſty long as prime miniſter, could not digeſt it, but reſigned his employments.

[x] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 786. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 243. London Gazette, N° 3602. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 462. [y] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 213. Columna roſtrata, p. 270, 271. Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. iii.

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to Copenhagen, and the Swedes were much about the ſame diſtance on the other ſide of the grounds. The Danes then endeavoured to amuſe the admiral with an account of a treaty, in hopes that, while it was negotiating, he would ſuſpend hoſtilities; but he purſued the ſpirit of his inſtructions, which required him to promote not a negotiation, but a peace; and therefore, being informed that the Swediſh fleet had paſſed the channel of Flinterena on the third of July, he ſailed the next day, and anchoring off Landſcroon, the Swediſh fleet joined him on the ſixth; upon which the Danes retired into their harbour, where they were very well ſecured; and though the united fleets pretended to bombard them in the port of Copenhagen, yet either they could not, or would not, do them much miſchief [z].

The confederate fleet conſiſted of fifty-two ſhips of the line; but as ſo great a ſtrength was not neceſſary to keep in the Danes, part was detached for other purpoſes; for there were ſent to Gottenburg a fourth and a fifth rate of the Engliſh, and three ſhips of the States-General, to cover the forces which the king of Sweden intended to tranſport to Tonningen, on the river of Eyder, and three Engliſh, with ſix Swediſh, together with three Dutch ſhips, were ordered into the ſouth channel going into Copenhagen, with the bomb-veſſels, from whence they bombarded the Daniſh fleet ſome hours, but not with much greater ſucceſs than before; nor did thoſe on our ſide receive any damage from their ſhells, or the ſhot from the town, the ſhips and the puntoons. Preparations were now making for a vigorous deſcent in Roge-bay, and between Copenhagen and Elſinore at the ſame time; but the winds being contrary, thoſe troops which embarked at Udſtedt, being chiefly horſe, could not get over to the bay before-mentioned, as was intended, ſo that they were put on ſhore, and ordered to Landſcroon and Helſingburg, to be tranſported from thence; and the latter end of July, the king of Sweden landed with about five thouſand foot, near four miles on this ſide Elſinore, without any great loſs, although the Danes had brought down a body of horſe and foot, and three or four field-pieces, to oppoſe them.

[z] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 244. Oldmixon, Burchet, and the Preſent ſtate of Europe for the year 1700.

This quick motion was intended to accelerate the negotiations that were then carrying on, and it had the desired effect; for the Danes, excessively alarmed at so unexpected a proceeding, sent orders to their plenipotentiaries at Travendale to sign the preliminaries on the terms proposed by the mediators; and this being signified to Sir George Rooke, he refused to let the combined fleet cover any longer the descent of the Swedes, there being enough already done to secure a peace, which was signed on the eighteenth of August, 1700, and left the king of Sweden at liberty to act against the Czar and the king of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions in this critical juncture[a].

This whole transaction was extremely honourable, and at the same time very advantageous to the maritime powers, who cannot, as I observed, be at any time, consistent with their interests, tame spectators of a war in the north. If they had not assisted the Swedes, who were then the weakest, the Danes would have drawn the negotiation into a great length, while their allies were distressing the king of Sweden in different parts of his dominions; and, on the other hand, if the combined fleets had acted as vigorously as the king of Sweden would have had them, the island of Zealand must have been reduced, and perhaps the city of Copenhagen taken, which would have inclined the balance too much the other way. This was the true reason that the bombardment had so little effect, and Sir George did not affect to conceal it: for when king Charles complained to him, that the English bombs flew over, and the Dutch fell short of the Danish fleet, and that he wondered the maritime powers sent so great a strength to do nothing; admiral Rooke answered him very calmly, "Sir, I was sent hither to serve "your majesty, but not to ruin the king of Denmark." "Why then," replied the king, smiling, "you have certainly "executed your commission, and have made such a war as will "make a peace."

When the business was done, the combined fleets returned, and the States-General were so sensible of the prudent manage-

[a] Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens, tom. vii. part. ii. p. 480, 485. Burnet, Kennet, vol. iii. p. 786. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xxix. p. 226, 311.

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ment of the Engliſh admiral, that they thanked his majeſty for having entruſted him with the commiſſion. I cannot help obſerving upon this occaſion, that when Sir George Rooke was ſo unlucky as to labour under the diſpleaſure of a powerful party in England, he was known and acknowledged in Holland to be the beſt officer, and the greateſt ſeaman of the age. This, perhaps, was the reaſon, that, notwithſtanding the difference of parties, king William always preſerved a good opinion of this gentleman, and employed him as long as he lived in the moſt important commands.

In Scotland things ran very high on the old ſubject of complaint, *viz.* the ruin of the Darien colony. Things were printed on both ſides on purpoſe to inflame the minds of the people, and many thought that it would at laſt have created a breach between the two nations. The coldneſs of the king's temper prevented this; he could not either be heated by the Engliſh repreſentations, or blown into a paſſion by the haſty reſolutions of the Scots parliament; and his moderation towards each of them, if it did not bring them both to a good temper, which was indeed never effected in his reign, yet it gave him an opportunity to keep the wiſeſt people in England and in Scotland firm to his government, while, in the mean time, many unforeſeen accidents brought about the ruin of the Scots company; ſo that the ends of their Engliſh adverſaries were anſwered, without their having recourſe to any harſh means; for after captain Drummond ran away with the Riſing Sun, and engaged in ſome exploits which had too much the air of piracy, it was found impracticable to reſtore the affairs of the company, though the matter hung in ſuſpence, and the fire of diſſenſion lay raked up under the embers as long as king William lived, and had like to have blazed out in the reign of his ſucceſſor; as will be hereafter ſhewn in its proper place[b].

We are now to return to affairs nearer home. The death of the king of Spain changed all the affairs of Europe, and forced us, who had ſo lately made a very neceſſary peace, upon a new, expenſive, and dangerous war, contrary to the genius, at leaſt, if not, as the patriots of thoſe times aſſerted, to the intereſt of

[b] Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, &c.

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the nation[c]. It is certain that the king did all he could to avoid it, and that this was the great, if not the ſole foundation of the two famous partition-treaties, which were ſo much exclaimed againſt by thoſe, whoſe ſteady oppoſition to a war had firſt brought the king and his miniſtry to think of them.

It has been much diſputed, whether the French king or the confederates meant leaſt to keep theſe treaties when they were made; but it ſo falling out, that the French king had a fairer opportunity of breaking the laſt than the confederate princes, this furniſhed them with an opportunity of charging him with breach of faith, and forging the king of Spain's will, which, however, were things believed by ſuch only as knew little of the matter, ſince there never was a ſtate-reſolution taken with better advice, and more deliberation, than that of king Charles the Second's, calling the duke of Anjou, afterwards king Philip V. to the ſucceſſion.

It has been alſo ſaid, that the proclaiming the prince of Wales on the death of king James II. by the French king was one of the cauſes of the war; and whoever looks upon the public acts of thoſe times, I mean declarations, addreſſes, votes, &c. will think the fact certain. Yet I am pretty confident it was quite otherwiſe, ſince king William ſigned the grand alliance at the Hague a week before king James died. But this pretence of the French king's breach of treaty and of his word was very plauſi-

[c] In order to be ſenſible of this, we need only caſt our eyes on the following paſſage of my lord Somers's letter to king William, dated from Tunbridge-wells, Auguſt 28, 1698, in anſwer to one written by the king in relation to the firſt treaty of partition.

"The ſecond thing conſidered was the very ill proſpect of what was like to "happen upon the death of the king of Spain, in caſe nothing was done previ- "ouſly in providing againſt that accident, which ſeemed probably to be very "near, the king of France having ſo great a force in ſuch a readineſs, that he "was in a condition to take poſſeſſion of Spain, before any other prince could "be able to make a ſtand. Your majeſty is the beſt judge whether this be the "caſe, who are ſo perfectly informed of the circumſtances of parts abroad.

"But, ſo far as relates to England, it would be want of duty not to give "your majeſty this clear account: That there is a deadneſs and want of ſpirit "in the nation univerſally, ſo as not at all to be diſpoſed to the thought of en- "tering into a new war; that they ſeemed to be tired out with taxes, to a de- "gree beyond what was diſcerned, till it appeared upon the occaſion of the late "elections. This is the truth of the fact, upon which your majeſty will determine "what reſolutions are proper to be taken."

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ble, and therefore it was very prudent to lay ſo great ſtreſs upon it, becauſe it ſerved to raiſe the reſentments of the nation, and to excite that ſpirit that was wanting, and which much better motives never would have raiſed[d].

I would by no means be underſtood to cenſure this war as unreaſonable or unjuſt; in doing this I ſhould quit my character as an hiſtorian, and at the ſame time write contrary to my opinion. All I aim at is to diſtinguiſh grounds from pretences, and to juſtify king William's meaſures in this reſpect from their true motives, rather than from thoſe which were uſed only to colour them in compliance with the nation's temper at that time. The king, who was a very wiſe man, and a conſummate politician, ſaw plainly, that the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, if it fell entirely into the hands of the houſe of Bourbon, would leave it abſolutely in the power of that houſe to give law to the reſt of Europe, and to deſtroy that independency ſo neceſſary to Great-Britain and Holland, which yet reſults from the balance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the houſe of Auſtria. He ſaw too, that the ſenſe which other powers had of their particular grievances and immediate danger from the power of the French king, afforded the means of combining ſuch a force as might be able to bring that monarch to reaſon, and to conſent to ſuch an eſtabliſhment as would leave things in their former ſtate, and ſecure the ſeveral potentates of Europe in the poſſeſſion of their juſt rights.

[d] The citation in the laſt note ſufficiently ſhews the king's ſentiments, and thoſe of his miniſter, upon this ſubject; and therefore, as I write at ſuch a diſtance of time, when truth muſt be ſerviceable, and can do no hurt, I think I have a right to ſpeak plainly, otherwiſe I ſhould not have exerciſed it. As to the addreſſes from all parts of England, (in which the French king's character is very roughly treated on account of his proclaiming a perſon whom ſome call prince of Wales, and others an impoſtor), I can only ſay, that it was politically right at that time to encourage it. But as to the perfidiouſneſs of the French king, it is not ſo clear in this caſe, becauſe he knew at the time, king William had negotiated a new grand alliance, and conſequently ſtood to him in the light of his capital enemy. The excuſe, indeed, he made for proclaiming the ſon of king James was trifling and diſingenuous. He ſaid it was no breach of the treaty of Ryſwick, becauſe he gave him the titles only of king of England, *&c.* but did not aſſiſt him to recover them. On the other hand, king William wrote a letter to the new king of Spain, to felicitate him on his acceſſion, though he never intended to own him. Theſe are acts of policy, not of perfidy.

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This induced him to engage reciprocally Papiſts and Proteſtants to ſupport each other's pretenſions; for, by the grand alliance, Great-Britain and the States undertook to procure ſatisfaction to the pope, as, on the other hand, the emperor and other catholic princes ſtipulated to ſupport the proteſtant intereſt, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in reſpect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cauſe; and, though theſe articles expoſed the alliance to very popular objections amongſt party-men at home and abroad, yet to perſons of judgment and ſagacity, of clear heads and candid hearts, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole muſt be regarded, and to this the particular views of all the ſeparate princes and powers who compoſe it muſt give way; and therefore if, conſidering things in this light, the general alliance formed againſt France in 1701 was right and well founded, all the cavils, raiſed againſt it from the party-ſpirit that prevailed here, were equally frivolous and unjuſt[e].

When the reſolution was once taken to have recourſe again to arms in order to preſerve the balance of power, the firſt care was for the fleet, which his majeſty reſolved ſhould be much ſuperior to that of the enemy, his majeſty being extremely ſenſible of the ill conſequences that attended the want of this ſalutary precaution at the beginning of the laſt war. Preparatory to this was the new commiſſion of the admiralty in the ſpring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke, a man univerſally beloved and eſteemed[f].

The command of the fleet was very judiciouſly beſtowed upon Sir George Rooke, who on the ſecond of July went on board the Triumph in the Downs, where he hoiſted the flag. He ſoon after ſailed to Spithead, where he was ſpeedily joined by the reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of forty-eight ſhips of the line, beſides

[e] This is the ſubſtance of all the ſtate tracts that were written in thoſe times, and which ſerved, as they generally do, only to puzzle and confound people; whereas we, being now out of the reach of their influence, ſee things as they were, and are able to crowd the ſubſtance of many pamphlets into a ſingle paragraph.

[f] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 824. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 462. London Gazette, No 3692.

frigates, fire-ſhips, and ſmall veſſels[g]. He had under him ſome of the greateſt ſeamen of the age, *viz.* Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Sir Thomas Hopſon, John Benbow, Eſq; and Sir John Munden: he was not long after reinforced by fifteen Dutch men of war of the line, beſides frigates and ſmall veſſels, under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, vice-admiral Vandergoes, and rear-admiral Waeſſenaar.

The whole fleet was obliged to wait at St. Helen's until the middle of Auguſt for want of proviſions; and, when he put to ſea, the wind blew in a few hours ſo high, that he was conſtrained to put back again into Torbay. Towards the latter end of the month he ſailed from thence, and the ſecond of September he detached vice-admiral Benbow with a ſtout ſquadron for the Weſt-Indies: and as this was the principal buſineſs of the fleet, and indeed a thing in itſelf of the higheſt importance, the admiral detached a ſtrong ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten ſail of Dutch men of war, beſides frigates, under rear-admiral Waeſſenaar, to ſee the Weſt-India ſquadron well into the ſea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean, and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free uſe of the Spaniſh harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of ſending a ſquadron early to the Weſt-Indies, without putting it in the power of the French to procure any exact account of its ſtrength: the admiral, after performing this, cruized according to his inſtructions for ſome time, and then returned with the largeſt ſhips into the Downs[h].

After this fleet was ſent to ſea, his majeſty, on the 18th of January, thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the com-

[g] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 588. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xxx. p. 597, 699. London Gazette, N° 3700, 3720.

[h] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. ch. 4. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 288. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xxxi. p. 181, 453. Some of theſe people ſeem to find fault with Sir George Rooke on account of his doing little while he was at ſea with ſo great a fleet. But the merit of this admiral was, that he always knew, and did what was to be done. This was a fleet of amuſement, the war was not declared, and therefore, the longer Sir George could keep the French and their allies in ſuſpence, the greater ſervice he did; though, without this key, haſty people might miſtake the thing, and believe he did no ſervice at all.

miſſioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the right honourable Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, and of the foreign plantations [i]. The deſign of this promotion was to be rid of the diſadvantages attending a board: and this end it anſwered perfectly; for his lordſhip immediately ſent away captain Edmund Loades to Cadiz to bring home the ſea ſtores, and the merchants effects, before the war broke out, as alſo two hulks that had been left in that harbour, from the time of the laſt war, for the greater conveniency of careening our ſhips which remained in that port. This the captain with his ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting but of three frigates, effectually performed [k].

His lordſhip alſo took the like care of our trade in all other parts, and by his extraordinary prudence, remarkable patience, and being very eaſy of acceſs, gave much more ſatisfaction to the merchants and to the officers of the fleet, than any of the boards of admiralty, ſince they were firſt introduced, had ever done. Indeed his lordſhip's merit and ſucceſs in this arduous employment was ſo conſpicuous and ſo univerſally acknowledged, that it is not eaſy to underſtand upon what principles the management of the fleet was changed in the enſuing year, except that it might be thought neceſſary to raiſe prince George of Denmark to that dignity, that he might appear to have had a principal concern in adviſing and managing affairs; which, however, was in this reſpect but very little to his royal highneſs's advantage, as will be ſhewn in our account of tranſactions under the next reign [l].

The war was now the great object of our councils as well as thoſe of France, though hitherto it was not declared, and negotiations were ſtill carried on in Holland as if both parties had

[i] Kennet, vol. iii. p 831. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 470. London Gazette, N° 3776. [k] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. ch. 7.

[l] This is a ſtrong proof of king William's juſtice and good ſenſe. Many of the enemies of that prince have remarked, that he introduced here the Dutch cuſtom of boards, by putting all great offices into commiſſion; but hitherto no body has remarked, that, when he reſolved to enter into a ſecond general war, he very prudently and honeſtly altered this method in the navy, by appointing a lord high-admiral; which ſhews, that he was more intent on the nation's being well ſerved at ſea, than on his miniſters being well ſupported in the houſe of commons.

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inclined to an amicable determination of theſe differences, which was, however, the intention of neither. The expectation of a rupture made our ſea-officers exceedingly alert, and put them upon ſhewing their mettle ſometimes a little too much. For inſtance, the marquis of Caermarthen's yacht fired upon a French ſhip in the harbour of Rotterdam to oblige her to ſtrike, which ſhe did immediately. The commander of the yacht, not ſatisfied with this, ſent for the maſter of the French veſſel on board, and obliged him to pay twelve livres for the ſhot. This was complained of by count d'Avaux, the French miniſter, in very high terms; and it is very probable, that the States would have expreſſed their diſlike of it at another ſeaſon, but things were then in ſuch ſituation, that it was not thought proper to animadvert on theſe accidents, whatever might have been thought of them at another time. The States indeed were obliged to unite themſelves cloſer than ever to Great-Britain, ſince their ſafety, as well as ours, depended on the force of this alliance, as that did on our union [m].

In the midſt of theſe preparations, however, care was taken of a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was the uniting the two Eaſt-India companies, which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and lord Halifax for the new. By this inſtrument it was agreed, that the old company's ſtock in the funds ſhould be transferred to the new, and that the old company ſhould purchaſe of the new as much of their ſtock as, with that which was transferred by the old, ſhould make up a moiety of the whole capital of the united companies. The old company were likewiſe to give an equivalent for the new company's dead ſtock. During ſeven years each

[m] This ſteadineſs of the States was chiefly owing to their confidence in king William, which, without queſtion, induced them to enter into this long and dangerous war, though they were ſo much exhauſted by the former. His majeſty no doubt preſſed them to it, becauſe he thought it their intereſt, as it really was, and ours too. Yet ſuch has been the violence of parties, that the Tories here have charged king William with making us principals in this war to ſerve the Dutch, while the patriots in Holland have loaded his memory with the imputation of ſacrificing the intereſt of the republic to thoſe of his three kingdoms. It is hard to ſay which is moſt wonderful, the wiſdom and integrity of the king, or the ingratitude of the people in both countries.

company was to have an equal power in the adminiſtration of the fund and trade; and to that end twelve perſons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company reſpectively, who were to be ſtyled MANAGERS OF THE UNITED TRADE TO INDIA; and, after theſe ſeven years were expired, the old company were to ſurrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its ſtyle, and to be called THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES: and this agreement was the foundation of that company which has ſubſiſted with ſo great credit to themſelves, and benefit to the nation, ever ſince [n].

One of the laſt acts of king William's adminiſtration was a ſolemn meſſage to the lower houſe of parliament, in relation to an union between England and Scotland, in which he ſaid, "He "ſhould eſteem it a peculiar felicity, if, during his reign, ſome "happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take "place, and therefore he was extremely deſirous a treaty for "this purpoſe might be ſet on foot, which he therefore recom-"mended in the moſt earneſt manner to the houſe of commons." In compliance with this meſſage the houſe did appoint a day to conſider of the propoſition contained therein; but the death of the king prevented their coming to any reſolution.

Before this happened, however, they reſolved that forty thouſand men ſhould be granted for the ſervice of the fleet in the enſuing year, and ſhewed ſuch an inclination to enter heartily into all the meaſures neceſſary to render the grand alliance effectual towards the ends for which it was made, that the French, who little expected that ſuch a ſpirit would be ſhewn in this parliament, were much ſurpriſed, as eaſily foreſeeing that the new war would diſtreſs them much more than the old had ever done, becauſe it was like to be better managed [o].

His extraordinary attention to buſineſs is thought to have haſtened the king's deceaſe, which happened on the 8th of March,

[n] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 296.

[o] I do not take this upon the credit of Larrey and other hiſtorians of his rank, but from the beſt French memoirs that I have met with, in which it is confeſſed, that their court was deceived by the ſtrong aſſurances given them by the late king's party, who, to do them juſtice, were in all probability deceived themſelves.

1701-2, about eight in the morning. He died, as he lived, with great ſteadineſs of mind, and ſhewed himſelf in his laſt moments as much a hero as he had ever done in the field. I ought now to ſay ſomewhat of this prince's character, and to ſum up all with a general view of the capital events in his reign; but as I have already treated very copiouſly of ſuch as have any affinity with the principal deſign of this work, and as the fame of king William III. ſtands in no need of my feeble aſſiſtance, I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that never any prince better underſtood the general intereſt of Europe, or purſued it with greater firmneſs, and that whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign, to the prejudice of our affairs, were not ſo much owing to any miſtakes in his conduct, as to the circumſtances of the times, our own unfortunate diviſions, and the fatal conſequences of both [p].

The only thing now left to be performed, before we proceed to another chapter, is the collecting, as far as the ſlender memoirs that have come to our hands will allow, ſome account of the moſt eminent ſeamen who died in this reign; and in treating of theſe the reader is deſired to remember, that no party is eſpouſed; that every man is conſidered as a perſon of worth and honour ſo far as he purſued his principles, and was juſt to the prince he ſerved, and faithful to the intereſt of his country. By the help of this neceſſary and well-founded diſtinction we ſhall be able to do ſtrict juſtice to all thoſe brave men who expoſed their lives in their country's ſervice at ſea, of what party ſoever they were, or were reputed; which, however, hath been ſeldom done in a work of this kind, where, generally ſpeaking, the heroes are all on one ſide, and there are none but indifferent people on the other: whereas in truth there is no foundation for ſuch characters, honeſt and brave men being found alike on both ſides, though they have ſometimes had the misfortune to be hated and defamed by ſuch as have leſs regard to merit than opi-

[p] The reader, if he is inclined to purſue this ſubject farther, may conſult Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, the Life of king William, &c. where he will often find that flattery is as dangerous to the reputation of a prince as prejudice itſelf. Some writers out of pure zeal would make king William more than man, and others, blinded by malice, refuſe to ſee what his actions made viſible to all the world, that he was one of the greateſt men, and one of the wiſeſt princes, in every reſpect, of the age in which he lived.

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nion, and who thought it excuſeable to raiſe a clamour againſt a great man in an oppoſite intereſt, though they were ſenſible this clamour ſprung from prejudice, and not any love to juſtice. Theſe reflections I thought neceſſary, to prevent the reader's being ſurpriſed by what he meets with in the following pages, wherein I have as much diſregarded the common cry, as I have been careful, by an accurate compariſon of facts, to come as near, in every inſtance as I could, to the naked truth, which, when diſcovered, I have not either exaggerated or concealed.

MEMOIRS of GEORGE LEGGE, Baron of Dartmouth, *&c.*

IF remarkable loyalty, and a ſteady adherence to the intereſt of the prince who raiſed him, joined with all the abilities requiſite to fill the many high employments he poſſeſſed, ought to render the memory of a man valuable to poſterity, then the memoirs of lord Dartmouth deſerve our utmoſt attention; for he was, even in the opinion of ſuch as were not his friends, one of the ableſt and beſt men of the age in which he lived, or, to expreſs it in the words of a writer who ought always to meet with credit when he ſpeaks well of the dead, "the worthieſt noble-"man of the court of king James II.[q]" to whoſe fortunes he adhered, though he had always oppoſed with firmneſs the counſels which were the cauſes of his diſtreſs.

The family of Legge came over hither from Italy, where to this day the eldeſt branch are nobles of Venice[r]. Here in England there are two flouriſhing families of this name; one in Herefordſhire, the other ſettled at Legge's Place near Tunbridge in Kent, from whom the preſent earls of Dartmouth are lineal

[q] The author mentioned in the text is biſhop Burnet, whoſe character of this noble lord is to be found towards the end of his firſt volume. What he ſays of him is ſo juſt and generous, that it deſerves the reader's notice. That prelate, ſpeaking of the uneaſineſs king James was under on the fitting out of the Dutch fleet in 1688, and of the preparations he made for the defending himſelf, proceeds thus: "He recalled Strickland, and gave the command to the lord Dart-"mouth, who was indeed one of the worthieſt men of his court. He loved him, "and had been long in his ſervice and in his confidence, but was much againſt "all the conduct of his affairs; yet he reſolved to ſtick to him at all hazards."

[r] Hiſt. de Veniſe, par le Sieur Amelot, de la Houſſai, tome ii.

deſcendants,

deſcendants, as coming in a direct line from Thomas Legge of that place, who was ſheriff of London in 1344, twice lord-mayor, and twice repreſentative for the city in parliament[s].

In the reign of Henry VII. the family ſettled in Ireland, where Edward Legge, Eſq; was vice-preſident of Munſter, and died in the year 1616, leaving behind him a very numerous poſterity, *viz.* ſix ſons and ſeven daughters, all of them diſtinguiſhed by their great merit, and ſeveral of the daughters eſpecially, by living to a very extraordinary age; Eliſabeth, the eldeſt, to 105, Margaret, who married Mr. Fitzgerald, to upwards of 100, and Anne, the wife of William Anthony, Eſq; who died in 1702, aged 112[t]. But let us now return to the perſon whoſe actions we are to record.

He was the eldeſt ſon of the famous colonel William Legge, groom of the bed-chamber to king Charles I. and a moſt conſtant follower of all his fortunes. Soon after the reſtoration his father thought proper to ſend him to ſea under the care of that great and gallant admiral, Sir Edward Spragge, in the firſt Dutch war in 1665, when Mr. Legge was barely ſeventeen[u]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all the actions of that and the ſucceeding year by ſuch remarkable teſtimonies of conduct as well as courage, that in thoſe days, when naval preferments were earned before they were enjoyed, he was without envy raiſed to the command of the Pembroke in 1667, when he was yet ſhort of twenty, a preferment which did him as much honour as any he afterwards obtained[w].

After the peace he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to the ſtudy of the mathematics, eſpcially to ſuch branches of that extenſive ſcience as have relation to the military art; and, having attained to great ſkill as an engineer, he was employed by his majeſty in

[s] See Fabian's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 219, 224, 230. edit. 1559. He ſerved the office of lord-mayor in 1347, and again in 1354. Stow's ſurvey of London, p. 516. edit. 1603, 4to. As to his being in parliament for the city, I have that in a MS. liſt of members for London, in which it appears he was choſen in 1349 and 1352.

[t] Theſe particulars are chiefly collected from the memoirs of the family, though they are likewiſe confirmed by ſeveral monumental inſcriptions.

[u] The reaſon of his going to ſea under Sir Edward Spragge was, becauſe of his near relation to the Legge family, his mother being ſecond ſiſter to colonel William Legge, this gentleman's father.

[w] This and ſeveral other particulars are taken from the family-memoirs.

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that character, and in 1669 ſucceeded his father in the command of an independent company of foot. In 1671 he was made captain of the Fairfax, and, in 1672, of the Royal Catharine, in which he ſerved with the higheſt reputation, having beat the Dutch out who boarded her while ſhe was ſinking, and, after he had ſtopped her leaks, brought her ſafe into harbour; in which deſperate ſervice he received ſeveral wounds. In acknowledgment of this and other marks of military virtue ſhewn in that memorable year, he was, towards the end of it, made lieutenant-governor of Portſmouth, under his royal highneſs James duke of York; in 1673 he was made governor of that place, and at the ſame time maſter of the horſe, and gentleman of the bed-chamber to the duke [x].

In 1677 he was added as an aſſiſtant in the board of ordnance, with a ſalary of 300 l. *per annum*, and the ſame year was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and had alſo a regiment of foot beſtowed upon him. Theſe extraordinary marks of royal favour were ſoon followed by ſtill greater teſtimonies of eſteem and confidence; for in 1681 he was ſworn of the privy-council to king Charles II. and in 1682 had a ſpecial commiſſion to review all the forts and garriſons throughout the kingdom of England, and was alſo conſtituted and appointed commander in chief. On the ſecond of December, in the ſame year, he was by letters-patent raiſed to the dignity of a peer of this realm by the title of baron of Dartmouth in the county of Devon; with remainder, in caſe of failure of his iſſue-male, to his brother William Legge, Eſq; and his iſſue; and, in the preamble of the patent, his own and his father's ſervices are very juſtly and gratefully acknowledged [y].

In

[x] See the memoirs of the Dutch war, p. 119.

[y] The preamble of this patent recites, "That his majeſty remembering the "great merits of William Legge, one of the grooms of the royal bed-chamber "to his late father king Charles I. eſpecially in that unparalleled rebellion raiſed "againſt him, in which being a perſon of ſingular ſkill and experience in mili-"tary affairs, as alſo a valiant and expert commander, he faithfully ſerved him "in moſt of the battles and ſieges of thoſe unhappy times; alſo performed ſe-"veral eminent ſervices to the ſaid king ſince his moſt happy reſtoration: and "farther conſidering that George Legge, eldeſt ſon of the ſaid William, follow-"ing his father's ſteps in divers military employments, eſpecially in ſundry "ſharp and dangerous naval fights, wherein he did freely hazard his life; for

"which

In 1683, the king finding it impoſſible to ſupport the garriſon of Tangier out of his own revenue, and having little hopes of obtaining any ſupply for that purpoſe from a parliament, (his laſt having ſhewn a remarkable diſlike to the keeping up of forces there), reſolved, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums it had coſt him in fortifying the place, and in building a mole, which rendered the port both convenient and ſafe, to deſtroy the whole, and to bring back the troops he had there into England. The management of this affair required great ſecrecy, and much conduct in the commander in chief, and this probably determined the king to make uſe of lord Dartmouth, who was appointed governor of Tangier, and general of his majeſty's forces in Africa, as well as admiral of the fleet, in order to enable him to execute his inſtructions, which he did very exactly and effectually; ſo that, on his return home, the king was pleaſed to make him a grant of 10,000 l. as a reward for that ſervice, beſides other acknowledgments [z].

Upon the acceſſion of king James II. his lordſhip met with all the teſtimonies of royal favour and friendſhip which his many ſervices, and unſpotted fidelity to that prince, deſerved; for he not only continued him in all the offices he then poſſeſſed, but raiſed him alſo to poſts of ſtill greater conſequence; ſo that he was at once maſter of the horſe to the king, general of the ordnance, conſtable of the Tower of London, captain of an independent company of foot, and one of the privy-council.

Theſe employments he executed with ſo great diligence and reputation, that he ſtood as high in the favour of the people as he did in that of his prince, and was always conſidered as the greateſt encourager of merit, and the moſt upright man in the adminiſtration of public affairs, that the age produced. He preſerved the affection and confidence of his maſter to the laſt, and yet he was ſo far from giving in to the king's fatal inclinations

" which reſpect being made general of the ordnance and artillery, and one of " his moſt honourable privy-council, his majeſty thought fit to dignify him with " ſome farther honour," &c.

[z] Particularly a grant of a fair to be held twice a-year, and a market twice a-week, upon Blackheath in the pariſh of Lewiſham in the county of Kent. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the greateſt difficulty in executing his commiſſion in Tangier was to blow up all the works there, without expoſing the garriſon to the Moors; which ſervice he performed with equal caution and ſucceſs.

to popery and arbitrary government, that he oppoſed all counſels, looking either way, with much firmneſs and freedom, though he took care to reſtrain all his remonſtrances within the juſt bounds of decency and duty [a].

In 1687 king James making a ſhort progreſs, and lord Dartmouth attending him therein at Coventry, the city preſented his majeſty with a large gold cup and cover, which he immediately gave to his lordſhip, and that too with a compliment as generous and as acceptable as the preſent. "I would have your lordſhip," ſaid he, "receive this cup and cover as a mark of the city of "Coventry's concern for the ſufferings of your father in it." For, in the time of the civil wars, old colonel William Legge had remained long a priſoner in Coventry-gaol, after being taken at the battle of Worceſter [b].

When it was abſolutely certain that the prince of Orange intended to invade England, king James ſaw the neceſſity of employing ſome more conſiderable perſon than Sir Roger Strickland, who had hitherto commanded the fleet, and whoſe being a Papiſt, though it recommended him to that truſt, rendered him very diſagreeable to the ſeamen. In this ſituation of things his majeſty certainly made a very proper choice of lord Dartmouth for the important office of admiral, ſince no man had greater abilities, ſcarce any ſo great an affection for his majeſty's perſon, or ſo hearty a zeal for his intereſt.

[a] Preſent ſtate of England for the year 1687, by Dr. Edward Chamberlayne, p. 167.

[b] This ſtory of his father's ſufferings at Coventry certainly deſerves the reader's notice; and therefore, not to be wanting either to his entertainment, or to the illuſtration of the hiſtory, I ſubjoin it here. The great ſhare colonel William Legge had in the favour of king Charles I. made him ſo obnoxious to the rump, that they intended to have executed him, as they did the earl of Derby, for being in arms againſt them, and with that view they confined him in Coventry-gaol. His lady, knowing their cruelty, and having tried all her intereſt with the people in power in vain, at laſt contrived a very artful method for making his eſcape, which was as ſucceſsfully executed. With this view ſhe hired an old woman to lend him her clothes, which he put on; and, having a cloſe-ſtool pan well filled between his hands, the ſmell kept the keepers at ſuch a diſtance, that he walked fairly off, without their making any inquiries. After the murder of K. Charles I. he was much about the perſon of the duke of York, which inſpired his majeſty with a great tenderneſs for him and all his family.

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His lordſhip was much beloved by the ſeamen, and ſo univerſally eſteemed by the officers of the navy, that he very ſoon put his fleet in a poſture fit for ſervice; and though, as I have ſhewn elſewhere, it has been ſtrongly reported, that his lordſhip declined fighting the Dutch fleet, yet it is certain that it was never in his power, and that, if it had, both he and his officers would have performed what they took to be their duty. But, after being ſeverely ruffled by the ſtorm, the fleet was forced into Portſmouth, where his lordſhip quitted the command to Sir John Berry, and returned to London [c].

After the revolution lord Dartmouth lived quietly, and ſubmitted to the new government, yet was always ſuſpected to retain his old ſentiments for the perſon who had been ſo long, and withal ſo kind a maſter. For this reaſon, and on account of ſome ſuggeſtions that he carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the exiled king, he was committed priſoner to the Tower of London. While he continued there, ſome rumours flew abroad of his being ill treated, which had ſuch an effect on the ſailors, who loved him as their father, that they aſſembled in great bodies on Tower-hill, where they expreſſed their reſentment in ſuch language, that it was at length found expedient to deſire lord Dartmouth to confer with them; and, on his aſſuring them that the report they had heard was void of any foundation, they gave a cheerful huzza, and diſperſed immediately.

It is thought, however, that his confinement, and the want of his uſual exerciſe, might contribute to the ſhortening his days; for on the twenty-firſt of October, 1691, he was ſeized with an apoplexy, which put an end to his life in the forty-fourth year of his age [d].

His relations applied themſelves, on his deceaſe, to the conſtable of the Tower, then lord Lucas, for leave to remove his body in order to its interment; which his lorſhip ſcrupled, with-

[c] In the ſecond volume we have already given ſo full an account of this affair, that it would be tedious to add any thing more here, except that lord Dartmouth laid down his command as ſoon as he came on ſhore, and, when he could not act for his majeſty, would not, as another favourite did, act againſt him.

[d] King James received the news of his death with great concern, and ſaid, with a deep ſigh, "Then faithful Will. Legge's honeſt ſon George is dead! I have "few ſuch ſervants now!"

out receiving expreſs directions from the king. But, upon application made to his majeſty, he not only ordered, that the body ſhould be immediately delivered to his lordſhip's relations, but, upon his being informed that they intended to bury it near the remains of his father in the Little Minories church, in a vault belonging to his family, his majeſty gave further orders, that all ſuch marks of reſpect ſhould be paid at his funeral, as would have been due to him, if he had died poſſeſſed of all his employments. Which is a circumſtance equally honourable to the memory of king William and lord Dartmouth, ſince it ſhews impartiality and greatneſs of ſoul in the former, and the true merit of the latter, which produced ſuch a teſtimony of reſpect from ſo penetrating a judge [e].

A monument of white marble, adorned with a proper inſcription, was erected to the memory of his lordſhip, by his conſort Barbara, baroneſs of Dartmouth, who was the daughter of Sir Henry Archbold, of Staffordſhire, who died in 1718, and lies buried there by him [f].

His lordſhip had by her an only ſon William, afterwards earl of Dartmouth, ſo created by her majeſty queen Anne, in the tenth year of her reign. His lordſhip had alſo the honour of being ſecretary of ſtate and lord privy-ſeal in the ſame reign, and diſcharged both thoſe high offices with that integrity hereditary in his lordſhip's family, and deceaſing Dec. 15, 1750, at his houſe on Blackheath in Kent, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age, was ſucceeded in his honour and eſtates by his grandſon William, now earl of Dartmouth.

MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN BERRY, Knight, Rear-admiral of England.

THERE cannot be a ſtronger teſtimony of real ability, than a man's ſurmounting, by his ſpirit and diligence, a long ſeries of croſſes and misfortunes, and thereby forcing himſelf, as it were, into an eaſier ſituation, and by degrees into a con-

[e] This is taken from the memoirs of the family.

[f] The inſcription is very long, otherwiſe we ſhould have inſerted it, and his lordſhip's memory too freſh, to make this paſs for an indifferent excuſe.

dition

dition worthy of his merit. Fortitude in ſuffering is a virtue no leſs honourable than courage in achieving, and the diſtreſſes of heroes, like the ſhades in a fine picture, afford a graceful relief to the brighter parts of the piece, and thereby conſiderably heighten its beauties. This obſervation cannot more fully be illuſtrated, than it will be by the account we are to give of the life and actions of Sir John Berry, who (without any aſſiſtance other than reſulted from the contemplation of his courage and conduct) arrived at the dignity of rear-admiral of England, and ſhared the confidence of three ſucceeding kings.

The family of the Berries in Devonſhire were ſeated at Berry-Nerber near Ilfarcomb, where they had flouriſhed for ſome hundreds of years [g]. But the father of our gallant ſea-officer was never in any extraordinary circumſtances. He owed his reputation, which ſtill ſubſiſts in his neighbourhood, not to the goods of fortune, but to his learning and abilities, and above all to his courage and loyalty. He was a clergyman, and vicar of Knoweſton and Molland in that county, where he diſcharged his duty with equal fidelity to the church and to the ſtate. For this the ſaints of thoſe times not only turned him out of his livings, but plundered his houſe, and took even his bed from under him; all which they ſold by public auction, except his books, which being a large and valuable collection, they, to ſhew their moderation and generoſity, beſtowed them upon an Independent preacher. Soon after this the truly reverend Mr. Daniel Berry (a victim to his honeſt principles) died of grief and want in the forty-fifth year of his age, and left behind him a widow, Eliſabeth, daughter of John Moore of Moorhays, Eſq; and nine ſmall children, of which ſeven were ſons and two daughters [h].

The eldeſt, Robert, betook himſelf to the ſea, where he ſucceeded very well. The ſecond, John, of whom we are to ſpeak, and who was born in his father's vicarage-houſe at Knoweſton in the year 1635, being at the good old man's death about ſe-

[g] Pole's ſurvey of Devonſhire, MS. This village lies in Branton-hundred, in the middle between Combe-Merton and Ilfarcomb, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea, and about twenty-ſeven miles from Exeter.

[h] Moſt of theſe particulars are taken from a monument erected in the year 1684, by Sir John Berry, to the memory of his father. His two churches of Knoweſton and Molland were not above two miles aſunder, lying both in Moulton-hundred, at the diſtance of about eighteen miles from Exeter.

venteen,

venteen, went to Plymouth, where he bound himſelf apprentice to Mr. Robert Mering, a merchant in that town, and part-owner in ſeveral ſhips. He went to ſea in his ſervice, and was extremely unfortunate in ſetting out, being twice taken by the Spaniards, and ſuffering a long impriſonment, which, however, did him no great hurt in the main. On his return to England he found his maſter in very bad circumſtances; which was no prejudice to him; for, in a ſhort time after, Mr. Mering told him, that, having now no farther occaſion for his ſervice, he would, in reward of his paſt diligence, give him the remainder of his time, which he did freely [i].

Mr. Berry, thus at large and at liberty to act for himſelf, immediately came up to London, where, by the help of ſome friends, he was preferred to be boatſwain of a ketch belonging to the royal navy, called the Swallow, which, under the command of captain Inſam, was ordered to the Weſt-Indies in company with two of his majeſty's frigates, both of which were loſt in the gulf of Florida; but the Swallow, by cutting down her maſts, and heaving her guns over board, as alſo her proviſions, got clear, and in the ſpace of ſixteen weeks, during which they had nothing to eat but the fiſh they caught, or to drink but rain-water, they arrived at Campeachy. There they furniſhed themſelves with proviſions, and then ſailed for Jamaica, where they arrived in three weeks [k].

Sir Thomas Muddiford, who was a native of Devonſhire as well as Mr. Berry, was then governor of that iſland, and he ordered the Swallow to be refitted, put eight guns on board her; and having intelligence that a pirate, who had taken one Mr. Peach bound from Southampton to Jamaica, and marooned him and all his crew, was ſtill in thoſe ſeas, he ordered the Swallow, now well victualled and manned, to put to ſea in queſt of her, and gave his countryman Berry the title of lieutenant.

In three weeks after they ſailed from Jamaica, they found the pirate at anchor in a bay off the iſland of Hiſpaniola. He had

[i] The particulars mentioned in this life were moſt of them collected by Mr. Daniel Berry, brother to the admiral; but, as he wrote at a conſiderable diſtance of time, he often omits dates, and ſometimes miſtakes them.

[k] It is not eaſy to fix the time of Mr. Berry's firſt voyage to the Weſt-Indies; but probably it was in the year 1661.

about

about ſixty men and twenty guns, whereas the Swallow had but forty men and eight ſmall guns. Captain Inſam, having conſidered the enemy's ſtrength and compared it with his own, called up all his men, and addreſſed them in theſe words: "Gentlemen, the blades we are to attack are men at arms, old buccaneers, and ſuperior to us in number and in the force of their ſhip, and therefore I would have your opinion, whether"—"Sir," interrupted lieutenant Berry, "we are men at arms too, and, which is more, honeſt men, and fight under the king's commiſſion; and, if you have no ſtomach for fighting, be pleaſed to walk down into your cabbin." The crew applauded this motion, and declared one and all for captain Berry, who undertook this affair with great diſadvantage.

The pirate rode at anchor to the windward, by which the Swallow was obliged to make two trips under her lee, in which ſhe received two broadſides, and two volleys of ſmall ſhot, without returning a gun. Mr. Berry then boarded her on the bow, pouring in his broadſide, which killed the pirate twenty-two men on the ſpot: they then fought their way to the main-maſt, where they called to the doctor and his mate to get over board, and hang by the rudder, which they did; and ſoon after the pirate was taken, having only ſeven men left, and thoſe all wounded, though they lived long enough to be hanged afterwards in Jamaica; and, which is ſtill more remarkable, there was no body killed on board the Swallow but the boatſwain's mate[1].

On their return to Jamaica captain Inſam confined his lieutenant, and brought him to a court-martial, where, on the evidence of the men, the court declared he had done his duty, and ordered the captain to live peaceably with him in their voyage to England, which he did; and Mr. Berry, notwithſtanding what was paſt, behaved towards him with all imaginable modeſty and ſubmiſſion.

In a ſhort time after he came home the Dutch war broke out, and Mr. Berry had a ſloop given him, called the Maria, of fourteen guns, with the king's commiſſion. He held this ſmall com-

[1] Theſe particulars are preſerved in the MS. accounts of his brother's achievements, written by Mr. Berry; and I find the principal facts confirmed in an account of the moſt remarkable paſſages under lord Windſor, Sir Thomas Muddiford, and Sir Thomas Lynch, ſucceſſively governors of Jamaica.

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mand for about four months, in which ſpace he took thirty-two prizes, and, for his extraordinary diligence, had the command given him of the Coronation, a hired ſhip of war of fifty-ſix guns.

In this ſhip he was ſoon after ſent to the Weſt-Indies, where our colonies were in no ſmall danger, as having both the French and Dutch upon their hands. On his arrival at Barbadoes the governor bought ſome large merchant-ſhips, converted them into men of war, and having made up nine ſail, including the Coronation, manned and put them under the command of commodore Berry. With this little fleet he ſailed for Nevis, in order to protect it from the French, who had already made themſelves maſters of St. Chriſtopher's, Antigua, and Mountſerat. He was ſcarce arrived before he had intelligence, that the French were preparing at St. Chriſtopher's a very great force, which was intended for the conqueſt of Nevis. They had twenty-two men of war and frigates, ſix large tranſport-ſhips of their own, and four Dutch. With theſe they ſailed towards Nevis as to a certain victory.

Commodore Berry ſailed with his nine ſhips to meet them; and, as he turned the point of the iſland, one of his beſt ſhips blew up, which ſtruck his men with aſtoniſhment. "Now you "have ſeen an Engliſh ſhip blow up," ſaid the commodore, "let us try if we can't blow up Frenchmen. There they are, "boys! and, if we don't beat them, they will beat us." Having ſaid this, he immediately began the fight with the French admiral, and, after a briſk engagement of upwards of thirteen hours, he forced this mighty fleet to fly for ſhelter under the cannon of St. Chriſtopher's, whither he purſued them, ſent in a fire-ſhip, and burnt the French admiral: ſeeing her in flames, he ſaid to his ſeamen, "I told you in the morning, that we ſhould burn "a Frenchman before night; to-morrow we will try what we "can do with the reſt." But, while he was refitting his ſhips, the enemy wiſely ſtole away, the French to Martinico, and the Dutch to Virginia[m]. Sir John Harman being ſent with a ſquadron

[m] We are in ſome meaſure enabled to fix the date of this enterpriſe by the following remarkable paſſage, preſerved in the philoſophical tranſactions of the royal ſociety: "On the nineteenth of Auguſt, 1667, there was a terrible hurri-"cane in this iſland, at which time Sir John Berry, captain of the Coronation "man of war, was in the harbour with that and ſeveral other ſhips, of which

dron to relieve him, commodore Berry returned to England, and ſerved with great honour in the channel and in the Mediterranean.

In the ſecond Dutch war (as it was called, though properly ſpeaking it was the third) he had the command of the Reſolution, a ſeventy-gun ſhip, in which he was preſent at the famous action in Southwold-bay on the twenty-eighth of May, 1672. In this battle, the captain obſerving that his royal highneſs the duke of York, then lord high-admiral of England, was very hard preſſed, he left his ſtation, and came in to his relief, where the ſervice proved ſo hot, that in leſs than two hours he had no fewer than one hundred and twenty men killed, as many more wounded, and his ſhip ſcarce able to float: upon this he was towed out of the line, ſtopped his leaks, and fell into his place again in an hour, and there did ſuch ſervice, that when his majeſty came to meet the fleet, and dined on board the Royal Sovereign at the Buoy in the Nore, he, of his own motive, called for captain Berry, and, having knighted him, ſaid very graciouſly, "As "our thoughts have been now upon honour, we will hereafter "think of profit; for I would not have ſo brave a man a poor "knight[n]."

In the year 1682 it was thought expedient to ſend the duke of York down to Scotland, and for this purpoſe the Glouceſter frigate, under the command of Sir John Berry, was ordered to be ready: and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, the duke of York embarked on board that ſhip. In their paſſage Sir John obſerved on the third of May, when in the mouth of the Humber, as he apprehended, an error in the pilot's conduct, though he was looked upon as a man of great abilities in his em-

"one was commanded by captain Langford, who, having learned ſome of the "prognoſtics of a turnado from a Charibbean, perceiving them, he told Sir John "and the other commanders of it, who, depending on his intelligence, made "their ſhips ready for the ſea, and in the morning, about four of the clock, the "wind coming very hard northerly, they put to ſea, and came all back, in four "or five days time, ſafe to the road again. Captain Langford was aſhore, and, "being confident of the hurricane's coming, took ſuch care before-hand to ſe-"cure his ſugars and goods in the ſtore-houſe, that, when the hurricane had "carried away the roof of the houſe, all, except one hogſhead of ſugar, re-"mained ſafe." Lowthorp's abridgment, vol. ii. p. 106.

[n] Catalogue of knights made by king Charles II.

ployment. Of this he informed the duke, and desired they might ly to, at least for that night, which the pilot opposed; and, being a great favourite of the duke, his advice prevailed. But his royal highness was soon convinced of the superiority of Sir John Berry's judgment, since, in three quarters of an hour afterwards, the ship was lost, and about three hundred people in her, amongst whom were some persons of the first rank; and the duke himself narrowly escaped in the long-boat, Sir John Berry standing with his sword drawn in the stern of the boat to hinder people from crowding in, which undoubtedly saved the duke, since a very few more would have overset the long-boat [o].

For the loss of this ship Sir John, according to the rules of the navy, was tried by a court-martial; but, it appearing clearly to have happened through another man's fault, he was not only acquitted, but continued still in as great favour as ever both with the king and duke, who frequently consulted him as to the management of the navy.

When a resolution was taken in 1683 to blow up Tangier, and a considerable fleet was sent thither under the command of lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry was made choice of to be his vice-admiral, and had the sole command of the fleet while his lordship was on shore directing the blowing up of the works. In this critical expedition Sir John gave such remarkable testimonies of his courage and conduct, and took such care in bring-

[o] This accident happened by their striking upon the sand called the Lemon and Ore, sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber. Two things were very remarkable, that the duke took extraordinary care of colonel John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, and called him first into the boat. The other was, that the mariners aboard the sinking vessel gave a loud huzza, when they saw the duke in safety. Bishop Burnet's account of this matter is too remarkable to be forgot. "The duke," says he, "got into a boat, and took care of his "dogs, and some unknown persons, who were taken, from that earnest care of "his, to be his priests. The long-boat went off with very few in her, though "she might have carried off above eighty more than she did. One hundred and "fifty persons perished, some of them men of great quality." The Glocester frigate was a ship of forty guns, there were upwards of fifty persons saved with the duke, and that eighty more should be able to go into her long-boat, is a fact that will gain but little credit at Wapping. Besides, the keeping the people out was Sir John Berry's act, and, if there had been any such circumstances of cruelty, one can scarce believe the sailors would have testified so much joy at his royal highness's escape.

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ing off all the Engliſh and their effects, that, upon his return home, he was made a commiſſioner of the navy, in which poſt he continued to the day of his death [p].

Under the reign of king James II. he was in as high favour as he could deſire, the king conſtantly conſulting him in matters relating to the management of the fleet; and he was one of the commiſſioners called in on that great reform of the navy, mentioned in the cloſe of the 17th chapter, and had the chief hand in bringing things into that exquiſite order in which they were found when the king withdrew to France [q]. He was not, however, conſidered ſolely as a commiſſioner, and as a man no longer fit for active employment; for when it was known that the Dutch meditated an invaſion, and a fleet was fitted out to defend our coaſts, Sir John Berry was appointed vice-admiral, and hoiſted his flag on board the Eliſabeth, a third rate, the admiral, lord Dartmouth, being in the Reſolution, and the rear-admiral, lord Berkley of Stratton, firſt in the Montague, and then in the Edgar. After the landing of the prince of Orange, when lord Dartmouth thought fit to leave the fleet, the ſole command of it devolved on Sir John Berry, who held it until it was laid up [r].

The change of the government wrought none in the condition of our admiral. An experienced officer, and a man of honour, will be a welcome ſervant to every prince. King William was one who valued abilties, and underſtood them, and therefore he often ſent for Sir John Berry to confer with him on naval affairs; and once particularly the king engaged with him in ſo cloſe and earneſt a converſation, that it took up the whole night, and Sir John was not diſmiſſed the royal cloſet, until it was pretty far advanced in the morning. Yet this favour brought him no acceſſion either of poſt or profit; he kept what he had, and probably thought that ſufficient, being commiſſioner of the navy, governor of Deal-caſtle, and captain of an independent company [s].

We now haſten to the laſt ſcene of his life, over which ſuch a curtain has been drawn, as leaves it not in our power to let in

[p] Memoirs of the lord Dartmouth, cited in the former life. [q] Memoirs relating to the ſtate of the royal navy of England, by Samuel Pepys, Eſq; p. 52. [r] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book iv. ch. 1. [s] From the memoirs beforementioned.

the light. He was ordered, in the beginning of the month of February, 1691, to Portſmouth, to pay off ſome ſhips there; and, while he was employed in the diſcharge of this office on board one of them, he was ſuddenly taken ill, and thereupon carried on ſhore to Portſmouth, where, in three or four days, it was given out that he died of a fever; but, upon opening his body, it appeared clearly to the phyſicians and ſurgeons who were preſent, that he did not die a natural death, but that he had been deſpatched out of the world by poiſon, though by whom, or for what reaſon, never appeared, or at leaſt it was never made public[t].

In his private life his wiſdom, beneficence, integrity, and unfeigned attachment to the church of England, were as conſpicuous as his courage and other military virtues in his public character: ſo that he died equally lamented, by all who knew him, either as a private gentleman or as an Engliſh admiral. His corpſe, according to his own direction, was carried from Portſmouth to London, and decently interred in the chancel of Stepney-church, where a noble monument is erected to his memory, all of white marble, adorned with his buſt in alabaſter. Over his head are the arms of his family, *viz.* in a field, gules, three bars, or; and, on a white marble table underneath, the following inſcription:

" Ne id neſcias, lector, D. Johannes Berry, Devonienſis, " dignitate equeſtri clarus, mari tantum non imperator, de rege " et patriâ (quod et barbari norunt) bene meritus, magnam ob " res fortiter geſtas adeptus gloriam famæ ſatur, poſt multas re- " portatas victorias, cum ab aliis vinci non potuit, fatis ceſſit " 14mo Feb. 1691; baptizatus 7mo Jan. 1635."

The lady of Sir John Berry ſurvived him many years, but he left no iſſue by her, nor, ſo far as I have been able to learn, ever had any[u].

[t] This gentleman might be ſaid to die in the flower of his age, if we conſider him as an admiral, ſince he was little more than fifty-ſix, when thus carried off.

[u] This particular is likewiſe taken from his brother's memoirs.

MEMOIRS of ARTHUR HERBERT, Baron Herbert of Torbay, Earl of Torrington, and Admiral and Commander in chief of the Fleet of England.

IT is the duty of hiſtorians to report things fairly, and to ſpeak of men impartially, without exaggerating their virtues, or extenuating their vices, by exhibiting their characters to poſterity in that light, in which, after the beſt inquiry they are able to make, they appear to themſelves; for, as water never riſes higher than its ſource, ſo it is impoſſible that an author ſhould do more for his reader than his talents and his informations will permit. The latter were ſo inconſiderable when this work was firſt written, that it was thought more expedient not to attempt a life of this noble perſon, than to repeat a few facts and dates, ſo indifferently connected, as that it could not be preſumed they would give even the moſt indulgent peruſer any ſatisfaction.

After much pains and ſearch ſome better materials have been found; and as almoſt every remarkable tranſaction of this great man's life fell within the compaſs of king William's reign, or at leaſt not much later, and is more or leſs allied to thoſe tranſactions of which we have been ſpeaking, it ſeemed more natural to place what we have to ſay of him here, than at the time of his death, when they could not fail of making an apparent breach in the order of our hiſtory.

He was the ſon of Sir Edward Herbert of London, knight, of the noble family of Herbert of Chirbury, a branch of that of Pembroke, which ſuffering ſeverely for the loyalty of Sir Edward, obliged his ſons to think of making their fortunes by their induſtry and merit [w]. Arthur the eldeſt, though he had a ſmall eſtate of his own, made the ſea his choice, as his younger brother Edward did the law; and both attained the higheſt ſtations, the latter becoming chief-juſtice of the king's-bench [x], as well as the former admiral of the fleet of England.

Our young ſeaman, immediately after the reſtoration, was much taken notice of by his royal highneſs James duke of York, by whoſe favour he was very early promoted to the command of

[w] Peerage of England, vol. iii. p. 317.

[x] Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 992.

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one of his majeſty's ſhips of war; and, in the firſt Dutch war in the reign of Charles II. he commanded the Pembroke in the Straits[y]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf there, according to the manner of thoſe times, in a very high degree, as appears from the following extract of a letter from Cadiz, dated in March 1667, which I chuſe to produce in the ſame plain and artleſs language in which it was wrote, rather than hazard any variation in the facts, by attempting to give it a better dreſs.

"Captain Herbert in the Pembroke is now in this port, being "newly returned from a freſh diſpute with a Zealand man of "war of thirty-four guns, and one hundred and eighty men, "with whom he fought ſome days before, in ſight of that bay, "from two in the afternoon, till the night put an end to that "day's work. All that night the Pembroke frigate carrying "out a light for the Zealander, and the next morning, being "to the windward, fired a gun, and bore up to re-engage her; "but the Zealander, being the nimbler ſailer, bore away once "or twice before the wind, declining any farther diſpute, which "the frigate perceiving, and fearing to be put to leeward of the "port by a fruitleſs purſuit, the wind then blowing a ſtrong le-"vant, came again for the bay, which the Zealander wanted "not the confidence to boaſt of as a mark of his victory. Since "this, the frigate being put aſhore to waſh and tallow, the "Zealander made ſeveral challenges, but went out again to ſea, "before the frigate could get ready. Yeſterday morning the "Zealander coming in, the frigate, being ready, went out to "meet him, and paſſed five times upon him within piſtol-ſhot, "until the Zealander, finding the ſervice too hot, bore in for "the bay, purſued for a long time by the frigate, which, being "unable to overtake him, fired her chaſe gun, and ſtood out "again to ſea, the Zealander anſwering her challenge with a "friendly ſalute of three guns to leeward, but yet thought it "convenient to put into the bay, where he triumphantly fired "all his guns, leaving the Pembroke at ſea in vain attending "him till the next morning. The captain of the Zealander af-"terwards came aſhore, endeavouring to perſuade the people "that his main-maſt was diſabled, and that he wanted ſhot for

[y] An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 2.

"his

" his guns. In this diſpute the frigate had ſeven men killed, and " five hurt, but none mortally, and her fore-maſt ſomewhat diſ- " abled, but will ſpeedily be refitted and made ſerviceable."

He continued after this affair in the Straits for about ſix weeks, till he had advice that rear-admiral Kempthorne [z] was ſailed with his ſquadron for the Straits mouth, where he took care to join him with a ſmall fleet of ſixteen or ſeventeen merchantmen under his convoy, in order to proceed with the rear-admiral to England. They met with nothing extraordinary in their paſſage till about the middle of the month of May, when, being off the iſland of Portland, the Pembroke ran foul of the Fairfax in the night, and ſunk at once; but captain Herbert and moſt of his crew were happily ſaved, there being none loſt in the veſſel but a few ſick men, who were not able to help themſelves, and whom the ſuddenneſs of the accident, and the confuſion every body was in, hindered from being aſſiſted by others. After this narrow eſcape captain Herbert went on board another ſhip of the ſquadron, and arrived ſafely at Portſmouth [a].

It was not long before he had another ſhip given him, and both in that, and in the ſecond Dutch war, he behaved upon all occaſions with great ſpirit and reſolution, receiving ſeveral wounds, and loſing the ſight of one of his eyes in his country's ſervice; all which conſidered, it muſt ſeem very ſtrange, that, when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage ſhould be diſputed. In one of the laſt ſea-fights in the ſecond Dutch war, he had the command of the Cambridge, in which Sir Fretchville Hollis had been killed in the battle of Solebay, and, as captain Herbert ſucceeded in his command, he was very near ſucceeding alſo to the ſame diſaſter, being deſperately wounded in the action, and his ſhip ſo diſabled, that together with the Reſolution, which was in as bad a condition, ſhe was by prince Rupert ſent home to refit [b].

After that war was over, captain Herbert had leiſure to attend the court, and to ſolicit the rewards that were due to his ſervices, in which he met with all poſſible kindneſs from the

[z] See the memoirs of admiral Kempthorne. [a] Monthly intelligence, foreign and domeſtic, May 1667. [b] Account of the proceedings of his majeſty's fleet under the command of his ſerene highneſs prince Rupert, palatine of the Rhine, and duke of Cumberland, p. 4.

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duke of York, who, as he had been hitherto careful of his fortunes, thought himſelf obliged to aſſiſt him in his pretenſions; ſo that in the year 1680 or 1681 he was made rear-admiral of the blue[c], and from that time was conſidered as a perſon who had as much probability of riſing as any in the ſervice. It was not long before an occaſion offered which juſtified this conjecture; for it being found neceſſary to ſend a ſupply of troops and military ſtores to Tangier, then in our hands, as alſo a ſquadron to curb the inſolence of the Algerines, who, notwithſtanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to diſturb our commerce, it was reſolved, that the command of this armament ſhould be given to admiral Herbert[d], who was accordingly inſtructed to contribute as much as poſſible to the raiſing the ſiege of Tangier, and, when that was done, to uſe his beſt endeavours to bring the Algerines to a ſubmiſſion, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms than were contained in that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in ſuch a manner as to juſtify their piracies.

In 1682 rear-admiral Herbert ſailed into the Mediterranean with a ſtrong ſquadron, and a conſiderable number of tenders and ſtore-ſhips, which arrived very ſafe under his convoy at Tangier. He found that fortreſs not a little ſtraitned by the Moors, by whom it was ſo cloſely blocked up, that nothing could enter it by land. Mr. Herbert not only relieved the garriſon by the ſeaſonable ſupply that he brought of proviſions and military ſtores, but reſolved alſo to reſtore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raiſe the blockade. He landed, with this view, as many ſeamen out of the fleet as he could poſſibly ſpare, formed them into a battalion, and by attacking the Moors on one ſide, while the garriſon made a briſk ſally, and drove them from moſt of their poſts, on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire farther within land[e].

He executed the other part of his charge, with reſpect to the Algerines, with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs, deſtroyed ſome of their ſhips, and diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner to diſturb and diſtreſs

[c] So I find it in an account of naval promotions extracted from ſecretary Pepy's papers. [d] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 404, 405. [e] Columna roſtrata, p. 252.

that ſtate by ſea, as obliged the dey to ſummon a divan, in which it was reſolved to enter into an immediate negotiation with the Engliſh admiral: the terms were very ſpeedily ſettled, without any of thoſe ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleaſed; and, the buſineſs of his expedition being happily over, he returned home ſafe, with the ſquadron under his command, towards the latter end of the ſame year [f].

Some time after this, but whether in the reign of king Charles II. or king James, I am not able to ſay, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral, and was as much eſteemed by the ſeamen, and in as high credit at court, as any officer in the ſervice. He was alſo appointed one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England, in conjunction with Daniel, earl of Nottingham, Sir Humphry Winch, bart. Sir Thomas Meeres, knt. Sir Edward Hales, bart. Henry Saville, Eſq; Sir John Chicheley, knt. and John lord Vaughan, on the ſeventeenth of April, 1684, his name appearing in the commiſſion, after that of Sir John Chicheley [g]. The favours he had received from the duke of York gave him room to expect farther preferments upon the acceſſion of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, ſince, in the beginning of the new reign, he was made vice-admiral of England, and maſter of the robes [h], there being at that time no man of his rank who was more heartily attached either to the government or to the perſon of that prince.

But when the ſcheme for repealing the teſt-act came under conſideration, and king James thought fit to cloſet ſuch of his officers in the army and fleet as had ſeats in the houſe of commons, it quickly appeared, that vice-admiral Herbert was none of thoſe complying ſpirits, who for the ſake of private profit would ſacrifice the intereſt of the public [i]. His brother, the lord chief-juſtice Herbert, had expoſed himſelf to public odium by giving judgment in his court, in favour of the king's diſpenſing

[f] An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. i. p. 299. [g] The laws, ordinances, and inſtitutions of the admiralty of Great-Britain, vol. ii. p. 367. [h] Rereſby's memoirs, p. 241. Standford's hiſtory of the coronation of K. James and Q. Mary, p. 21, 79. [i] Rereſby's memoirs, p. 241.

power, upon an action brought againſt Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted an employment, without qualifying himſelf for it by taking the oaths the law required; and, though this ſeemed in ſome meaſure to have done all that the king wanted, he ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of having the teſt-act repealed, which, amongſt other extraordinary conſequences, produced the diſgrace of vice-admiral Herbert, who to that hour had never done any thing to diſoblige the king, or had perceived the leaſt coldneſs in his majeſty towards him[k]. We have this ſtory at large in biſhop Burnet's hiſtory of his own times[l], with ſome inferences from it that are very juſt; I ſhall give it the reader, therefore, in his own words.

"So little regard," ſays that prelate, "had the chief-juſtice's "neareſt friends to his opinion in this particular, that his bro- "ther admiral Herbert, being preſſed by the king to promiſe "that he would vote for the repeal of the teſt, anſwered the "king very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour or "conſcience. The king ſaid, he knew he was a man of honour, "but the reſt of his life did not look like a man that had great "regard to conſcience. He anſwered boldly, he had his faults, "but they were ſuch, that other people who talked more of "conſcience were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man "abandoned to luxury and vice: but though he was poor, and "had much to loſe, having places to the value of four thouſand "pounds a-year, he choſe to loſe them all rather than comply. "This made much noiſe; for, as he had great reputation for "his conduct in ſea affairs, ſo he had been moſt paſſionately "zealous in the king's ſervice, from his firſt ſetting out to that "day. It appeared by this, that no paſt ſervice would be con- "ſidered, if men were not reſolved to comply in every thing."

The biſhop bears very hard, in the beginning of this account of the vice-admiral's behaviour, upon that of his brother the chief-juſtice, as he does likewiſe in many other places; it is therefore but common juſtice to the character of that gentleman, who was a great lawyer, and in private life a very generous worthy man, to take notice, that he was very far from being ſo abſolute a time-ſerver as he is frequently repreſented; for the

k An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c.

l Vol. i. p. 671.

truth

truth is, that he ſuffered as well as his brother for his regard to the public, and there ſeems to be no reaſon that this truth ſhould not be as well known. When king James found it was in vain to think of attaining his purpoſes by a parliament, he placed all his hopes in what was certainly a fitter inſtrument for anſwering his deſign, and that was his ſtanding army. Yet in the management of this there was ſome difficulty; for, being compoſed of Engliſhmen, they ſhewed an inclination rather to deſert their colours than to act againſt their country. To prevent this, it was reſolved to make uſe of an act of parliament, by which it was made felony for any ſoldier to quit his colours, after being duly inliſted in the king's ſervice, in time of war, either in parts beyond the ſeas or in Scotland. But, to make this law operate in England was not very conſonant to law, how much ſoever it might be to the king's will in this point; therefore the lord chief-juſtice Herbert was as far from complying in this, as his brother the admiral had been in that of the teſt; upon which he was removed, and was ſucceeded in his high office by Sir Robert Wright, who had not long after hanged a poor ſoldier upon that ſtatute, by way of wetting his commiſſion [m].

It is true, that Sir Edward Herbert followed the fortunes of his maſter, and remained with him in France, which ſhewed that what he did upon the bench, proceeded purely from conſcience, and not from any private reaſon of hope or fear whatever. But this conduct of the chief-juſtice, in ſucceeding times, was thrown in the teeth of his brother, and ill-natured people took occaſion to ſuggeſt, that it was very unlikely one ſhould be faithful to king William, while the other was excepted out of all acts of indemnity for his adherence to king James [n]. But let us now quit this ſhort digreſſion, which, however, ſhews what ſentiments the ſoundeſt lawyers had of a ſtanding army in thoſe days, in order to return to the conduct of vice-admiral Herbert after he was removed from his employments, and reduced to the ſtate of a private man, with no very conſiderable fortune to ſupport even that.

[m] Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 692.

[n] In many of the pamphlets after the earl's diſgrace, this was reflected on, and the author of the impartial account apologiſes for it.

The ſmall appearance there was of his being able to live with honour or even with ſafety at home, and his inclination to follow many perſons of great reputation, who at that juncture choſe to retire abroad, induced him to withdraw to Holland, whither he was either accompanied or quickly followed by his brother colonel Charles Herbert, and by his couſin Henry Herbert, Eſq; whom king William afterwards created lord Herbert of Cherbury. Upon his arrival at the Hague the vice-admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the ſervice of the States, which was a very prudent and, in its conſequences, beneficial ſtep, numbers of Engliſh ſeamen following, and entering for his ſake into the Dutch ſervice [o], which convinced the States that things were come to a criſis in England, and that the king had loſt the affections of the ſubjects to a ſtrange degree, when the ſeamen, who of all others had ſhewed themſelves moſt hearty in his cauſe, began to forſake him.

At the prince of Orange's court vice-admiral Herbert was very ſincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great weight and experience, one that perfectly underſtood the ſtate of the Engliſh fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it; ſo that there is no colour of reaſon to wonder he was treated with very high reſpect, and received into the moſt entire confidence, more eſpecially as he took care to maintain his dignity by a very cautious and reſerved behaviour, contrary to that heat and vehemence expreſſed by ſome other perſons, who thought to make their court, by repreſenting an attempt upon England as a thing that might be eaſily accompliſhed; whereas the vice-admiral underſtood and ſpoke of it as an undertaking that required a very conſiderable ſtrength, exceeding diſcreet management, and much deliberation [p].

The ſame prelate we have before quoted gives us, on this occaſion, a very different character of Mr. Herbert from that which he had drawn before, in order to ſhew how great his own merit was in managing a man who was altogether untractable in the hands of others, and even of the prince himſelf; the paſſage is very curious, and therefore the reader ſhall ſee it in the biſhop's

[o] Sir John Reresby's memoirs, p. 266. [p] An impartial account of many remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c.

own

own words[q]: "Admiral Herbert came over to Holland, and "was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill-hu- "mour; for he was upon every occaſion ſo ſullen and peeviſh, "that it was plain he ſet a high value on himſelf, and expected "the ſame of all others. He had got his accounts paſt, in which "he complained, that the king had uſed him not only hardly, "but unjuſtly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury; "yet he had a good underſtanding, and he had gained ſo great "a reputation by his ſteady behaviour in England, that the "prince underſtood, that it was expected he ſhould uſe him as "he himſelf ſhould deſire, in which it was not very eaſy to him "to conſtrain himſelf ſo far as that required. The managing "him was in a great meaſure put on me; and it was no eaſy "thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God, "that makes ſome men inſtruments in great things, to which "they themſelves have no ſort of affection or diſpoſition; for his "private quarrel with the lord Dartmouth, who he thought had "more of the king's confidence than he himſelf had, was be- "lieved the root of all the ſullenneſs he fell under toward the "king, and of all the firmneſs that grew out of that."

It muſt appear more wonderful than any thing obſerved by our hiſtorian, if this was the real character of the man, that the States-General and the prince of Orange ſhould give him the title of lieutenant-general-admiral, and intruſt him with the ſupreme command[r] of their fleet. It is true our author ſays, that this was not very eaſy to the States, or to the prince himſelf, who thought it an abſurd thing; but why did they do it then? Nothing leſs, ſays he, would content Herbert. If this was ſo, we have ſome reaſon to believe, that the States and the prince of Orange had a very high opinion of his talents, or of his intereſt, in taking ſo extraordinary a ſtep, merely becauſe he would not be content without it[s].

But it was more probable, that he was put at the head of the fleet, becauſe there were many reaſons that made him the propereſt man for that command, ſuch as the nature of the deſign itſelf, his intereſt among the officers of the Engliſh navy, his

[q] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 762. [r] Le Clerc hiſtoire des provinces unies, tome iii. p. 409. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome v. p. 1236. [s] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 764.

perfect

perfect acquaintance with our coasts, his being most likely to engage the governors of sea-port towns to come in to the prince, and, above all, the necessity they were under of having some Englishman in a high post, to prevent the people from considering this as a hostile invasion. Now, if we view this matter in these lights, it is no difficult thing to see, that, of all the English who were about his royal highness, vice-admiral Herbert was in every respect the fittest man to be intrusted with that command; and therefore, if nothing else would content him, it might not proceed from pride, from ambition, or ill-humour, but from his making a right judgment of things, and knowing that nothing could contribute so much to the success of the enterprize; yet, of the two, it is infinitely more probable, that he did not insist upon this himself, but that the States and the prince of Orange conferred the command upon him as a thing which they saw to be very expedient, or rather absolutely necessary[t].

It was certainly a very extraordinary undertaking in all respects, and will appear so, if we reflect that a great army was to be embarked; that seven hundred transports were to be prepared for that embarkation; that provisions, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the service as well of the army as of the fleet, was to be procured in a short time, and with the utmost secrecy; all which was actually done by the indefatigable diligence of four commissioners, *viz.* Bentinck, Dykvelt, Van Hulst, and Herbert: it is plain therefore, that his skill in directing what was requisite for the fleet was entirely relied on; and, if he had been such a haughty, morose, overbearing person, he could have hardly maintained a fair correspondence with his colleagues for so long a space as they were engaged in making these preparations; as to which our historian tells us, that they were two months constantly employed in giving all the necessary orders, which they did with so little noise, that nothing broke out all that time[u].

After such an instance of his capacity and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the rest of his conduct would be of a piece. But what seems farther to explain the real intention of the States and the prince of Orange in trusting vice-admiral

[t] History of the revolution, p. 135.
[u] History of his own times, vol. i. p. 781.

Herbert,

Herbert, though a ſtranger, with ſo high a command, was, the publiſhing his letter to the commanders of the Engliſh fleet at the very ſame time with the prince of Orange's declaration; for, if they had not placed very ſtrong hopes upon that, without queſtion it had never been publiſhed at all, and, if they had ſuch hopes, this alone will ſufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the prince of Orange, to whom, by the nature of his commiſſion, he was lieutenant-general by ſea. Neither were theſe hopes of influencing the Engliſh ſeamen ſlightly grounded, ſince the pamphlets wrote in thoſe times univerſally agree, that the ſeamen had a very general and warm averſion to popery, diſliked and deſpiſed ſuch of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink admiral Herbert's health; ſo that theſe were very ſtrong indications of their ill-will on one ſide, and their good-will on the other [w].

It is however true, that this letter had not the effect that was expected from it, or rather had not ſuch an effect ſo ſoon as it was expected; but this was chiefly owing to unforeſeen and inevitable accidents; neither can any thing be affirmed about it with much certainty: but as the letter itſelf is curious, and as it is not commonly to be met with, unleſs in a French tranſlation, it may not be diſagreeable to the reader here; and there is the more reaſon to inſert it, becauſe nothing can have a cloſer relation to this noble perſon's memoirs, ſince it muſt be allowed to have been the moſt remarkable and moſt important paper that ever fell from his pen, and was conceived in the following words.

To all commanders of ſhips and ſeamen in his majeſty's fleet.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE little to add to what his highneſs has expreſſed in general terms, beſides laying before you the dangerous way you are at preſent in, where ruin or infamy muſt inevitably attend you, if you do not join with the prince in the common cauſe

[w] An impartial account of many remarkable paſſages in the life of the earl of Torrington, *&c.*

for

for the defence of your religion and liberties; for ſhould it pleaſe God, for the ſins of the Engliſh nation, to ſuffer your arms to prevail, to what end can your victory ſerve you, but to enſlave you deeper, and overthrow the true religion in which you have lived and your fathers died, of which I beg you as a friend to conſider the conſequences, and to reflect on the blot and infamy it will bring on you, not only now but in all after-ages, that by your means the proteſtant religion was deſtroyed, and your country deprived of its ancient liberties; and if it pleaſes God to bleſs the prince's endeavours with ſucceſs, as I do not doubt but he will, conſider then what their condition will be that oppoſe him in this ſo good a deſign, where the greateſt favour they can hope for, is their being ſuffered to end their days in miſery and want, deteſted and deſpiſed by all good men.

It is, therefore, for theſe and for many other reaſons, too long to inſert here, that I, as a true Engliſhman, and your friend, exhort you to join your arms to the prince for the defence of the common cauſe, the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of your country.

It is what I am well aſſured, the major and beſt part of the army, as well as the nation, will do as ſoon as convenience is offered. Prevent them in ſo good an action while it is in your power, and make it appear, that as the kingdom has always depended on the navy for its defence, ſo you will yet go further, by making it as much as in you lies the protection of her religion and liberties; and then you may aſſure yourſelves of all marks of favour and honour, ſuitable to the merits of ſo glorious an action. After this I ought not to add ſo inconſiderable a thing, as that it will for ever engage me to be in a moſt particular manner,

Your faithful friend
And humble ſervant,
AR. HERBERT.

Aboard the Leyden,
in the Goree,

When every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with ſo much ſpeed and ſecrecy, that no advices could be given in England that could be of any uſe: but notwithſtanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They ſailed on the nine-

teenth of October, 1688, and they put back into port on the twenty-ſecond. This was a great diſappointment; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of leſs firmneſs, or by an admiral of leſs experience, their expedition had been loſt [x]. It is reported, that admiral Herbert adviſed putting off the buſineſs to that late ſeaſon of the year, becauſe he judged that the winds would be more favourable; that the king's fleet would be leſs able to act; and that, when the enterprize was ſo long delayed, it would be concluded in England to be given over.

His ſerene highneſs came into this propoſition for the reaſons before-aſſigned, and for one as weighty as any of them, which was more immediately known to, and more fully comprehended by himſelf, and this was, that the ſeaſon of the year for a campaign being over, the French were not like to make any attempts, and conſequently the States-General ran little or no hazard by their troops being thus employed at this juncture [y]. It is on all ſides acknowledged, that it was owing to reaſons ſuggeſted by admiral Herbert, that the prince of Orange laid aſide his intention of ſailing northward to the Humber, which muſt have been attended with great inconveniencies, as no fleet could ly long with ſafety on that coaſt [z]: but it is not certain whether he gave the advice, which however was followed, of publiſhing in all the Dutch gazettes, that the fleet had been very roughly handled by the ſtorm; that abundance of horſes had been thrown over board; that many perſons of diſtinction, and particularly Dr. Burnet, were caſt away and drowned, which had the effect, that was expected from it, of perſuading ſuch as were not in the ſecret, that the expedition was totally overthrown, or that it muſt be poſtponed for ſome months at leaſt [a].

It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneaſy, and occaſioned ſome very extraordinary propoſals to the prince. Amongſt the reſt one was, that admiral Herbert with a ſtout ſquadron ſhould proceed to the Engliſh

[x] Hiſtory of the revolution by R. F. Hiſt. de Guilleaume III. prince d'Orange.
[y] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, Octobre, Novembre, et Decembre, 1688.
[z] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 778. [a] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii p. 526. Life of K. William, p. 131. Hiſtory of the deſertion, p. 59.

coaſt, and fight the king's fleet, to which he was not at all averſe; but the weather rendered it impracticable. The prince of Orange, however, never altered his intention in the leaſt; but having given the neceſſary orders for repairing the ſhips, and refreſhing the troops, which was ſoon done, the fleet ſailed again upon the firſt of November [b], and (as we have ſhewn elſewhere) arrived ſpeedily and ſafely on the Engliſh coaſt, where, by the ſkill and care of admiral Herbert, the troops were very ſoon landed, and, by his intelligence with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in the neighbourhood, amply ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries. In a very few days after, the good effect of the admiral's letter appeared by the coming in of ſeveral ſhips, the firſt of which was the Newcaſtle, lying at Plymouth, under the command of captain Churchill [c]; and, the way being once broke, the ſeamen declared in general for the prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the ſucceſs of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence of this noble perſon.

On the 8th of March, 1688, king William granted a commiſſion for executing the office of lord high-admiral to the following perſons, *viz.* Arthur Herbert, Eſq; John, earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, baronet, Sir John Chichely, knight, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, baronet, and William Sacheverel, Eſq; but the laſt declined accepting that poſt, declaring, that, as he underſtood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the ſalary with a ſafe conſcience [d]. As for the command of the fleet, that was intruſted with admiral Herbert from the beginning, and he had likewiſe the honour of bringing over the new queen [e].

We have already given a large account of his behaviour in the buſineſs of Bantry-bay [f], of the motives which induced him to fight the French fleet, and of the conſequences of that action, collected as well from the French as our hiſtorians: but after all, perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the account

[b] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 787, 788. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 527. Life of king William, p. 133, 134. Life of Arthur earl of Torrington, *&c.*

[c] Remarkable paſſages in the houſe of lords, vol. i. p. 343.

[d] Hiſtory of the proceedings of

[e] See the naval hiſtory in 1689.

[f] Printed in a ſheet and a half in the Savoy.

publiſhed

publiſhed by authority, drawn from the admiral's own letter from on board the Eliſabeth, dated May the ſecond, 1689, and which imported,

" That admiral Herbert, having refitted at Milford-haven the " damages which ſome of his ſhips had ſuſtained by ill weather " on the coaſt of Ireland, intended to go directly for Breſt; but " the wind coming eaſterly, which might bring the French fleet " out, he ſtood, on the twenty-fourth paſt, over to Kingſale, " which he judged the likelieſt way to meet them.

" That accordingly, on the 29th, our ſcouts made ſignal, " that they diſcovered a fleet keeping their wind, which made us " likewiſe keep our own all night, to hinder them from getting " into Kingſale. The thirtieth they heard the enemy was gone " into Baltimore, being forty-four ſail; whereupon ours bore " away to that place, but found there was no ſign of them. " That in the evening our ſcouts got ſight of them again to the " weſtward of Cape-Clear: we ſteered after them, and found " they were got into the Bantry; we lay off the bay all night, " and the next morning, by break of day, ſtood in, where we " found them at anchor. That they got preſently under ſail, and " bore down upon our fleet in a line compoſed of twenty-eight " men of war and five fire-ſhips. That when they came within " muſket-ſhot of the Defiance, the headmoſt of our ſhips, the " French admiral put out the ſignal of battle, which was begun " by them, they firing their great and ſmall ſhot very furiouſly " on the Defiance and the reſt, as we came in our line. That " then we made ſeveral boards to gain the wind, or at leaſt to " engage them cloſer; but, finding that way of working very " diſadvantageous, admiral Herbert ſtood off to ſea, as well to " have got our ſhips into a line, as to have gained the wind of " the enemy, but found them ſo cautious in bearing down, that " we could never get an opportunity of doing it; and in this " poſture continued battering upon a ſtretch until five in the af- " ternoon, when the French admiral tacked from us, and ſtood " away farther into the bay.

" That admiral Herbert's ſhip, and ſome of the reſt, being " diſabled in their rigging, we could not follow them; but we " continued ſome time after before the bay, and our admiral " gave him a gun at parting. In this action captain Aylmer in

" the Portland, who came in ſoon enough for the battle, with " others of the ſquadron mentioned, and ninety-four ſeamen " were killed, and about two hundred and fifty wounded, as " appears by a ſurvey taken after the fight; and our ſhips re- " ceived little damage except in their ſails and rigging.

" That, as for our officers and ſeamen, that right muſt be " done them, they behaved themſelves with all the courage and " cheerfulneſs that could be expected from the braveſt men; " and that on the other ſide, without leſſening the enemy, it " may be ſaid that they either wanted courage or ſkill to make " uſe of the advantage of the place, the wind, their fireſhips, " and their number, being at leaſt double our force, they having " eighteen ſhips, the leaſt of which was as big as the Eliſabeth; " and it ſo happened, at the time of the engagement, admiral " Herbert had with him but eight third rates, ten fourth rates, " one fifth rate, and two tenders. And that the fleet deſigned " to rendezvous and refit at Scilly."

As to the perſonal behaviour of admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable; he was in the hotteſt of the ſervice himſelf, had ſeveral of the largeſt of the enemy's ſhips upon him at a time, notwithſtanding which he continued to expoſe himſelf to encourage the ſeamen ſword in hand upon the quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement, inſomuch that many thought, that, if the reſt of the officers had done their duty as well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did [g]: for which ſome officers were called to a court-martial, and broke; ſo much was the admiral a lover of diſcipline. On the fifteenth of May, when the king dined on board his ſhip, he was pleaſed to expreſs great ſatisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, *viz.* on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, by the title of baron Herbert of Torbay, and earl of Torrington [h]. The houſe of commons alſo were pleaſed to give him thanks for the ſervice he had done the

[g] Impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 19. [h] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 564. Life of king William, p. 232. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 10, 11.

nation,

nation, in taking the firſt opportunity to fight the French in Bantry-bay[i].

The reader will, without doubt, be pleaſed to ſee this matter ſet in the moſt authentic light from the journal of the houſe, in which it appears, that Arthur Herbert, Eſq; then burgeſs for the town of Plymouth in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks in conſequence of an order made the Saturday before, which are thus entered:

Martis 21° die Maii, primo Willielmi et Mariæ.

Mr. Speaker gave admiral Herbert the thanks of the houſe according to their order of Saturday laſt, to the effect as followeth, *viz.*

" Admiral HERBERT,

" THIS houſe hath taken notice of the great ſervice you have " performed in engaging the French fleet: they do look upon it " as one of the braveſt actions done in this laſt age, and expect " it will raiſe the reputation of the Engliſh valour to its ancient " glory. I do therefore, by the command of this houſe, return " you their hearty thanks for this ſervice, and deſire that you " will communicate the like thanks, in their name, to the officers " and ſeamen that ſerved under your command, and to let them " know that this houſe will have a particular regard of their " merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them " all due encouragement."

Whereupon admiral Herbert ſpake to the effect as followeth:

" SIR,

" I AM in ſome confuſion at this great and unexpected ho- " nour, and the more, becauſe I want words to expreſs my " ſenſe of it. The beſt return that I think myſelf capable of " making, is to aſſure this honourable houſe, that, with my ut- " moſt hazard I will endeavour, by my future actions, to de- " ſerve it, and will not fail to obey their commands, in acquaint- " ing the officers and ſeamen, who were with me, of the fa-

[i] Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 313.

" vourable

" the Portland, who came in ſoon enough for the battle, with " others of the ſquadron mentioned, and ninety-four ſeamen " were killed, and about two hundred aud fifty wounded, as " appears by a ſurvey taken after the fight; and our ſhips re- " ceived little damage except in their ſails and rigging.

" That, as for our officers and ſeamen, that right muſt be " done them, they behaved themſelves with all the courage and " cheerfulneſs that could be expected from the braveſt men; " and that on the other ſide, without leſſening the enemy, it " may be ſaid that they either wanted courage or ſkill to make " uſe of the advantage of the place, the wind, their fireſhips, " and their number, being at leaſt double our force, they having " eighteen ſhips, the leaſt of which was as big as the Eliſabeth; " and it ſo happened, at the time of the engagement, admiral " Herbert had with him but eight third rates, ten fourth rates, " one fifth rate, and two tenders. And that the fleet deſigned " to rendezvous and refit at Scilly."

As to the perſonal behaviour of admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable; he was in the hotteſt of the ſervice himſelf, had ſeveral of the largeſt of the enemy's ſhips upon him at a time, notwithſtanding which he continued to expoſe himſelf to encourage the ſeamen ſword in hand upon the quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement, inſomuch that many thought, that, if the reſt of the officers had done their duty as well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did[g]: for which ſome officers were called to a court-martial, and broke; ſo much was the admiral a lover of diſcipline. On the fifteenth of May, when the king dined on board his ſhip, he was pleaſed to expreſs great ſatisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, *viz.* on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, by the title of baron Herbert of Torbay, and earl of Torrington[h]. The houſe of commons alſo were pleaſed to give him thanks for the ſervice he had done the

[g] Impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 19. [h] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 564. Life of king William, p. 232. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 10, 11.

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nation, in taking the firſt opportunity to fight the French in Bantry-bay [i].

The reader will, without doubt, be pleaſed to ſee this matter ſet in the moſt authentic light from the journal of the houſe, in which it appears, that Arthur Herbert, Eſq; then burgeſs for the town of Plymouth in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks in conſequence of an order made the Saturday before, which are thus entered:

Martis 21° die Maii, primo Willielmi et Mariæ.

Mr. Speaker gave admiral Herbert the thanks of the houſe according to their order of Saturday laſt, to the effect as followeth, *viz.*

" Admiral HERBERT,

" THIS houſe hath taken notice of the great ſervice you have " performed in engaging the French fleet: they do look upon it " as one of the braveſt actions done in this laſt age, and expect " it will raiſe the reputation of the Engliſh valour to its ancient " glory. I do therefore, by the command of this houſe, return " you their hearty thanks for this ſervice, and deſire that you " will communicate the like thanks, in their name, to the officers " and ſeamen that ſerved under your command, and to let them " know that this houſe will have a particular regard of their " merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them " all due encouragement."

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" vourable acceptation, by this houſe, of their ſervice. And, " ſince the houſe have ſo favourable an opinion of their actions, " I would beg their leave to make an humble motion, and I " think it is a thing becoming the greatneſs of this nation, and " indeed has been the care of almoſt all nations that have any " commerce at ſea: it is, to aſſign ſome place and revenue for " the ſupport of ſuch as are maimed in the ſervice and defence " of their country. There is no ſufficient proviſion made at pre- " ſent in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a charge for " the crown. I therefore humbly move, it may be ordered by " this houſe, that an act may paſs, that they may have a ſupport " and ſubſiſtence, after they have by wounds been made inca- " pable of farther ſervice."

Reſolved, That the houſe will take care to make a proviſion for ſuch ſeamen as are, or ſhall be wounded in their majeſties ſervice, and for the wives and children of ſuch as are, or ſhall be ſlain therein; and that a committee be appointed to conſider how the ſame may be done.

And it is referred to admiral Herbert, Mr. Hales, Mr. Boſcawen, Mr. Aſhburnham, Sir William Williams, Mr. Garway, Mr. Elwel, lord Cooke, Mr. Holles, Mr. Papillon, Mr. Gwyn, lord Falkland, lord Sherrard, Mr. Bickerſtaff, Mr. Henry Herbert, Mr. Edward Ruſſel, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Thomas Foley, Sir Duncan Colcheſter, Mr. Leveſon Gower, Mr. P. Foleys, Sir Henry Capell, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Mr. Sacheverell, Mr. Cooke, and Sir Thomas Littleton.

As he was at this time poſſeſſed of all that a man could well deſire, the eſteem of his prince, the favour of the people, and the love of the ſeamen, ſo it is allowed that he behaved in a manner every way worthy of his ſtation, living very magnificently when in town, and ſhewing a great reſpect for his officers when at ſea, which gained him a wonderful intereſt in the fleet; to this, though ſome have given a ſiniſter turn, as if it was the chief cauſe of his acquittal by the court-martial that tried him, yet impartial judges will hardly believe, that he could have gained ſuch an intereſt but by an extraordinary degree of merit, and by a readineſs to diſtinguiſh it in other men, for which, while it was not in ſome degree criminal to affirm it, he was generally famous

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in the navy[k]. When he went down to take the command, in the ſpring of the year 1690, of the confederate fleet, his character ſtood as fair as any officer's could do; and even the Dutch in their relations allow, that his conduct was very great in ſhifting and avoiding an engagement in purſuance of the advice of a council of war, founded upon the enemy's great ſuperiority, till ſuch time as he received poſitive orders to fight; and then he ſhewed likewiſe great judgment in the diſpoſition he made for an engagement[l].

We have little to add to the account we have already given of the action off Beachy-head on the 30th of June, except that in the battle there was not ſo much as one Engliſh man of war loſt, and but one of the Dutch; that, in the whole courſe of the retreat, the earl of Torrington gave his orders with great prudence, and in ſuch a manner as prevented the French from making any great advantage of what they called a victory, notwithſtanding the inequality of the fleets, and ſome unlucky accidents that happened in ſpite of all the precautions that could be taken. Neither was his lordſhip at all diſcompoſed, when, upon his being ſent for up to town, he found ſo general a clamour raiſed againſt him, but, on the contrary, gave a very clear account of matters before the council; inſiſted, that he had done all that was in his power to do, which made him eaſy in his mind as to the conſequences, being perſuaded, that, of the two, it was much better for him to ruin himſelf than to ruin the fleet, as he abſolutely muſt have done, if he had acted otherwiſe than he did[m].

All he could ſay, however, had little effect at that time; ſo that he was committed to the Tower, and commiſſioners were ſent down to inſpect into the condition of the fleet, and to make the neceſſary inquiries for framing a charge againſt him, it being held abſolutely requiſite to bring him to a trial, that the juſtice of the nation might not ſuffer in the opinion of her allies, the reſentment of the Dutch having riſen ſo high as to threaten pulling

k Inquiry into the conduct of maritime affairs ſince the revolution, p. 31.

l See the letter of admiral Evertſon in the former part of this volume.

m Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 603. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 428. Life of king William, p. 275.

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down the houſe of lord Durſley, who then reſided at the Hague[n].

When the parliament met, October the ſecond, 1690, his majeſty was pleaſed to take notice in his ſpeech, in a very particular manner, of the diſaſter that had happened off Beachy-head; and the paragraph being but ſhort, we ſhall inſert it[o]: "I cannot conclude without taking notice alſo how much the honour "of the nation has been expoſed by the ill conduct of my fleet "in the laſt ſummer's engagement againſt the French, and I "think myſelf ſo much concerned to ſee it vindicated, that "I cannot reſt ſatisfied till an example has been made of ſuch "as ſhall be found faulty upon their examination and trial, "which was not practicable while the whole fleet was abroad, "but is now put into the proper way of being done as ſoon as "may be." But, notwithſtanding this, the proceedings againſt the earl of Torrington were not very expeditious, and therefore he applied himſelf by way of petition to the houſe of peers, who took his caſe into conſideration; but, after having fully debated it, left him to the ordinary courſe of proceedings, or, in other words, referred him to a court-martial.

Yet, in order to the conſtituting of ſuch a court, as we have elſewhere obſerved, there were ſome difficulties to be got over, and thoſe of ſuch a nature as demanded the attention of the legiſlature, in order to effect which, a bill was brought in for veſting in the commiſſioners of the admiralty the ſame power in regard to granting commiſſions, which was already veſted by law in the lord high-admiral of England[p].

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that on the twentieth of January, 1689, the king had appointed a new board of admiralty, in which Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, was firſt lord inſtead of the earl of Torrington, and Sir Michael Wharton was left out. On the fifth of June, 1690, the board was again changed, and augmented from five to ſeven. Theſe were Thomas, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, John, earl of Carberry, Sir Thomas Lee, baronet, Sir John Lowther, baronet, Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; Sir Richard Onſlow, baronet, and Henry

[n] Impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 25. [o] Debates in the houſe of commons, vol. ii. p. 384. [p] See this act in the ſtatutes at large.

Prieſtman, Eſq; and to this board it was that the intended act gave the power of appointing court-martials for the trial of any officer of what rank ſoever, as a lord high-admiral might do. When this bill came to be read a third time in the houſe of peers, it occaſioned very warm debates, many lords being of opinion, that it would have been better, if, inſtead of a new board, his majeſty had appointed a lord high-admiral, in which caſe there would have been no need whatever of a new law: but at length, however, it was carried by a majority of two only; upon which many of the lords entered their proteſts for the following reaſons [q]:

"Becauſe this bill gives a power to commiſſioners of the admiralty to execute a juriſdiction, which, by the act of the thirteenth of Charles II. entitled, *An act for eſtabliſhing articles and orders for the regulating and better government of his majeſty's navy, ſhips of war, and forces by ſea*, we conceive they had not; whereby the earl of Torrington may come to be tried for his life, for facts committed ſeveral months before this power was given or deſired; we think it reaſonable that every man ſhould be tried by that law that was known to be in force when the crime was committed.

"It is by virtue of the ſaid act of the 13th of Charles II. that the earl of Torrington was judged by this houſe not to have the privilege of a peer of this realm for any offences committed againſt the ſaid act; and there is no other law, as we conceive, by which the ſaid earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privilege of a peer of this realm; which act, making no mention of commiſſioners of the admiralty, but of a lord high-admiral only, by whoſe authority all the powers given by that act are to be exerciſed, and without whoſe conſent ſingly no ſentence of death can be executed, we think it of dangerous conſequence to expound a law of this capital nature otherwiſe than the literal words do import; and as we conceive it without precedent to paſs even explanatory laws, much leſs ſuch as have a retroſpect in them in caſes of life and death, ſo we think it not at all neceſſary to make ſuch a precedent at this time, there being an undoubted legal way al-

[q] The hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of lords, vol. i. p 405.

" ready eſtabliſhed to bring this earl to a trial by a lord high-
" admiral.

" Thirdly, the judges having unanimouſly declared, that the
" law-marine was no where particulariſed in their books,
" whereby the power or juriſdiction of the lord high-admiral
" may be aſcertained, ſo that practice is all that we know of it;
" we conceive it unprecedented, and of dangerous conſequence,
" that the juriſdiction, exerciſed by the lord high-admiral ſhould
" by a law be declared to be in the commiſſioners of the admi-
" ralty, whereby an unknown, and therefore unlimited power
" may be eſtabliſhed in them.

" Rivers, Huntington, Rocheſter, Weymouth, Stamford,
" Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Thomas Roſſen,
" Crew, Bath, Granville, Herbert, Craven, J. Exon,
" Bolton, J. Bridgwater."

As ſoon as the bill had paſſed both houſes, and had received the royal aſſent, the earl of Torrington was removed out of the Tower into the cuſtody of the marſhal of the admiralty, where he had not been long before he brought his caſe into the houſe of commons. This was done by a member's acquainting the houſe, that this noble peer was deſirous of being heard at their bar in reſpect to the matter for which he was in cuſtody. Upon this an order was made for his lordſhip's being brought thither the next day, the ſerjeant at arms was directed to ſerve the marſhal of the admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and, November the twelfth, the houſe being informed, that his lordſhip was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the ſerjeant, with the mace, to a chair ſet for him within the bar on the left-hand of the houſe as he came in; and having ſat down thereon for ſome time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his lordſhip roſe, and ſtood at the back of the chair uncovered, and was heard before the houſe; after which his lordſhip withdrew, the mace attending him[r].

This is all we meet with in the journal; but a writer of thoſe times aſſures us, that his lordſhip found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed in the preſence of that aſſembly, as not to be able to ex-

[r] Journal-book of the houſe of commons, *die Martis*, Nov. 11. and *die Mercur.* Nov. 12, 1690.

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preſs himſelf as he intended; upon which he acquainted the commons, that, being accuſtomed rather to act than to ſpeak, he found himſelf at a loſs for words, and therefore deſired to make uſe of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's ſervice; how many years he had ſpent therein, and of his having ſpilled much blood, as well as been deprived of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loſs he had ſuſtained for ſupporting the proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of England under king James II. Laſt of all, he ſpoke of the engagement with the French fleet off Beachy-head, in reſpect to which he excuſed his not fighting, from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, ſhortneſs of wind, inequality of numbers, and, in ſupport of what he ſaid, produced ſome letters; but all this was of little or no uſe to his lordſhip. The houſe remitted him to that trial for which the late act had made way, and of which the higheſt expectations were raiſed at home and abroad, the king being reſolved not to embark for Holland till it was all over[s].

Accordingly, Saturday the ſixth of December, 1690, his lordſhip went down to Sheerneſs in his yacht, the court-martial ſitting there on board the Kent: on Monday, December 8. Sir Ralph Delaval, being in the chair as preſident, the commiſſion was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjuſted; after which the court adjourned to Wedneſday the tenth, when the witneſſes were heard on the part of the crown, as well Dutch as Engliſh[t]: but, notwithſtanding the loudneſs of the common reports, there was very little appeared in proof, notwithſtanding the court took all the pains they could to ſift things to the bottom; his lordſhip then made his defence in the manner that has been before-mentioned, inſiſted largely on the ſuperiority of the French fleet, on the ſhifting of the wind, which put it out of his power to ſuccour the Dutch, on the care taken on ſecuring a retreat, and the ſmall advantage that the enemy reaped from their ſo much boaſted ſucceſs in this action, which had drawn upon their admiral, count Tourville, as many cenſures as

[s] Impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome ix. p. 657, 658. [t] Minutes of the court-martial on board his majeſty's ſhip the Kent, Sir Ralph Delaval, preſident, December 8, 1690.

upon himſelf, and with pretty much the ſame reaſon. After mature conſideration, both of the charge, of his defence, and of the evidence offered, the court, *nemine contradicente*, acquitted him wholly of any imputation whatever, from his conduct on that occaſion. To which, when required to ſign it, they moſt ſteadily adhered. It is ſaid, that a certain Dutch rear-admiral, who was preſent, expreſſed his reſentment very warmly, and it is certain, the proceedings were quickly after printed in Dutch, with ſome animadverſions [u].

On Thurſday, December the eleventh, the earl of Torrington returned to town in his barge, with the union flag flying, as bearing ſtill the king's commiſſion of admiral and commander in chief. He returned to his own houſe, where he received the compliments of his friends, and the news, which could not ſurprize him much, that his commiſſion was ſuperſeded. He was almoſt the only victim in that reign, for he never received any mark of favour, much leſs enjoyed any command afterwards [w]. He came, however, in a few days to the houſe of peers, where he conſtantly attended for above twenty years after, without altering his conduct in the leaſt, which is a manifeſt proof that he was not governed by caprice but by principle. He was always on the ſide of the crown, and very rarely in an oppoſition to its miniſters; ſometimes, however, he was, and then he commonly proteſted, that the reaſons of his oppoſition might appear, and that the world might not aſcribe his diſagreement with men in power to prejudice or ſpleen. In matters that related to the navy, he was generally moſt forward, and in reſpect to them, the houſe heard him with much reſpect and attention, and upon ſuch occaſions he ſhewed himſelf commonly a friend to ſtrict diſcipline, and a frugal management in the navy [x].

He raiſed, while in employment, a conſiderable fortune, upon which he lived in a manner becoming his rank, during the remainder of his life. His lordſhip was twice married, but never had any children [y]; and at length, after having ſpent the latter

[u] Impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages, *&c.* [w] Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, life of King William, Oldmixon, *&c.* [x] Hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of Lords, vol. i. p. 436, 444. vol. ii. p. 5, 22, 29, 46, 72, 74, 430. [y] Peerage of England, printed for Abel Roper, London, 1709, 8vo. p. 278.

part

part of his life in as much privacy and quiet as he had done the former ſcenes of it in action, he breathed his laſt, April the thirteenth, 1716, in a good old age, leaving the bulk of his eſtate to the right honourable Henry, earl of Lincoln, merely out of reſpect to that noble perſon's ſteady adherence to the ſame cauſe, which the earl of Torrington ſupported during his whole life[z]. Theſe particulars, which had hitherto lain ſcattered in a variety of authors, we have, with the utmoſt diligence, gathered and digeſted according to the natural order of time, that the memory of ſo brave a man might not be altogether buried in oblivion, or that clamour, which the beſt of judges thought without foundation, be as fatal to his fame after death, as while living it was to his power.

Theſe, however ſcanty, are all the memorials that we have been able to diſcover from books or information, as to the eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed in this reign, except it be a very few dates in reſpect to the following illuſtrious perſons.

John lord Berkley of Stratton was the ſon of Sir John Berkley, the faithful ſervant of king Charles I. and king Charles II. by whom, during his exile, he was created baron of Stratton, in the county of Somerſet, and younger brother to Charles lord Berkley of Stratton, who died at ſea in 1682. This noble lord was rear-admiral at the time of the revolution, groom of the ſtole, and firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber to prince George of Denmark: and, as we have ſeen, often admiral of the fleet in the reign of king William, and colonel of the ſecond regiment of marines; of all which employments he was poſſeſſed when he died, February 27, 1696-7, leaving behind him no iſſue male, ſo that the title devolved on his younger brother William, father to the preſent worthy nobleman John lord Berkley of Stratton[a].

The honourable Edward Neville, Eſq; was the ſecond ſon of George lord Abergavenny, and notwithſtanding his high birth, arrived at his ſtation in the navy by pure dint of merit. He died on board the Lincoln the twelfth of September, 1701, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, as his ſquadron made the land of Virginia, and left behind him a ſon, the late lord Aberga-

[z] Hiſtorical regiſter for the year 1716, p. 219.

[a] Collins's peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 168.

venny, who deceaſed at the Bath, the twenty-firſt of September, 1744, and a daughter [b].

We cannot ſhut up our account of this reign better than by an abſtract of the royal navy, as it ſtood at the deceaſe of king William, that the reader, by comparing it with the abſtract at the end of Chapter XVII. may from thence diſcern how far, notwithſtanding ſo long a war, and ſo many other interruptions and misfortunes, our naval force increaſed in the ſpace of thirteen years.

ABSTRACT of the ROYAL NAVY, as it ſtood December 25, 1701.

Rates.	Number.		Guns.	Men.
I.	7	carrying	714	5,312
II.	14		1,276	8,824
III.	45		3,199	18,561
IV.	63		3,253	15,329
V.	36		1,094	4,680
VI.	29		542	1,215
	194		10,078	53,921
Fire-ſhips	8		Tonnage	
Bomb-veſſels	13	In Dec. 1688		101,032
Yachts	10	In Dec. 1701		158,992
		Increaſe		57,960



[b] Collins's peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 12. Supplement to the peerage, by the ſame author, vol. vi. p. 402.

END of VOL. II.